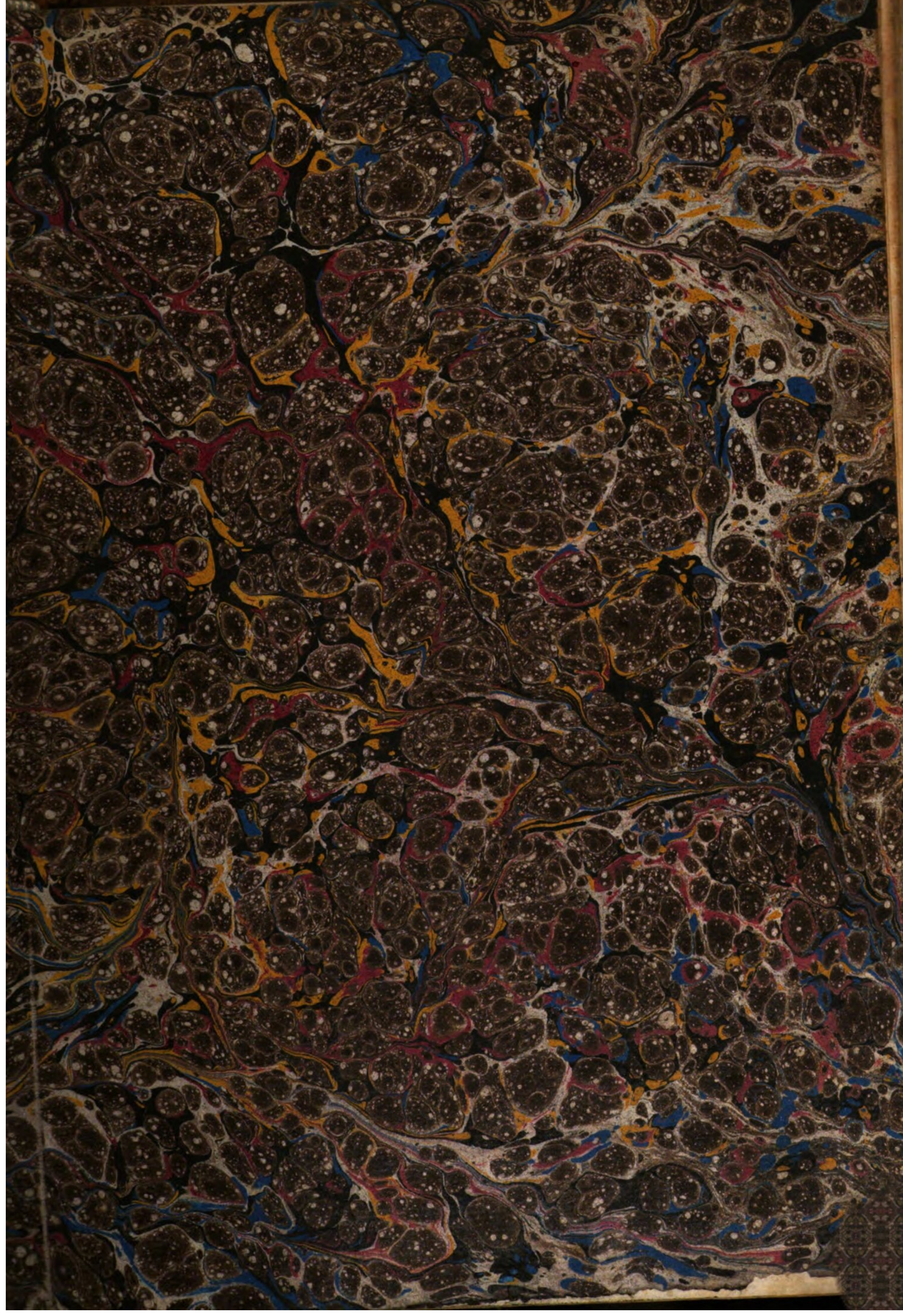








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S T A T E - P A P E R S

A N D

L E T T E R S,

A D D R E S S E D T O

W I L L I A M C A R S T A R E S,

Confidential SECRETARY to K. WILLIAM during the whole of
his Reign; afterwards Principal of the University of Edinburgh.

Relating to Public Affairs in GREAT-BRITAIN, but more particularly in
SCOTLAND, during the Reigns of K. WILLIAM and Q. ANNE.

T O W H I C H I S P R E F I X E D

The L I F E of M R C A R S T A R E S.

Published from the Originals, By

JOSEPH M'CORMICK, D. D. Minister at Prestonpans.

E D I N B U R G H:

Printed for W. STRAHAN and T. CADELL, *London*;
and JOHN BALFOUR, *Edinburgh*.

M,DCC,LXXIV.

STAFFORD

AND

THE

ADDRESSED TO

WILLIAM CARSTARES

Confidential Secretary to H. WILLIAM during the whole of
his reign; afterwards Principal of the University of Edinburgh.
Relating to Public Affairs in Great-Britain, but more particularly in
Scotland, during the reigns of K. WILLIAM and Q. ANNE.



TO WHICH
THE LIFE OF

Published from the Originals By

JOSEPH MCCORMICK, D. D. Minister at Presbiterian

EDINBURGH:

Printed by W. STRAHAN & T. CADELL, Booksellers,
and JOHN BALFOUR, Edinburgh.

MDCCLXXIV.

P R E F A C E.

THE utility of *State-Papers* is universally understood and acknowledged. It is from the evidence which these furnish, that history derives its full degree of authenticity. Every person engaged in great transactions is influenced by a particular system of opinions, and is biassed by affection to those with whom he acts, or antipathy to those whom he opposes. If he undertakes to inform posterity with respect to what he has known or done, his system and passions mingle imperceptibly with his narrative, and tinge with their own colour the facts which he relates. Contemporary historians are often, for this reason, not the most authentic; and actors in considerable scenes do not describe them with the greatest impartiality. A discerning reader peruses them with distrust, and with-holds his assent until their testimony be confirmed by the more unsuspicious evidence of original papers.

With respect to periods which are remote and uninteresting, we may rest satisfied with the information of contemporary authors, leaving it to the industrious curiosity of antiquaries to glean what farther intelligence they can pick up from imperfect records: But, where transactions are recent, and of great importance, when they belong to times in which a nation is divided into political factions of repugnant principles, and pursuing different objects, there is no source of historical knowledge so genuine and pure as that of *State-Papers*. By examining and comparing these, we discover the real views, not only of individuals, but of parties; we can trace the means which they employed in order to attain their ends; we penetrate into secrets which were often concealed from such as acted a considerable part in the conduct of affairs; and, in the unreserved freedom of private correspondence, see striking and peculiar features of characters break out, which, in public, were studiously disguised.

Obvious as the benefit derived from the use of original papers may appear, it is surprising that authors were so long in having recourse to

this mode of authenticating their histories. Camden is the first of our historians who seems to have considered the diligent inspection of records and state-papers as a necessary preparation for writing the history of an interesting æra. His example, successfully imitated by Lord Herbert, taught his countrymen the difference between a history resting upon evidence, and the meagre annals of monks, or the partial memoirs of courtiers. The attention of ingenious men, solicitous to discover truth, or eager to defend the tenets and conduct of their favourite faction, were turned towards a new object; public archives were searched, and the repositories of private men ransacked, in order to illustrate the interesting periods of English history.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth, fertile in great events, which have been no less the subject of controversy than of admiration, became the first object of historical inquiry. The collection of papers amassed by Cecil, and augmented by Sir Robert Cotton, furnished ample materials for illustrating that period. Nor has this vast magazine been entirely exhausted by the industry of a long succession of compilers, from the publisher of the Cabala down to Murdin.

The reigns of James I. and of his unfortunate son, in which every transaction has been the object of doubt, or of dispute, next engaged the attention of curious inquirers. There too the store of state-papers is vast. The collections of Rushworth, Nalson, Thurloe, &c. elucidate every material transaction in that busy period; and it is from them, not from the narrations of Clarendon and Ludlow, though both considerable actors in the scene, though both men of integrity, and the former of superior talents, that we derive an accurate knowledge of the remote, as well as immediate causes which first overturned and then re-established the monarchy.

The light thrown upon two such important periods by the publication of original papers, afforded such evidence of their utility as suggested an idea more extensive. Queen Anne, with a munificence truly royal, enabled Rymer to collect and to publish his *Foedera*, comprehending the most important papers in the national archives, relative to the public affairs of England from the beginning of the twelfth century

P R E F A C E.

tury to the reign of James I. From this noble collection, the English history derives its authenticity. Many transactions, which had escaped the attention of the antient annalists, are rescued from oblivion, and more are placed in a light very different from that wherein they are represented by them. To this same collection, the history of Scotland may be said to owe its existence; as, previous to the publication of that valuable work, it was a confused chaos, without any certain light to guide to the knowledge of facts, or any proper documents to authenticate them.

But, while the antient history of Great Britain, and that of the two great periods preceeding the restoration, received such illustration from collections of state-papers, our history, subsequent to that aera, cannot pretend to the same advantages. Some light has indeed been thrown upon the reign of Charles II. by the letters of Temple, Arlington, and Danby; but it is only of late that] any papers of moment relating to the reigns of James II. and William III. have been published; and none of any consequence have yet appeared concerning the reign of Queen Anne. The public curiosity, fatiated, in a great measure, with respect to the two former periods which have been mentioned, is still eager and unabated with regard to the latter. This is manifest from the extraordinary attention paid to the interesting collection published by Sir John Dalrymple.

There is, indeed, an obvious reason for the scantiness of historical materials during the reigns of these three princes. A certain period of time must elapse before the transactions of any age, especially of a turbulent and factious one, become a proper subject for history. Not only the capital actors themselves, but their immediate descendents, must go off the stage, before we can expect that their cabinets will be opened, and the papers which they contain be exposed to the public eye. There are in the repositories of several great families in both kingdoms, large collections of papers concerning public affairs under each of these princes. The maturity of time is now arrived, when they may be made public without impropriety. It will afford the publisher real satisfaction, if his example, and the instruction or amusement received from

from the papers which he communicates, shall excite others to open their stores, and no longer withhold from the public information which it is not now necessary to conceal.

What degree of merit the following collection may possess, it becomes not the publisher to say. He has confined himself to his own humble province, without presuming to encroach upon that of the historian; and, as much as possible, has avoided entering into any historical or critical detail concerning the facts to which the collection refers. Satisfied with his own patient industry in laying in the materials, he leaves it to the genius of the historian, by arranging them in proper order, to raise the structure.

Even with regard to the first intention of publishing this collection, he can claim but little merit. He has suffered himself to be guided entirely by the opinion of far better judges of its importance than he is himself; judges, to whose opinion, in matters of this nature, he knows that the public is disposed to pay the greatest deference*.

To the papers is prefixed a life of Mr Carstares. This he thought necessary, not only in order to do justice to the character and talents of a respectable man, but to explain the peculiar circumstances in his situation which gave rise to his extensive correspondence concerning public affairs. There are some yet alive who remember Mr Carstares in those stations, which he filled with so much honour to himself and to his country, in the latter period of his life. But, during the reign of King William, when he was the confidential minister of that great prince in all Scottish business, as he held no public office, and was a man of much discretion, as well as of real modesty, he was so far from thrusting himself forward, or making a display of the credit which he possessed, that his influence and operations were frequently unobserved, and he is seldom mentioned by the memoir-writers of the times. It is in the following papers, and in those preserved in the families of the great officers of state in both kingdoms, during the reign of

* Sir David Dalrymple will forgive the editor for taking this opportunity of informing the public, that, if this collection has any merit, it is to him the world is indebted for the first suggestion of its being made public, and the editor for his advice and assistance in the publication.

of King William, that we discover his influence in public transactions, from the accession of that monarch to his death.

But, though few particulars concerning Mr Carstares are to be learned from the imperfect histories of King William's reign which have hitherto appeared, several circumstances determined the publisher to attempt giving an account of his life. As these circumstances serve to establish the authenticity of the papers now made public, he considers it as his duty to mention them.

These papers came into the hands of Mr Charles Macky, late Professor of civil history and antiquities in the university of Edinburgh, as executor to Mrs Carstares. That gentleman preserved them with a religious care. Several years before his death, he informed the publisher that he intended to leave them to him, on account of his near relation to Mr Carstares. At the same time, he signified his desire, that, if ever they were made public, some account of the life of Mr Carstares should accompany them into the world.

With this view, Mr Macky was at considerable pains to furnish him with such materials as might enable him to comply with his inclination. He had lived much in Mr Carstares's family in the early part of his life, and, by that means, had access to be acquainted with many circumstances in his private deportment and character, unknown to the world.

These, together with the original papers now published, he communicated from time to time to the publisher, and from them the account of the life of Mr Carstares was taken.

He mentions this circumstance the rather, because Mr Macky's well known character, in point of candour and integrity, as well as accuracy in historical researches, gives the publisher an entire confidence in the truth of such particulars, in the following account, as have no other vouchers.

But, whatever reception this part of the publication may meet with from the world, it affords some satisfaction to the publisher, that, in attempting to do some justice to the memory of one departed friend, he has fulfilled the obligation he lies under to another.

A D V E R-

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

AS the editor has pledged himself to the public for the whole of Mr Carstares's correspondence relative to affairs of state, he has not only thought it incumbent upon him to publish the letters in cyphers to which, after no small labour, he discovered a key; but does not think himself at liberty to with-hold a few letters which he has attempted to decypher in vain; because it is possible these may fall into the hands of some more versant in matters of this kind, who may prove more successful in the attempt.

The letters in this publication are printed according to the orthography of the originals. Any want of uniformity in this particular, in letters from the same correspondents, is entirely owing to this circumstance, that some of the letters which are signed by the principals, were written by their secretaries.

To the life of Mr Carstares are annexed some short memoirs of the statesmen whose letters are contained in this collection. These are excerpted from a manuscript in the possession of the Earl of Hyndford, which the editor found to be more compleat, and less partial, than the copy from which an anonymous writer published, in 1732, *The Characters of the Court of Great Britain*.

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T H E

L I F E

O F

M R W I L L I A M C A R S T A R E S .

T H E
L I F E
O F
MR WILLIAM CARSTARES.

MR WILLIAM CARSTARES was born upon the His birth]
11th day of February 1649, at Cathcart, in the neigh-
bourhood of Glasgow.

His father, Mr John Carstares, a clergyman, was a younger branch of a very ancient family of that name, in the county of Fife. His mother was a daughter of Muir of Glanderston, a respectable family in the county of Renfrew.

As William gave early indications of an uncommon genius, his His education.
father determined to give him the best education this country could afford. With this view, he sent him, when very young, to Ormiston, a village in East-Lothian, and put him under the tuition of Mr Sinclair, an indulged Presbyterian clergyman, and a particular friend of his own, who kept an academy, where many young gentlemen of the chief families in Scotland were educated.

It was at this early period that Mr Carstares formed those connections which subsisted betwixt him and some of the greatest men in the nation during the whole of his future life. It was here too, that he first acquired that taste for the learned languages for which he was afterwards distinguished. It was the custom in all the public schools

in Scotland, in those days, to teach the very elements of the Latin in that language, and to speak nothing but Latin in school. Mr Sinclair carried this point still farther; for he would suffer no other language to be spoken in his family. To this circumstance, along with another which we shall have occasion to mention afterwards, he was wont to ascribe the ease with which he could write and speak in that tongue.

Upon his leaving this academy, his father sent him to the university of Edinburgh, under the particular inspection of Mr Paterfon, then one of the regents of the college, afterwards Sir William Paterfon, and clerk to the privy-council of Scotland. Under this gentleman's care he made great proficiency in the several branches of the school-philosophy then in vogue, and afterwards devoted himself particularly to the study of divinity, the profession to which he was naturally inclined, and for which his father intended him.

But the unhappy situation of his country, at that period, greatly damped the ardour of his literary pursuits, and drew his attention towards objects of a very different nature, but no less suited to those talents of which he was possessed. Naturally of an active, bold, and enterprising spirit, connected by blood with some, and by habits of friendship with others, whose families had smarted most severely under the rod of persecution, he was ready to lend a willing ear to the complaints they uttered, and gave early symptoms of his disposition to concur with them in obtaining redress of those grievances under which they groaned, and in defence of the civil and religious liberties of his country.

His father resolves to send him abroad.

His father, apprehending that the natural warmth of his son's temper, joined to the impetuosity of youth, and his avowed detestation of the court-measures, might hurry him too far, under pretence of affording him the best opportunity of finishing his studies in divinity, sent him to the university of Utrecht.

When he set out from Scotland, his father gave him a letter to a physician at London, a particular friend of his, recommending him to

to his kindest offices, and best advice. This letter, Mr Carstares used to observe, laid the foundation of his future fortunes in life.

At this time England had begun to take the alarm about the popish succession. The thoughtless and profligate Charles was too dissipated to give that attention to affairs of state which their nature and importance required. And the Duke of York, though a man of business and application, was too great a bigot in his principles, not to betray the strongest attachment to the church of Rome, at the very time when every motive of interest and sound policy would have led any other person, in his delicate situation, to have concealed it.

State of affairs in England at that period.

Such a conduct could not fail to awake the suspicions of a nation which had hardly got time to breathe, after the calamities it had already suffered from the tyrannical maxims of government which that superstition adopts.

Charles having no lawful children of his own body, the succession to the crown devolved upon the Duke of York; and, such as were disposed to speculate upon subjects of this nature, when they beheld the effects of his bigotry in his brother's reign, could not refrain from foreboding, that it would certainly be attended with still greater evils in his own.

Happily for these kingdoms, the two daughters of the Duke of York had been educated in the principles of the protestant religion; and there was at this time a treaty of marriage on foot, betwixt the Princess Mary the eldest, and William Prince of Orange, nephew to Charles and James, whom Providence raised up at this period to be the bulwark of the protestant interest, and the zealous asserter of the liberties of Europe.

Being thus doubly allied to the royal family of Great Britain, and husband to the heiress-apparent of the crown, it was natural for William to keep a watchful eye over its interests. And it was no less natural for such as were most apprehensive of the fatal consequences which might ensue from the rigorous measures of James, to turn their eyes towards a Prince, who was the avowed enemy of
tyranny

tyranny and oppression, and to solace themselves in the prospect, though distant, of one day obtaining redress from that quarter.

Hence, many who were disaffected to the present measures, entered into a correspondence with several who were about the Prince's court; particularly with Mr Fagel Pensionary of Holland; who failed not to pay a particular attention to the state of affairs in Great Britain, and to watch every motion of the several parties that appeared prejudicial to the interests of the Prince of Orange.

Amongst those who kept a correspondence with Holland, was the physician to whom Mr Carstares was recommended by his father.

His introduction to Pensionary Fagel,

This gentleman, finding that Mr Carstares was perfectly well acquainted with the state of affairs in Scotland, and thereby qualified to give the fullest information to the Prince of Orange, put a letter into his hands, directed to the Prince's physician, and told him that it would be of use to him. Mr Carstares did not fail to deliver it soon after he arrived in Holland. The physician had no sooner read it, than he offered to introduce him to Pensionary Fagel, and appointed next day for that purpose.

That able minister, after some acquaintance with Mr Carstares, discovered, that one, so thoroughly instructed in every thing relative to the transactions and state of parties in Great Britain, might possibly prove of considerable service to his master.

and to the Prince of Orange.

And, as he knew that nothing could tend more to attach him to his interest than a private interview with the Prince, he proposed it one day to Mr Carstares.

This proposal was too flattering to be rejected by a young man of spirit, prepossessed with the highest veneration for the Prince.

William, though phlegmatic and reserved to such a degree, that it was not easy to discover his own character, was abundantly penetrating into the characters of other men. Mr Carstares was naturally of an easy and polite address, which prepossessed the Prince in

his

his favour from the first moment he saw him. At the same time, the sagacity and penetration which he shewed in the intelligence he communicated concerning the affairs of Great Britain, and the sentiments he discovered relative to the state of parties at that time, laid the foundation of his favour with the Prince, and of that entire confidence he placed in him till the day of his death.

During his residence at the university, whilst he applied himself to his literary pursuits, Mr Carstares failed not to improve the opportunities which his situation afforded him, of waiting frequently upon the Prince; and, before he returned, he had so far ingratiated himself into his favour, that nothing of consequence was transacted at his court, with respect to Great Britain, with which he was not intrusted. So that, by the time he returned to his native country, he had, as Dr Burnet observes, all the secrets of the Prince of Orange in his breast. He returns to Scotland.

His principles, both in religion and politics, were mightily confirmed by his residence in that country, and by his personal attachment to a Prince who was the avowed patron of all the friends of liberty.

The wretched condition of his native country, at this period, made a deep impression upon his mind. As he abhorred, more than ever, every species of arbitrary power, he beheld with regret the encroachments which it was daily making upon the rights and privileges of his fellow citizens. The situation of that kingdom.

Presbytery, for some time before the restoration of Charles II. had been the established form of church-government in Scotland; and experience hath, at last, evinced, that it is certainly best suited to the spirit and genius of that people. Upon the restoration, however, partly owing to the intrigues of Lauderdale, partly to the treachery of Sharp, episcopacy had been introduced, with every circumstance which could contribute to render it odious and disgusting to the nation.

That haughty prelate, without principles to controul his ambition, and without prudence to moderate the violence of his passions, Character of Archbishop Sharp.

fions, failed not to prostitute every talent he was master of to the service of a court, from whom he had purchased his preferment, at the expence of his honour, his integrity, and the trust committed to him. Immediately upon his advancement, he went hand in hand with a despotic minister, in subverting, by every art which fraud could suggest, or violence perpetrate, the very cause he had not long before undertaken to assert and defend; until, at last, he fell a victim to his own ambition, and the lawless vengeance of an incensed people.

The persecution which followed upon this event, and the rigorous execution of severe penal statutes, had totally alienated the affections of some of the most considerable families in Scotland from administration.

Mr Carstares
sets out a se-
cond time for
Holland.

Mr Carstares, though far from being narrow in his religious sentiments, was not only by education, but by principle, a presbyterian; and, upon finishing his studies in theology, he passed his trials according to the forms of the presbyterian church, and obtained a licence to preach the gospel: But, finding all his hopes of usefulness in that character, in his own country, blasted by the severities then practised against the presbyterians, he had taken the resolution of returning again to Holland, that he might enjoy, under a more indulgent and auspicious government, that liberty he was denied at home.

Shaftsbury's
Plot.

Mean while, several of the exclusionists in England, disgusted with the baneful influence of the Duke of York over the royal councils, irritated with his avowed profession of the catholic religion, and, above all, alarmed with the prospect of his succession to the crown, began to concert measures for preventing an event, which they foresaw would be attended with such fatal consequences to themselves and to their country, and for wresting from Charles, by the terrors of an insurrection, those concessions which they had in vain attempted to obtain by constitutional methods. They were at first instigated to this project, by the restless and vindictive spirit of Shaftsbury; and they were encouraged to persist in it, by the present ferment in the city, occasioned by the late competition

tion of sheriffs, and the resumption of the city-charter. Such arbitrary proceedings afforded ample topics of declamation among the inferior members of the conspiracy, and filled them with the most sanguine hopes of success.

It was natural for men, when once engaged in so perilous an enterprize, to call in aid from every quarter. For this purpose, whilst Shaftsbury, by himself and his retainers Ferguson and Rumfay, undertook to manage the correspondence with the city-malecontents, his associates, Monmouth and Essex, Gray, Ruffel, and Sydney, had their departments allotted them in the several counties where their chief influence lay. Whilst these things were in agitation, it was suggested by some of them, that, in the present temper of the presbyterian party in Scotland, it would not be difficult to prevail with them to attempt an insurrection in Scotland, at the same time with the one proposed to be raised in England. A favourable opportunity soon presented itself for opening a correspondence betwixt the disaffected in both kingdoms.

The English conspirators invite the Scots to join with them.

Several gentlemen of distinction in Scotland had been projecting a purchase of certain lands in the province of Carolina, for a settlement to such of their countrymen as chose rather to abandon their native country, than submit any longer to those grievous oppressions, from which they saw no other prospect of relief. "Any condition," says an eminent historian, "seemed preferable to the living in their native country, which, by the prevalence of persecution and violence, was become as insecure as a den of thieves. It were endless and shocking to enumerate all the instances of absurd tyranny which at that time prevailed in Scotland*."

The English conspirators justly inferred, that men who were willing to enact their own banishment, were prepared for the most desperate enterprize; and therefore, under pretext of the American purchase, instantly set on foot a negociation with the Scots. As Mr Carstares was then about to set out for London, in his way

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to

* Mr Hume's history of England.

Mr Car-
stares's nego-
tiations with
the conspira-
tors in both
kingdoms.

to Holland, and was personally known to many of the conspirators, both English and Scots, he was employed by them in carrying on this transaction.

Argyle and
the Scottish
refugees pro-
pose to join
with them.

About the time that Mr Carstares arrived at London, which was in the month of November 1682, Argyle, and the other refugees in Holland, had got intelligence of what was in agitation in Britain, and impowered James Stewart younger of Cultnesh, afterwards Lord Advocate for Scotland, to write to Mr Carstares in their name, acquainting him, that, if he could, by his interest with the English conspirators, procure a certain sum of money for purchasing arms and ammunition in Holland, they were ready to co-operate with them by an invasion upon the west of Scotland.

Mr Carstares communicated the contents of this letter to Lord Ruffel and Mr Sydney: He represented to them the advantages which would accrue to the common cause by placing Argyle at the head of the insurrection in Scotland, whose numerous vassals and extensive jurisdictions gave him great influence, as his past sufferings gave him great merit with the party.

An interview
with Fergu-
son.

In the course of this negotiation betwixt the conspirators and Argyle, Mr Carstares had several interviews with Robert Ferguson, commonly called the *Plotter*, who was very forward in giving his assistance to procure the money for Argyle. At one of these interviews, he took an opportunity of founding Mr Carstares upon another point, which he seemed to have more at heart than the insurrection, pretending to bewail the loss of so much innocent blood as would probably be spilt in an open rebellion. He hinted, that there was a much speedier and more certain way of coming at the point which they had all in view; and that, by the death of one, or two at most, the lives of thousands might be saved. Mr Carstares could not stifle the indignation he felt at the proposal, and the person who had the assurance to make it. He told him, That, when he engaged in the transaction, he thought he had to do with men of honour and public spirit: That, so far as those concerned with him confined their views to the obtaining of a free parliament, for redress of public grievances,

vances, and the exclusion of the Duke of York, whom he considered as the chief, if not the only cause of them; he thought they were justified in demanding, even with arms in their hands, those constitutional remedies which had so often been denied to their complaints and remonstrances: But that it was beneath him, both as a man and a christian, to harbour a thought prejudicial to the life of the King or his brother: That, if this was any part of his scheme, he must consult with some of his countrymen in the wilds of Scotland, not with him. From that time forward Ferguson never mentioned the assassination in his presence; nor did Mr Carstares ever discover, amidst all his dealings with the leaders of the conspiracy, that any one of them gave the least encouragement to such a design.

Although, in a desperate enterprize, they were obliged to have recourse to some desperate men; yet Monmouth and Ruffel, Essex and Sydney, would have shuddered at the very thought of crimes which a Ferguson and a Rumfay had not only the heart to devise, but the hand to perpetrate.

Although Mr Carstares treated Ferguson's proposal with that indignation which it deserved; yet, having good reason to think that it was entirely a suggestion of his own, he did not give over his negotiations with the other conspirators, but continued to urge their compliance with Argyle's demands. At last, however, he discovered that his solicitations were rendered fruitless by the opposition of Sydney. And Shepherd, an eminent wine-merchant in the city, whose house was a place of rendezvous for the conspirators, told Mr Carstares, that he had heard Sydney declare, that he would have nothing to do with Argyle; that, whatever that nobleman's present situation might prompt him to undertake, he knew him to be too strongly attached to the reigning family, and to the present government, both in church and state, to unite cordially with them in all their measures.

Sydney opposes any connection with Argyle.

At the same time, he learned, both from Ferguson and Shepherd, that the rest of the party were jealous of Sydney, as driving some secret designs of his own.

Mr Carstares
sets out for
Holland,

Mr Carstares, finding matters in this situation, determined to set out for Holland ; and was so disgusted with their proceedings, that he refused to carry any message to Argyle, unless it bore a compliance with his demands.

But, soon after his arrival there, an event happened which rendered it necessary for the conspirators to renew their correspondence with Argyle by means of Mr Carstares.

Shaftsbury's
flight.

Lord Shaftsbury, whose haughty and impetuous temper could not brook the slow and languishing proceedings of his associates, after many fruitless efforts to rouse them to a sudden execution, began to dread the treachery of his friends, no less than the vengeance of his enemies, and, in a fit of spleen, fled to Holland.

Correspon-
dence be-
twixt the
conspirators
and Argyle
renewed.

This incident, though it greatly disconcerted the remaining conspirators, did not put a stop to their machinations. But as, by the unexpected desertion of Shaftsbury, their connection with the city was in a great measure broken, they found it the more necessary to unite with the Scots, and particularly with Argyle and the refugees abroad. Sydney dropt his objections, and letters were immediately wrote to Carstares, desiring him to come over ; and an express was sent down to call up his friends from Scotland, in order to concert every particular relative to the insurrection and invasion.

Mr Carstares, in consequence of the intelligence which he had received, had several consultations with Argyle, Lord Stairs, Lord Loudon, and Mr Stewart, concerning the succours which they ought to demand, and the method of conducting their future operations. Argyle insisted, that the conspirators should immediately advance L. 30,000 of money, and raise 1000 horse, to be ready to join him upon the western coast the moment he set foot in Scotland. Stewart was for accepting less money, if the whole could not be obtained ; but all agreed upon the necessity of a body of horse being immediately levied. Lord Stairs was rather more shy with respect to the whole project than the rest ; but, when Mr Carstares took notice of this circumstance to Argyle, he told him, that, so soon as the preliminaries were settled, he would find him abundantly zealous. After Argyle and the other
refugees

refugees had specified their demands, Mr Carstares consented, at their earnest request, to return to England, having first settled a mode of correspondence by cyphers, which proved the source of all his future troubles.

Mr Carstares returns to England with proposals from the refugees,

Upon his arrival in London, he was not a little mortified to find, that the difficulty of raising the money rendered it as impracticable to comply with his demands now, as Sydney's opposition had done formerly. Lord Ruffel fairly acknowledged to him, that it was impossible, among the whole party, to command that sum; and therefore begged of him to prevail with Argyle to accept of L. 10,000 at first, alledging, that, when people were once embarked, they would be disposed to give more liberally afterwards, from the fear of losing what they had already advanced. However, even this sum, small as it was proportioned to the nature of the undertaking, was never paid in to Shepherd, the cashier of the conspiracy; nor were any steps taken for levying the troops upon the borders.

which were not complied with.

Mr Carstares having spent several weeks at London in fruitless negociation with the English conspirators, thought it his duty to intimate to his countrymen his suspicions with respect to the success of the whole affair.

At a meeting, where Lord Melvil, Baillie of Jerviswood, Sir John Cochran, and the two Campbells of Cessnock were present, he told them, that, as far as he was able to form any judgement of the cabal, it appeared to him to be a body compounded of such heterogeneous principles, that it would soon fall to pieces of itself: That they did not possess spirit or decision suited to the undertaking: That, as they could not agree in the same end, it was impossible they could concur in the same measures; of course, all their schemes were crude and undigested: That, whilst they spent their time in chimerical project, and idle debate, they lost sight of the only thing which could prove of service to their country, which was instantly to have recourse to arms, and to demand a free parliament. In this languid and irresolute state of the English conspirators, he thought that the Scots ought to attend to their own safety; and, instead of

Consultations among the Scottish conspirators at London.

pre-

precipitating their countrymen into measures which would probably prove fatal to them, put an immediate stop to further preparations for an insurrection in Scotland, until the English were more forward to join them.

Baillie, whose zeal in the enterprize saw no difficulties in the execution, reflected bitterly upon the extreme caution, or rather timidity, of the English conspirators. He exclaimed, "That they had been too long the dupes of a set of men who could do nothing but talk: That this, however, was no reason why the Scots should desist: That, although there was but a small spark of the spirit of liberty remaining in their country, it was possible still to blow it into a flame.

If it was more difficult, it was likewise more honourable, to act independent of the English; and, if they were successful, it would not be the first time that England owed its liberty to the interposition of the Scots."

At length, they unanimously resolved to intimate to the English conspirators, that, unless they were determined to act with more vigour, the Scots would no longer act in concert with them; and, in the mean while, they wrote to their friends in Scotland, to prevent any further steps being taken towards an insurrection, until they received more particular directions from them.

The conspiracy is discovered,

Before they received an answer from the cabal, the conspiracy was discovered; most of the English leaders were seized, and the Scots found it necessary to disperse.

and Major Holmes seized.

Government soon got intelligence of the intrigues betwixt Argyle and the conspirators; in consequence of which, Major Holmes, the person to whom all Argyle's letters were directed, was taken into custody. A few days before this, a letter had come from Argyle to Monmouth; as Mr Carstares was then in possession of the cypher and key, Monmouth had sent to him for them; when he had done, he returned them to Holmes; and they were found upon him when he was seized, together with several of Argyle's letters in cypher. As this cypher is perhaps one of the most curious that
ever

ever was invented, and baffled all the skill of the most ingenious decyphers in England, I have, for the sake of the curious in matters of this kind, subjoined the vocabulary, the triple alphabet, and two letters from Argyle, decyphered by Spence, secretary to that nobleman, after enduring the torture for several days and nights running *. Lord Melfort no sooner saw the cypher, than he discovered part of it to be the hand-writing of Mr Carstares; and orders were immediately issued out for apprehending him as art and part † in the assassination. Mr Carstares was conscious of his detestation of the crime with which he was charged, yet was he sensible, that he had gone such lengths with the conspirators in the affair of the insurrection, as must necessarily expose both himself and them to the greatest danger, should he fall into the hands of administration. On this account, he assumed a fictitious name, and skulked about among some friends he had in Kent. This gave occasion to some persons in the neighbourhood to suspect him to be Ferguson, of all the conspirators, the most obnoxious to government. Accordingly, information being lodged against him, he was seized at the house of Mr Carteuse in Fenterden, and thrown into the jail of that place the Monday after the execution of Lord Ruffel. Here he continued for the space of a fortnight, when orders came for his being brought up directly to London, where, upon his arrival, he was committed, for some days, to a messenger at arms.

Orders issued out for apprehending Mr Carstares.

Is taken under a fictitious name.

During this interval, Sir Andrew Forrester brought him a message from King Charles, informing him, that, although his Majesty was not disposed to believe that he had any direct hand in plotting his own death, or that of the Duke of York; yet, as he had carried on a correspondence with Ruffel and Argyle, he was convinced that he knew many particulars relative to the Rye-house plot, which if he would discover, together with what he knew of any other machinations against government, he was ready not only

Message to him from the King.

* The originals are in the records of the privy council of Scotland.

† A term in the Scottish law.

ly to grant him an ample pardon for what was past, but to shew him all manner of favour in time to come. But, if he rejected this offer, he must stand to the consequences, which might probably prove fatal to him. This proceeding of the King's Mr Carstares afterwards complained of, as expressly contrary to a public declaration signed by the King and his brother, bearing, that no offers had been made to any person whatsoever to induce them to give evidence in that matter.

Is committed
to the Gate-
house;

He returned such an answer to his Majesty, by Sir Andrew, as was proper in his circumstances, though far from being satisfactory to the King. He was thereupon committed to close custody in the Gate-house, where he continued upwards of eleven weeks. During this time, he was often brought before the privy council. To them he always protested his utter abhorrence of any designs against the life of the King or the Duke of York. But could never be prevailed upon to reveal any particular which could affect any one of those who had been concerned in the scheme for preventing the popish succession: For, however justifiable the design might be in his estimation, he well knew that it would no less expose them to the resentment of those in administration than a plot formed directly against the life of the King.

and ordered
to be sent
down to
Scotland.

At last, finding he had nothing to expect in the way of favour from the King, but upon terms with which he was incapable of complying, he gave in a petition to the court of King's Bench, for his *habeas corpus*. Instead of this, he received intimation to prepare for being sent down to Scotland within four and twenty hours, and to take his trial in that kingdom. He complained loudly of this step, as not only a direct violation of the law, just now mentioned, but as wholly unprecedented, seeing the crimes with which he was charged were alledged to have been committed in England, and therefore ought to have been tried by the laws of that kingdom.

Not-

Notwithstanding all his remonstrances, he was sent down to Scotland next day, and consigned over into the hands of the privy-council, or rather, the political inquisition of that kingdom; where the inhuman practice of extracting evidence by torture still subsisted in all its rigour, though banished from the courts of England, as repugnant to the genius and constitution of a free people.

He is sent
down to
Scotland.

Upon his landing in Scotland, to prevent any attempts upon the part of his friends to rescue him, he was brought up from Leith to Edinburgh late at night, under a strong guard, along with several of his countrymen, who had come down aboard of the same ship, and were to be tried for the same crime.

Amongst that number was one Spence, a servant of the Earl of Argyle; who, upon being brought before the privy-council, put to the torture, and kept from sleep several days and nights running, at last, out of absolute despair, agreed to decypher some of the Earl's letters which were produced. In one of these it happened that Mr Carstares was mentioned by a cypher, which, although Spence could not interpret himself, the Earl of Melford knew to be his designation, by the papers which had passed through his hands at London.

Spence's torture.

Upon this, Mr Carstares was immediately ordered to be put in irons, and continued in them some weeks; Melfort visiting him frequently all that time, and urging him, in the most earnest manner, to reveal what he knew, with promises of still obtaining a full pardon, in so far as he himself was concerned, if he would comply. However tempting this offer might appear to one in his situation, who had nothing now before his eyes, in case of rejecting it, but perpetual imprisonment, and reiterated torture, he, without hesitation, told his Lordship, that he was now firmly resolved to put his fortitude and fidelity fairly to the trial.

Mr Carstares
is put in
irons.

"That if, in violation of the rights of humanity, and of the regard due to his sacred character, they were determined to carry matters to the last extremity, and thereby inflict upon one, whom they ought to presume innocent, a punishment more severe than would

He rejects
Melfort's offers.

be due to the most heinous crime, one consolation remained to him, that, in the present state of his constitution, greatly enfeebled by so long an imprisonment, he hoped the severity of the torture would put an end to a life now deprived of every comfort, and of every prospect which could render it supportable."

Is brought
before the
privy-coun-
cil,

Accordingly, when he was brought before the Lords of council, he beheld, with great composure, the instruments of torture presented to his view. And, with a firmness that astonished them, when asked by the Earl of Perth chancellor, Whether he would answer, upon oath, such questions as they would put to him? he answered, That, in matters criminal, he never would: That, if they would produce his accusers, he was ready to vindicate himself from any crime they could lay to his charge. The council then assured him, that, if he would only answer a few questions they were to put to him concerning others, nothing he said should ever militate against himself: Nor should they ever inquire, whether it was true or false. He told them, that such a practice was so bad a precedent in criminal matters, that he was determined they should not begin it with him.

Upon which, being interrogated, If he had any thing to object against his being put to the torture? he replied, He had great objections to a practice that was a reproach to human nature, and, as such, banished from the criminal courts of every free country. He likewise repeated the remonstrances he had given in to the council at London, and told them, he must consider his trial in Scotland as a breach of the *habeas corpus* act.

Upon this the chancellor told him, that, whatever was in this, now he was in Scotland, and must be tried for crimes against the state by the laws of this country, had they been committed in Constantinople. In answer to this, Mr Carstares begged leave to observe, that there was this manifest difference betwixt the case his Lordship now put and his own, that, in Constantinople, there were no laws for the security of his Majesty's person and government; but, in England, there were many such laws, and they could

not,

not, he thought, in equity, proceed to greater severity than was consistent with the laws of that country where the crimes alledged against him were committed.

All his objections and remonstrances being over-ruled by the majority of the privy-council, the public executioner was called upon to perform his inhuman office. A thumb-screw * had been prepared on purpose, of a particular construction; upon its being applied, Mr Carstares maintained such a command of himself, that, whilst the sweat streamed over his brow, and down his cheeks, with the agony he endured, he never betrayed the smallest inclination to depart from his first resolution †. The Earl of Queensberry was so affected, that, after telling the chancellor that he saw the poor man would rather die than confess, he stepped out of the council, along with the Duke of Hamilton, into another room, both of them being unable longer to witness the scene; whilst the inhuman Perth sat to the very last, without discovering the least symptom of compassion for the sufferer. On the contrary, when the executioner, by his express order, was turning the screw with such violence, that Mr Carstares, in the extremity of his pain, cried out, that now he had squeezed the bones in pieces, the chancellor, in great indignation, told him, that, if he continued longer obstinate, he hoped to see every bone of his body squeezed to pieces. At last, finding all their efforts, by means of this machinery, fruitless, after he had continued no less than an hour and an half under this painful operation, they found it necessary to have recourse to a still more intimidating species of torture. The executioner was ordered to produce the iron boots, and apply them to his legs; but, happily for Mr Carstares, whose strength was now almost exhausted, the fellow, who was only admitted of late to his office, and a novice in his trade, after having attempted in

and put to
the torture

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vain

* After the Revolution, the privy-council of Scotland made Mr Carstares a present of this instrument.

† Sir George Mackenzie, Lord Advocate, in the course of his pleadings in Jerviswood's trial, observes, that, upon this occasion, all admired Mr Carstares's fortitude and generosity, who stood more in awe of his love to his friends, than of the fear of torture, and hazarded rather to die for Jerviswood, than that Jerviswood should die by him.

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vain to fasten them properly, was obliged to give it over; and the council adjourned for some weeks.

New proposals made to him by Lord Melfort, in name of the privy-council,

Having now found, by experience, that all attempts to bring Mr Carstares to a confession by violence would probably prove ineffectual, they empowered Lord Melfort, one of the secretaries of state, to treat with him upon milder terms. They specified certain questions to be put to him; and, upon condition he would answer them, they authorized the secretary to promise him an ample pardon to himself, and that he should never be produced as a witness in any trial. Not only so, but, if Mr Carstares insisted upon it, they further engaged, that none of his answers to the interrogatories they were to put to him should ever be produced in evidence, either directly or indirectly, against any person, or before any judicatory whatsoever.

with which he complies.

Upon these terms being proposed to him, as he knew they had already discovered from Major Holmes and Mr Spence all the particulars of which he could inform them, as they expressly promised to dispense with his being produced as evidence against any one of his friends, the apprehension of which was the chief cause of his silence hitherto, and as he could not figure to himself, that a privy-council, composed of persons of the highest rank in the nation, could be capable of a breach of the most solemn engagements transmitted to him by a secretary of state, he agreed to answer so many of the interrogatories that were specified, having first stipulated that their promise to him should be ratified by a deed of court, and recorded in their books. He told them, that the reason why he insisted upon this was, not that he had any thing to reveal which could, in the eye of the law, prove hurtful to his friends, but that he was determined rather to die an hundred deaths than submit to the dishonour of having his testimony produced in court against any one of those who were at that time under prosecution before the criminal courts.

The interrogatories which were put to him stand upon record in the registers of privy-council. And there are two blank pages which seem to have been left for inserting his answers. But, why they have never been filled up, whether in consequence of their previous

vious agreement with him, or rather, because he qualified his replies in such a manner, that they could not answer the purpose they meant to serve by them, does not appear. That the first of these considerations had very little weight with them, is evident from their causing a paper to be printed immediately after his appearance before the council, entitled, *Mr Carstares's Confession*. This paper contained a most lame, false, and imperfect account of the whole transaction; yet it was publicly hawked about the streets of Edinburgh. Nor was this the only breach of faith to him of which the privy-council was guilty; for, in direct violation of the only condition upon which he would consent to answer the queries proposed to him, they suffered his evidence, as they falsely termed it, to be produced in open court against one of his most intimate friends, Mr Baillie of Jerviswood. His natural fortitude could support him under personal sufferings, but it almost sunk under the injurious imputation of his being in the smallest degree accessory to the sufferings of a friend. However, before they went this length, they sent for him to the council, and endeavoured to prevail with him judicially to acknowledge his answers to their interrogatories before the justiciary court.

The privy-council's breach of faith to him.

He told them, he had spirit enough left to reject their proposal with disdain, and to endure any severities they could inflict, rather than comply with a demand which he considered as no less dishonourable to themselves than to him, it being a violation of the terms to which the secretary, in their name, and by their authority, had agreed.

Even the chancellor was so convinced of the iniquity of their procedure in this particular, as to declare, that they could not, in honour, insist upon it. Notwithstanding, the advocate, in support of his charge against Jerviswood before the court of justiciary, produced a copy of Mr Carstares's answers to the interrogatories of the privy-council, as an adminicle * of proof, without taking any notice of the qualifications with which they were clothed, the alleviating circumstances with which the facts to which they related

The advocate violates the articles of agreement in Jerviswood's trial.

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* A term in the Scottish law.

were accompanied, or the conditions upon which he delivered them. Upon being questioned by Mr Carstares for it, as dishonourable to the privy-council, whose faith had been pledged to the contrary, the only excuse he could plead was, that, as he was not present in the privy-council on the day that transaction was carried on, he did not consider himself as bound to adhere to the articles of agreement. To such subterfuges did they stoop, in order to bring one, whose public spirit merited a better fate, to an ignominious death; a death which he underwent with the courage of an antient hero, and the resignation of a primitive martyr.

He is relieved from his confinement in the castle,

So far, however, the privy council was true to its engagements, as to release Mr Carstares from his confinement to a dungeon in the castle, whether they had transported him, from the tolbooth of the city, a few weeks after he arrived in Scotland. In this gloomy situation, he had, by this time, continued for some months, cut off from all communication with his friends, and struggling under the infirmities of a shattered constitution.

But, even in these disagreeable circumstances, he fell upon an expedient for employing himself in such a manner as contributed greatly to his amusement in the mean time, and to his advantage afterwards.

Having, by some means or other, procured a copy of Thuanus, who was his favourite author, both as an historian and a Latin classic, he spent most of his time in the perusal of his history. As he had no variety, he read that voluminous work no less than three times over. The effect of which was, that it became as familiar to him to think and to speak in Latin as in English.

Another anecdote relative to his imprisonment ought not to be omitted, as he used to take great pleasure in relating it himself. One day, not long after his commitment, a boy, about twelve years of age, son to Erskine of Cambo lieutenant-governor of the castle, in the course of his rambles through the court, came to the grate of his apartment. As he always loved to amuse himself with young people, he went towards the grate, and began a conversation with him. The boy was captivated with the gentle and engaging manner

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ner in which he accosted him ; and, mightily pleased with his first interview, he resolved to cultivate his new acquaintance. In a day or two after, he returned at the same hour to the grate ; and, in the course of a few periodical visits of this kind, he conceived the strongest attachment to the prisoner——would sit by him for hours, lamenting his unhappy situation, and telling a thousand stories to divert him. He would sometimes load his pockets with provisions of different sorts, and oblige him to partake with him. At other times, he would purchase for him pen, ink, and paper ; and, when he had wrote his letters, he would come at night and carry them to the post-office himself. He was quite unhappy, if Mr Carstares had no errand to send him, or no favour to ask. This intimacy subsisted between them so long as Mr Carstares continued in custody ; and, when their intercourse was broken off by his release, the separation was attended with tears on both sides. It was not many years before Mr Carstares had an opportunity of testifying his gratitude. One of the first private favours he asked of King William, was, that he would bestow the office of Lord Lyon upon his young friend, to whose humanity and kind offices he had owed his chief consolation in his deepest distress ; and he obtained his request, with this additional compliment, that it should be hereditary in the family. He did not, however, live long to enjoy it in his own person ; and his eldest son forfeited the succession, by engaging in the rebellion 1715.

After his release, Mr Carstares was permitted to leave Scotland, upon condition that he should wait upon the secretaries at London, so soon as he arrived there in his way to Holland. He went to my Lord Melfort, who was then at court, and demanded a pass. Melfort told him, he had no difficulty in giving him a pass ; but the King was desirous to see him before he went abroad, and, he thought, he ought to wait upon his Majesty to receive his commands. But, upon Mr Carstares representing to his Lordship, that, if he were to have any conversation with his Majesty relative to what had passed in Scotland since he went down, he would be under a necessity of saying several things which would reflect little honour

He is permitted to leave Scotland.

honour upon some of his Majesty's servants in that kingdom; his Lordship thought it more advisable to dispense with that ceremony, and directly made out a pass for him to Holland. There he arrived in the end of the year 1684, or beginning of the 1685, not many months before the death of Charles II. and the accession of James to the throne of Great Britain.

This is all the account we can give of Mr Carstares's transactions in Britain till the revolution; and it must be acknowledged to be very imperfect, as he has left no private papers which can serve to throw any further light upon the matters we have been treating of: Nor is it difficult to account for this, seeing his own prudence would suggest to him the necessity of destroying all letters and secret intelligence whereof he was possessed when government took the alarm. For the same reason, we are left in the dark with respect to another particular, which is of no small consequence in the history of the revolution; I mean, how far some of those, who were so eager about this time for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession, were countenanced in secret by the Prince of Orange. For, although it was a maxim with that Prince to maintain the utmost reserve in public with respect to the affairs of Great Britain; yet certain it is, there were a few to whom he was more explicit in revealing his sentiments upon those subjects, and by whose means he received constant intelligence.

It is certain, in particular, that, from the time Mr Carstares first left Holland, until he was apprehended in England, he maintained a correspondence with Pensionary Fagel, and Mr Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland*; but he took such effectual methods to conceal this correspondence, that, during the whole time of his imprisonment, government seems to have had no suspicion of his having any connection with Holland.

It was his profound secrecy upon this article, when under prosecution both in England and Scotland, and when he had it in his power

* After the revolution, Mr Carstares acknowledged to some of his most intimate friends that what gave him the greatest anxiety when under the torture, was his apprehension, that government had got intelligence of this correspondence: But he never would mention the particulars.

power to have made the most favourable terms for himself by the discovery, which procured him so gracious a reception from the Prince of Orange upon his return to Holland. The Prince received him into his family, appointed him one of his own chaplains, and procured him to be elected minister of the English Protestant congregation at Leyden.

He is graciously received by the Prince of Orange.

He was now better qualified than ever, and had better opportunity, for being serviceable to his illustrious patron. As he had full exercise for his talents in judging of men and measures during his stay in Britain, so he carried over with him an exact delineation of the principal characters concerned in the administration of public affairs, and of the measures they pursued.

He had felt himself, and had witnessed in others, the severities of an administration directed by popish councils; and he was fully able to prognosticate the still greater calamities to which these kingdoms would be exposed under a popish administration. He knew the universal alienation of all ranks from the system of government then adopted, and perceived, that the very methods which were taken to suppress the clamours of the people, far from allaying, encreased the ferment the more. He had penetrated into all the narrow politicks of the Duke of York. He knew the schemes he had projected for enslaving the nation; and he saw that the tools with which he worked could easily be turned into instruments for overturning the fabric he had raised. Of all these interesting particulars he was admitted to give his sentiments freely to the Prince of Orange, who now openly avowed his aversion to certain measures of James in favour of his darling superstition.

This encouraged numbers, who were disgusted with these measures in Britain, to take shelter under his protection, from the dangers which they saw impending over them; and as, in this situation, he frequently had recourse to Mr Carstares for information with respect to the characters of those who resorted thither, so he was wont to observe, that he never, in one instance, had occasion to

D

charge

charge him with attempting to mislead him in that article, the most delicate in which a courtier can be engaged.

Carries on
the corre-
spondence
betwixt the
Prince and
British male-
contents.

As his connection with the Prince was well known to all the British malecontents, so it appears from some of his papers, that he was one of the channels through which they conveyed their private intelligence: Of this we shall give one instance, from an anonymous letter directed to him, which seems to have been written some time before the revolution. Whether James was ever serious in entertaining any such intentions as are attributed to him by the author of this letter, is not easy to determine. It is more than probable, if he was not, that it was owing to the difficulties he would have found in carrying them into execution, rather than to want of inclination. Be this as it will, his enemies found it their interest to impress the Prince of Orange with the notion, that there was such a design, and were so far successful, that, if he did not, he, at least, affected to believe it. This accounts for several particulars in his conduct, which occasioned much conjecture and speculation to the politicians of that period.

This letter is addressed,

*A Monsieur, Monsieur Carstares, in die Nieuw Street, by die
Pecker's Kirk, LEYDEN.*

And is as follows:

“S I R,

A letter con-
taining an
account of
King James's
projects for
excluding
the Princess
of Orange
from the suc-
cession to the
crown.

NOTHING could have been more to my refreshment and satisfaction, than the visit you bestowed upon me, for which I return you many and hearty thanks, as well as for the open and undisguised friendship wherewith you treated me. And as for the favourable thoughts, and merciful inclinations, which some persons have the goodness and condescension to entertain for me, I shall endeavour always to maintain that humble and grateful sense of so undeserved a favour, which may be expected from a thankful and an honest man, whose highest ambition shall be, to serve them with all the vigour, zeal, and sincerity that I am capable of testifying.

And

And I am happy to see matters so situated, that my doing so will be the only, as well as the best way of performing my duty to God and to my country.

“The intelligence that I have lately received from different parts doth both abundantly confirm me in the opinion, wherein I have been long fixed, concerning the designs of the court of England, and also enlighten me in relation to the measures they are now pursuing to accomplish them.

“The guilt the Papists have contracted by invading and violating the laws of the kingdom, and the conspiracy wherein they are embarked, in conjunction with others, for subverting the reformed religion in Europe, cause them, above all things, to dread the succession of their Highnesses the Prince and Princesses of Orange to the crowns of Great Britain. For it is natural to suppose, that their Highnesses being sincere and steadfast Protestants, and having had causes of disgust administered to them by those of the Roman communion, both in Britain and elsewhere, will not only account it their honour, duty, and interest, to give a defeat to all the projects which those of that religion have been travelling with for many years; but will be obliged, by the importunities of their people, though not inclined by choice, to deliver that body up to the resentments of three injured nations; at least, to the justice of those very laws which they have despised and trampled upon. So that, whoever imagines that the Papists are not resolved to do all they can for debarring and excluding their Highnesses from the imperial crowns of Great Britain, doth either proclaim the weakness of his own judgement, or that he judgeth them to be very foolish and improvident.

“And, although I cannot tell, and do fancy they know not yet themselves, whom they had best endeavour to set up, in opposition to the right and title of their Highnesses; yet I am confident, so far as demonstration, both from reason and matter of fact, can render me, that all the industry, trick, and violence they are now using, in order to pack a parliament, and for getting such returned mem-

bers whom the King nominates and recommends, is in subservency to this design. The obtaining the repeal of the penal and test acts, is far from being the ultimate end for which those sinister and illegal practices are intended, for as much as they must needs see, that this would be of no long advantage, and that their attempting it will turn to their ruin afterwards, unless they are able to compass the other. As for all the noise of the King's zeal for rescinding those laws in favour to his dissenting subjects, it is only meant to delude a weak and easy people to become his tools in helping him to such a parliament as will make his pleasure the measure of all their proceedings. Nor is it to be doubted, that, if once he can procure such an assembly as he aims at, that the next thing will be, to settle the succession by a present act upon the person he pleaseth to name, or to obtain a power of disposing the crown, by way of testament, on whom he shall think fit. And, as such methods are now proposed, so there are not wanting about him to alledge precedents for both.

“For, as Henry VIII. had a legative power granted him by act of parliament, by virtue of which he might bequeath the crown to whomsoever he pleased; so the statute of the 13th Elizabeth, cap. 1. makes it treason, in her reign, and forfeiture of goods and chattels ever after, to hold or affirm, that an act of parliament is not of sufficient force and validity to limit and bind the crown, and the descent, inheritance, and government thereof.

“Now, as it is obvious to every man that can penetrate into affairs, or who is of a prospect to see an inch before his nose, that this is what they think their present conduct makes needful, as well as the point to which their present conduct tends; so it is the duty of every sincere protestant, and of all who regard the glory of God, and the welfare and prosperity of the British nations, to employ their knowledge, power, and interest, for preventing it.

“In order to which, I think there are two things indispensably necessary to be done; in the seasonable and effectual management
where-

whereof, we shall be able either to discourage them from the attempt, or obstruct its success.

“ The first is, to lay open and detect their designs ; and, by this means, render both them and the world sensible, that we are acquainted with what they are now driving at. By this means, we will not only startle, but alienate all those from them, whom the desire of being relieved from oppression, by reason of their consciences, in the matters of the worship of God, hath so far entangled, as to become instrumental, unawares, of promoting what has a tendency to be subservient to so mischievous a villany as the exclusion of their Royal Highnesses from the succession.

“ The second is, not only to expose the baseness, and discover the injustice of interrupting the line of succession in reference to protestant princes, after they had taken such pains to establish both the divine and legal right of it, with relation to a dangerous and different religion from the generality of the people, but also, to demonstrate the inconsistency of such an attempt with the fundamental rules of the constitution, and with the interest and safety of every cordial protestant and true Englishman. For though, where a person hath uncapacitated himself by a previous hatred of the politic society, and an habitual departure in the former course of his life from all the restrictions by which he is to be limited, who is admitted to the sovereignty, it may, in that case, be in the power of a parliament, pursuant to the fundamentals of the constitution, to declare such an one incapable of the succession, as unworthy of, and unqualified for the throne : Yet a parliament never had, and never pretended to have, a power of excluding those from the succession, who have all those qualifications which are either required or implied in original and fundamental contracts adapting them for the exercise of the sovereignty. Now, as I conceive that a short paper published to the foregoing purpose might be of some significance at this conjuncture, if not to divert them from all thoughts of a parliament, yet to hinder them from obtaining a corrupt one, and deter them from the pursuit of their villainous attempts, which
would

would be attended with bloody consequences to the innocent, as well as to the guilty: So I have digested several thoughts upon this subject, and do humbly conceive myself in some measure capable to perform something of this kind, if those whom you have opportunity of addressing shall judge it either reasonable or conducive to their interest, and to that of the public.

“ POSTSCRIPT.

“THERE is another affair wherein my credit may come to suffer, in which I must entreat you to do me right: It is already divulged in the Courant, as if I were to be pardoned, which, as people will be ready to think me accessory to the procuring of, so they may very justly thereupon imagine me to be a villain; and therefore, though I do not believe that there is any intention of including me in an amnesty; yet, it being in their power to do it without asking my leave, if they be so inclined, and judge it for their interest: I do not only solemnly declare, that I never demanded it, or contributed in the smallest degree to the obtaining of it; but I do hereby send you a full and true account of the manner how I resented it, when I was told that some busy people were officiously concerning themselves about me; and, as I do assure you that the inclosed paper contains an exact relation of what passed betwixt me and my wife in reference to that matter; so I not only give you liberty, but earnestly desire you, to communicate it to whomsoever you shall judge it convenient: And, as I am sure that, should any such thing be, it is merely designed for a snare; so I am firmly resolved never to trust them upon it, nor to venture, during this man's life, into any of his dominions, unless it be in conjunction with others, and that in order to vindicate the liberty of England, and to rescue religion and laws from under his talons. Pardon this trouble I have put you upon, and believe that I am, with the greatest sincerity, dear Sir, your most affectionate friend,

c C.”

It

It appears from this letter, that, supposing the Prince of Orange had not been disposed of himself to interfere in the affairs of Great Britain, there were not wanting some who were ready to furnish him with motives sufficient to justify his doing so. But, so long as the Princess was the next in succession to the crown, however he might secretly favour and encourage such as were disaffected to James's person and government, his good sense and sound policy, his interest, and even his ambition, dictated to him, not to risk the certain prospect of a kingdom, in the event of James's death, upon the precarious success of an attempt to obtain the immediate possession, by wresting it out of his hands.

In this situation matters might possibly have continued for some time longer, had not an event happened, which, whilst it tended to precipitate James into measures still more fatal to the religion and liberty of his subjects, determined them to *seek redress from a quarter* from which there was now less probability of their finding it in the course of nature; I mean the birth of a young prince, who was at once the object of all his father's wishes, and the source of all his woes; born to inherit his misfortunes, not his crown, and to transmit this important lesson to princes, That the monarch who, by violating the rights, has lost the affection of his subjects, runs the risk of entailing upon his own family the ruin he prepares for his people.

As this event stimulated the malecontents in Great Britain to be more urgent in their solicitations to the Prince of Orange, it not only afforded a more plausible pretext for his interposing in their behalf, but, at the same time, set him free from those restraints which had formerly kept him upon the reserve. Before this period, whatever motives we may ascribe to his enterprize, whether the glory of delivering oppressed nations, the desire of humbling the French monarch, and of being the head of the Protestant League, or even the ambition of wearing a crown, he had the prospect of one day accomplishing those ends, by means less violent in their nature, and less precarious in their success. Then he had every thing to lose, and little or nothing to gain. Now he had but little to lose, compared

The Prince
of Wales's
birth.

William
more openly
avows his a-
version to
James's mea-
sures,

and countenances the British refugees.

compared with the importance of the objects for which he contended. Accordingly, from this time forward, he more openly avowed his disapprobation of the bigotted and arbitrary measures of James, and afforded his protection to all whom those measures had driven from his kingdoms.

Holland swarmed with British refugees; the Prince's court was their asylum; where nothing was to be heard, but the murmurings and complaints of an injured people calling for redress.

Prepares for invading England,

Universal disaffection likewise prevailed among all ranks at home. Even the navy and the army were ripe for a revolt. And the eyes of all were directed, by a kind of foreboding impulse, towards William, as their only resource. That consummate politician, who well knew that the success of an invasion would depend upon the secrecy with which it was conducted, and the expedition with which it was executed, had fully digested the whole project in his own mind, had formed his resolution, had begun, and had almost finished his preparations, whilst he appeared with reluctance to hearken to the invitations he daily received, or to suffer any mention of it in his presence. Under various pretexts, which the situation of affairs then afforded, an army was ready to embark, and a fleet prepared to receive them, before William published his intentions, or the world began to suspect them. And the infatuated James scarcely saw the cloud gathering, when it burst with vengeance on his head.

and requires Mr Carstares's attendance upon him in the expedition.

As the Prince of Orange had often experienced Mr Carstares's fidelity and attachment upon former occasions, he resolved that he should be one of his retinue in this expedition; and, for that purpose, obtained leave of absence for him from the burgo-masters of Leyden; a favour, which, along with their kindness to him in other respects, he gratefully acknowledges in a letter of thanks which he wrote them after the revolution had taken place, and which may not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader.

A Leurs.

*A Leurs Seigneuries, Messeigneurs Les Bourgue-Maistres
de la Ville de Leyden.* *A LEYDEN.*

AYANT des obligations si grandes, et en si grande nombre, a vos Seigneuries, qui eurent la bonté de me confiderer d'une maniere si particuliere lors que j'estois en votre ville, comme estranger, et reduit à quitter le pais de ma naissance, a fin de pouvoir ailleurs jouir du repos de ma conscience, que je ne pouvois avoir en ma patrie. Je creu qu'il estoit de mon devoir, de me conduire d'une maniere, qui ne donnoit a vos Seigneuries aucun sujet de croire qu'elles avoient repandu leur faveurs sur une personne qui ne sceut pas les faire valoir comme il faut, et en avoir toute la reconnoissance possible. C'est pourquoy, Messeigneurs, comme je ne voulois pas, sans le consentement de vos Seigneuries, entreprendre de disposer de ma personne en accompagnant sa Majesté du present, en sa dernière expedition, laquelle fut entreprise avec autant de hazard qu'elle a esté suivie et couronné d'un succès glorieux; qui, comme il a esté, fera encore a ce que j'espère a l'avenir, pour la sûreté de l'intérêt des protestans, et a la confusion des desseins de leurs adversaires. Ainsi, je ne scaurois estre content, si je ne fais scavoir a vos Seigneuries, que je continue a estre ici, en vertu des mêmes commandemens par les quelles vos Seigneuries m'ordonnerent d'y venir, et que je ne aurois pas plutot obtenu de sa Majesté la permission de quitter l'Angleterre; que ma première et principale tâche sera de vous rendre mes devoirs, comme a mes genereux bienfaiteurs: Et je travaillerai, avec l'aide de Dieu, ou a m'aquitter du devoir de mon ministère envers l'église Angloise, qui est sous la protection de vos Seigneuries, ou du moins a vous rendre des raisons pourquoy je ne puis pas le faire, lesquelles seront telles que j'espère qu'elles ne satisferont pas seulement vos Seigneuries a mon égard; mais aussi qu'elles les engageront a continuer envers l'église Angloise la même faveur que vous avez eu la bonté de commencer en ma personne. Et je ne doute point, que cela ne tournera a l'avantage de cette grande ville, et de cette fameuse université, auxquelles vos Seigneuries.

His letter to
the magi-
strates of
Leyden.

neuries ont un si grand interest. Cependant je tascheray de tout mon pouvoir de faire en sorte que cela reussisse au bien de l'une et de l'autre.

Messeigneuries,

De vos Seigneuries

Le tres humble et tres fidelle

Sujet et serviteur,

WILLIAM CARSTARES.

The Prince's
fleet put back
by a storm.

The burgo-masters having chearfully complied with the Prince's request, he set out along with his Highness in quality of his domestic chaplain, and went aboard of his own ship. It is well known, that, upon their first setting out from the coast of Holland, the fleet was in imminent danger by a violent tempest, which obliged them to put back for a few days. Upon that occasion, the vessel which carried the Prince and his retinue narrowly escaped shipwreck, a circumstance which some who were around his person were disposed to interpret into a bad omen of their success. Among these, Dr Burnet happening to observe, that it seemed predestined that they should not set foot on English ground, the Prince said nothing; but, upon stepping a-shore at Torbay, in the hearing of Mr Carstares, he turned about to Dr Burnet, and asked him what he thought of the doctrine of predestination now?

Mr Car-
stares's ad-
vice to the
Prince.

As the Prince of Orange had declared, that one main design of his undertaking was, to protect the protestant religion as by law established, it was suggested to him by Mr Carstares, that it might have a good effect upon the army, and make a favourable impression upon the minds of the people, to conduct their landing with a religious solemnity. This suggestion was highly approved by the Prince; and, with this view, no sooner were the soldiers landed, than Mr Carstares performed divine service at the head of the army, after which, all the troops, as they stood along the beach, joined in singing the 118th psalm, before they encamped.

From

From this time, until the settlement of the crowns upon King William and Queen Mary, he still continued about the Prince's person ; and, as appears from some private papers, was now, as well as formerly, consulted and employed by the Prince in negotiating certain affairs, and disposing of certain sums, with which no other was entrusted *.

It was during this interval that he had it in his power to be of the greatest service, both to his own country, and to the Prince of Orange. Nothing of consequence was carried on relative to the settlement of Scotland which the Prince did not communicate to him, and permit him to give his sentiments of in private.

This was a matter which required the most delicate management. For, although the crowns of England and Scotland had been worn by the same monarchs, from the accession of James VI. of Scotland, till the desertion of James VII. yet the constitution and government of the two kingdoms had hitherto continued as distinct as they had been before the union of the crowns ; the measures, therefore, taken by the English, upon occasion of the revolution, were not binding upon the Scots ; and, even after William and Mary had ascended the throne of England, it was in the power of the Scots still to have adhered to their former sovereign, or to have settled the succession in any other manner which they deemed most for their own advantage. The privy-council, in whose hands

Difficulties
in the settle-
ment of
Scotland.

E 2

the

* In a paper of accounts of money disbursed by him for the Prince's service, he informs his Highness, that such and such sums he had disposed of in concert with my Lord Melvil ; but others, he at the same time tells him none were privy to but himself. Among other particulars, in this paper of disbursements, I find one sum stated to a Captain Wishart, who was master of the vessel in which Lord Argyle went home, " of whose honesty and willingness to serve his Highness, I am fully assured."

This is the only evidence I have ever met with, that Monmouth and Argyle were countenanced in their undertaking by the Prince of Orange. Here we have William giving money to the person who brought Argyle over, in order to assist the Duke of Monmouth in his rebellion, at the very time when he his offering, to James to come in person to extinguish that rebellion. The publisher leaves it to political casuists to solve this phaenomenon.

the administration of affairs was lodged, consisted of a set of men who had been hitherto violently attached to the interest of King James, who had gone all lengths in seconding some of his schemes, and even in anticipating others, for the advancement of popery and arbitrary power. At the same time, there were other circumstances which gave the lovers of their country some foundation to hope that Scotland would adopt the same plan with England upon this occasion, and which encouraged them to exert themselves in promoting such measures as were conducive to so desirable an end. The Scots had felt more sensibly than the English the violent encroachments made upon their civil and religious liberties, by the arbitrary measures of two successive reigns. The dismal effects of tyranny are most sensibly felt in remoter provinces, and it is always exercised with greater severity by a number than by a single person. The members of the privy-council in Scotland were so many petty tyrants, who vied with each other in acts of violence and oppression; and thus sought the more effectually to recommend themselves to the favour, whilst they undermined the interest, of the master whom they served.

Mr Carstares, who had many opportunities of studying the characters of those men in his private conferences with the Prince, assured him, that, however unjustifiable their conduct had hitherto been, he would find, upon making the experiment, that most of them were actuated by principles which, if properly directed, might render them instrumental in promoting his designs: That the same motives which rendered them formerly so subservient to James, would detach them from his fortunes so soon as he left the island: That, as the great body of the people were presbyterians, zealous in their principles in proportion to the sufferings they had undergone on account of them, and, consequently, not only alienated from the late administration, but ready, with open arms, to embrace him as their sovereign.—As an evidence of this last particular, he introduced to his Majesty the commissioners of the presbyterian clergy, who, upon intimation from him, had repaired to London with an
address

addresses full of gratitude to the Prince of Orange for his seasonable interposition. This address was the more acceptable, as it was thought to contain the sentiments of the commons of Scotland, whose oracles the clergy then were. As I find copies of this address, and likewise of that of the city of Edinburgh, written in Mr Carstares's hand, it is probable they were transmitted to Scotland by him, and adopted by these communities.—Nothing was now of such importance to William, in the prosecution of the extensive schemes he had projected, as that Scotland should instantly copy the pattern which England had set before it. Without this, he saw that he could neither reign in England with security, nor hold the balance of power in Europe with a steady hand. He was the more deeply interested, therefore, in the part that kingdom was to act, and the more desirous to bring matters there to a speedy issue. For this purpose, having called together such of the Scottish nobility and barons as were then at London, he, at their earnest request, assumed the administration of affairs, both civil and military, in that kingdom; and, in consequence of the powers with which he was thereby invested, he summoned an assembly of the estates, to meet at Edinburgh, and to take the state of the kingdom under their consideration.

By the advice of Lord Stair, and the activity of his son, the elections for representatives were so conducted, that the friends of King James could not avail themselves of that influence which he had acquired in the boroughs; and, at the same time, as the members were returned, according to this plan, by a poll of all the inhabitants, what they determined was considered as the voice of the people.

This convention of estates being met, first approved of the proceedings of the lords and barons at London, in placing the administration of government in the hands of William. They next found, that King James, by his evil deeds, had forfeited the crown. They framed a declaration of all the grievances the nation had sustained under the male-administration of the two preceeding reigns,
of

William
calls a con-
vention of e-
states to meet
at Edin-
burgh,

of which they now claimed redress. And, last of all, they resolved to make an offer of the crown to William and Mary.

The declaration, which is commonly stiled the *claim of right*, along with the tender of the crown, was carried to London by the Earl of Argyle, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple, commissioners chosen by the three estates of parliament. And, upon their taking the oath, which was administered to them by the Earl of Argyle, William and Mary were proclaimed, with the usual solemnities, King and Queen of Scotland.

William and Mary proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland.

Mr Carstares appointed their chaplain for Scotland.

No sooner was this ceremony over, than their Majesties gave Mr Carstares a proof of their esteem, by nominating him to be their chaplain for Scotland, and annexing the whole revenue belonging to the chapel-royal to that office, which he continued to enjoy all the days of his life. At the same time, his Majesty intimated to him, that he required his constant attendance upon his person: For this purpose, he assigned him apartments in his own palace when in England; and, when abroad, he allowed him L. 500 for camp-equipage every campaign*.

His first conversation with the King upon Scottish affairs.

As his situation gave him easy access to the King upon all occasions, so we find he improved it, by suggesting to his Majesty, without reserve, whatever he judged conducive to the interest of his native country, or the honour and stability of his Majesty's government. In a paper, written with his own hand, entitled, "Hints to the King," we have the substance of the first conversation he had with his Majesty upon Scottish affairs: In this he unfolds his senti-

* That monarch, amidst all the hurry of secular affairs in which he was involved, found leisure for performing the duties of piety and devotion, at which Mr Carstares frequently assisted him. Upon the day of battle, he always accompanied him in his chariot to the field. He had thus many opportunities of studying the character of that great man in the most trying circumstances, and of admiring his tranquility and composure immediately before action, as well as his absolute contempt of danger in the field. Mr Carstares ascribed both the one and the other to the influence of religious principles, no less than to constitutional courage.

sentiments upon several subjects relative to the settlement of Scotland, not with the timidity of a servile courtier, but with the freedom of an intimate friend. From this paper, it is easy to see to whom the church of Scotland was indebted for her re-establishment at that period. This is the first object Mr Carstares begs leave to suggest to his Majesty's attention.

The principal arguments he makes use of for this purpose are the following :

“ 1. That the episcopal party in Scotland was generally disaffected to the revolution, and enemies to the principles upon which it was conducted. Whereas, the presbyterians had almost to a man declared for it, and were, moreover, the great body of the nation; none, therefore, could think it strange, that the friends of a government should enjoy all the encouragement it can afford, whilst it with-held its countenance from open and avowed enemies.

“ 2. That the episcopal clergy in Scotland, particularly the prelates, had been so accustomed to warp their religious tenets with the political doctrines of regal supremacy, passive obedience, and non-resistance, that it became inconsistent with the very end of his coming, to continue episcopacy upon its present footing in Scotland.

“ 3. That, as it was impossible for his Majesty to show that favour to the non-conformists in England, who were a numerous body, and at the same time zealously attached to revolution-principles, which he was naturally disposed to do, because such a conduct would certainly awaken the jealousy of the church of England; here was an opportunity of effectually demonstrating to them, that the discouragements they might labour under during his administration were not owing to any prejudices he entertained against them, but to the necessity of the times, and the delicate situation in which he was placed.”

He next recommends to his Majesty's particular attention and encouragement, the several universities in Scotland, in order to their being immediately supplied with men of good learning and
found

found principles, as the only security for a right succession of clergy and statesmen in time to come.

He concludes with presuming to suggest two political maxims to his Majesty, which at once shew his moderation with respect to matters ecclesiastical, and his thorough knowledge of men and government: For, if King William erred in the course of his administration, it was either when he counteracted the one, or when he carried the other to too great a length.

He first cautions him against giving the smallest suspicion to any one of the contending parties, whether in church or state, that he was so far engrossed or monopolized by the other, as to adopt those private animosities or resentments with which they were inflamed against each other. Mr Carstares, though the best friend ever the presbyterians had at court, knew too well the spirit of the party, not to foresee the danger of their abusing that power which was to be put into their hands: That some, from the narrowness of their principles with respect to church-government, others, irritated by the personal injuries they had received from those of the episcopal persuasion, might be disposed to push matters further against them than was consistent with his Majesty's interest, or the maxims of sound policy. He was therefore of opinion, that the King should give them to understand, that he would have his ears ever open to the just complains of such as were injured or oppressed.

Upon this principle it was, that such of the episcopal clergy as took the oaths to government, were allowed to continue in their churches, and that so many enjoyed their livings without molestation from the civil government, who not only refused to take the oaths, and to pray for the King and Queen, but openly avowed themselves enemies to their government, and prayed publicly for the late King and his family. An instance of lenity which perhaps is not to be paralleled in any other government that ever existed upon the face of the earth *.

Upon

* As the fact here asserted seems to require proof, I shall vouch it by the two following letters written to Mr Carstares when with the King in Flanders, by the

Upon the same principle it was, that so many who had been active in carrying on the persecutions in Scotland under the preceding reigns were employed in this.

F

Another

the Reverend Mr David Blair one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and chaplain to the King. From which it will appear, that the lenity of government was not owing to ignorance, but to his Majesty's own moderation, and the prudence of those who were consulted by him in matters of this kind. For I do not find, from any letters about this period, either from the clergy or secretaries of state, that Mr Carstares, by his Majesty's authority, gives any countenance to complaints against intruders, although he chose to be informed of the particulars respecting their conduct.

DR BROTHER,

Edinburgh, November 19. 1692.

YOUR'S of the 8th current I received, and gave a return to it by a former post. I have had my own reasons why I was willing that you should be as punctually informed as possible of the carriage of the episcopal men north Tay, with respect to the civil authority. I gave you account formerly of Angus and Mearns, and now you shall have of Perth-shire, which comes to my hand from a minister of good judgement and great sobriety, who lives in those parts. I cannot give it better than in his own words, he writes so naturally, as follows : " The carriage of the late conformists in the shire of Perth is so well known to all who live in the head-town of it, that I believe they would be angry if any should impute it to them, that they complied with any public appointment of fasting or thanksgiving, or praying for King William and Queen Mary. There are only three in all the shire, of episcopal ministers, who are said to comply with these appointments, viz. Mr William Poplie in Rynd, Mr John Fall in Kinfauns, and Mr Hill in St Madoes. All the rest are contemners thereof. The sheriff has delated to the council but few of them, because there are many inferior judicatories within this shire, such as stewartries, which have their stewards, and regalties, which have their bailies. And he says, he is only concerned in the royalty, and by this means many are overlooked." He adds, " I am sorry there should be any fasts or thanksgivings appointed to be publicly kept in this shire, they are so generally despised, and the greatest despisers are as the observers, who yet incur no small odium for the observance. If there be not some course taken for punishing the contemners, the contempt will always be the greater." Thus far mine author ; and then sets down the names of the non-observers within

Another maxim he recommends to his Majesty upon the same occasion was this : To be extremely cautious in giving up any one branch of the royal prerogative, a danger to which he was the more exposed from having been raised to the throne by the voice of the people, in opposition to the violent encroachments of the royal prerogative under the preceeding reign.

And happy was it for Great Britain, that King William's temper naturally disposed him to act up to this maxim. Had it been otherwise, had the government, immediately upon the revolution, fallen into the hands of a sovereign more pliable, and less tenacious of the rights of the crown, that event would, in all probability, have terminated in the subversion of that constitution which it was intended to establish and confirm. How far the arguments which
Mr

within the shire of Perth, to the number of fifteen, and says, there are many others whose names he knows not. Amongst those he names, there is one Mr David Rankin, who, though deprived by the council, intrudes himself again into the church of Benethie. He mentions also one Mr William Smith of Monneydie, whom he calls so avowed a Jacobite, that he came to Perth on the 14th of October last, King James's birth-day, and baptized a child in the great church, who was named James, after the King. He acquaints me also, that all the disaffected curates within the shire are invited to preach in the kirk of Scoon, and this upon express condition, that if they pray for King William, he who gives the invitation will not have them. If you wish that I should continue to write you whilst you are in Flanders, let me know.

Your's, &c.

In a long letter, to which the foregoing refers, he says, "I gave you formerly an account of the episcopals in Fyfe. Now, take these following in Angus and Mearns under their several lists ; first, of those who pray not for King William and Queen Mary, nor observe fasts and thanksgivings, and yet enjoy their livings and stipends, to the number of seventeen. Secondly, Of those who having been outed by the council, do yet preach in these bounds, and pray not for their Majesties, but for King James, either expressly, or in terms very intelligible to all that hear them, to the number of eight. Thirdly, Of those who preach at times in the meeting-house of Dundee, and who pray for King James, either in express or intelligible words, to the number of six."

Mr Carstares made use of in favour of the establishment of presbytery in Scotland, weighed with King William, we cannot pretend to say; but it is certain, that it required all the influence which the friends of that form of church-government could exert, to prevail with him.

His sentiments upon ecclesiastical matters were formed upon the practice in Holland, where, though all religions are tolerated, yet one only is established and countenanced by the legislature. His great object, therefore, was to have the same form of church-government established over the whole island. And although, in this event, presbytery would have been more agreeable to his own principles than episcopacy, yet an union of the two churches, upon any reasonable terms, was so very eligible, and the points in dispute betwixt the two, in his estimation, so very trifling, that, could the church of England have been brought to lower their terms of communion, so as to comprehend the bulk of the non-conformists in that kingdom, he was fully determined never to abolish episcopacy in Scotland. And it was not, till he found that all attempts towards a comprehension in England would probably be rendered ineffectual, by the violence of the high-church party, that he yielded to the establishment of presbytery in Scotland.

King William's sentiments upon ecclesiastical matters.

Nor had he sooner consented, than, by the indiscreet management of those who were intrusted by him in the direction of Scottish affairs, and the head-strong violence of the presbyterian clergy, he began to repent of what he had done in their favour. As his own sentiments in religion were abundantly liberal, so it was a maxim with him, that, upon religious subjects, every man ought to be left at full liberty to think for himself; and he abhorred, from the bottom of his heart, as the worst of tyranny, every prostitution of civil authority, to the base purpose of lording it over the consciences of men. On this account, although he was very apt, in the multiplicity of business in which he was involved, to sign other papers, without perusing them with much attention, he was extremely cautious of giving his assent to any public deed in which the church

was concerned. Accordingly, when the original draught of the act for the settlement of presbytery in Scotland was sent up to him by Lord Melvil, he sent for Mr Carstares, and, after a long conversation upon the several clauses contained in it, he desired him to write, whilst he dictated the following remarks. A copy of them was sent down to the commissioner; the original Mr Carstares kept, and it is now in the publisher's custody. This paper does great honour to King William, as it shews us, in one view, the clearness of his head, the integrity of his heart, and the moderation of his principles; and, on these accounts, it well merits a place in this work. It is entitled thus :

His remarks
upon the act
1690, settling
church-go-
vernment in
Scotland.

“ His Majesty's Remarks upon the Act* for settling Church-government in Scotland, which was sent up to him by my Lord Commissioner, along with some reasons designed for clearing of it, and in answer to some objections that might be made against it.

“ 1st, Whereas in the draught it is said, that the church of Scotland was reformed from popery by presbyters, *without prelacy*, his Majesty thinks, that, tho' this matter of fact may be true, which he doth not controvert; yet, it being contradicted by some, who speak of a power that superintendants had in the beginning of the reformation, which was like to that which bishops had afterwards, it were better it were otherwise expressed.

“ 2^{do}, Whereas it is said, their Majesties do ratify the presbyterian church-government to be *the only government of Christ's church in this kingdom*, his Majesty desires it may be expressed otherwise, thus, To be the government of the church in this kingdom established by law.

“ 3^{tio}, Whereas it is said, that the government is to be exercised by sound presbyterians, and such as shall hereafter be owned by presbyterian judicatories *as such*, his Majesty thinks that the rule is too general, depending as to its particular determination upon particular mens opinion; and therefore he desires, that what is said to be the meaning of the rule in the reasons that were sent along with
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* See the act itself in the appendix.

the act may be expressed in the act itself, viz. That such as subscribe the Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and are willing to submit to the government of the church, being sober in their lives, sound in their doctrine, and qualified with gifts for the ministry, shall be admitted to the government.

“4to, Whereas it is desired to be enacted, that the general meeting of the ministers do appoint visitors for purging the church, &c. his Majesty thinks fit, that, for answering the objections that are proposed against this method in the reasons sent up to him along with the act, that what in these reasons is expressed by *may be*, as to the concern of his privy-council in that matter, and the presenting of these visitors to the commissioner, that he may see they are moderate men, be plainly expressed in the act itself, *that it should be*, &c.

“5to, As to what concerns the meeting of synods, and general assemblies, his Majesty is willing that it should be enacted, that they meet at such and such times of the year, and so often as shall be judged necessary, provided always that they apply to him or the privy-council, to know if there be any inconvenience as to public affairs in their meetings at such times, and have his approbation accordingly.

“6to, Whereas it is desired to be enacted, that the parishes of those thrust out by the people in the beginning of this revolution be declared vacant, upon this reason, *because they were put upon congregations without their consent*, his Majesty desires it may be expressed in such a manner, as is perfectly consistent with the rights of patrons, which he hath the more reason to insist upon, that, in the paper sent up along with the act, it seems to be acknowledged, that this procedure is extraordinary, and, therefore, ought not to be drawn into consequence.

“I A. B. do sincerely declare and promise, that I will own and submit to, and peaceably live under, the present government of the church, as it is by law established in this kingdom, and that I will heartily concur with and under it, for the suppressing of vice and wickedness,

wickedness, the promoting of piety, and the purging the church of all erroneous and scandalous ministers.

“It is his Majesty’s pleasure, that such as shall declare, as is above written, and assent and consent to the Confession of Faith now confirmed by act of parliament as the standard of the protestant religion in that kingdom, shall be reputed sound and orthodox ministers.

“It is his Majesty’s pleasure too, that those who do not own and yield submission to the present church-government in Scotland shall have the like indulgence that the presbyterians have in England.

“His Majesty thinks fit that the clause, from 30 to 54, be left out, as not being necessary.

“His Majesty’s desire to have what he grants to the church of Scotland to be lasting, and not temporary, makes him incline to have the above mentioned amendments made upon the act*.”

This

* The above remarks were sent down to the Earl of Melville, along with a letter from the King. The original is in the possession of the Right Honourable the Earl of Leven, and is thus entitled,

“Remarks upon the Act for settling Church-Government, with the King’s Letter, May 22. 1690, whereby it will appear, Instructions were exactly observed, in so far as was possible, without hazarding the Ruin of the Kingdom.”

There is only one particular in which the paper in my Lord Leven’s custody differs from that which is in the hands of the publisher, and it is remarkable, viz. after the 6th remark, in the copy sent down to Lord Melville, it runs thus:

“His Majesty’s resolution to be candid in what he does, and his desire that what is granted by him to the church may not be uneasy to him afterwards, incline him to have the above mentioned amendments in the act.

Then follows the letter.

(Supra scribitur) W. R.

“Right trusty, and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, We greet you well. We have considered the act anent church-government, and have returned the same, with the alterations we have thought proper should be made upon it; however, we leave you some latitude, which we wish you would use with as much caution as you can, and in the way will be most for our service. Given under our royal hand, at our court at Kensington, the 2d of May 1690, and of our reign the second year.

W. R.*

This paper of remarks throws considerable light upon the state of church-matters at the revolution. In the preceeding session of parliament, King William, being, with considerable difficulty, prevailed upon to consent to the abolition of prelacy in Scotland, still kept sight of his favourite object, which was an entire union betwixt the two kingdoms, both in church and state. For this reason, he absolutely refused to give his assent to an act, which was proposed by some of the rigid presbyterians, asserting, that presbytery was the only form of church-government agreeable to the word of God. For the same reason, he suggests his own doubts in these remarks upon the act 1690, with respect to the reformation, by means of presbyters, in order to prevent any thing from being introduced into that act of parliament which might have a tendency to obstruct the union of the two churches in some future period. Whereas, by resting the establishment of church-government solely upon the inclinations of the people, he established a precedent which might afterwards be improved for promoting that union.

Observations upon the foregoing original paper.

It is evident, from another of these remarks, that, when King William gave his assent to the act establishing presbytery, he was so far from considering the law of patronage as in the least inconsistent with that form of church-government, that, in one of the amendments, he appears extremely tender of the rights of patrons, and solicitous to guard them against the smallest encroachments. Accordingly, in the draught of an act which was sent down by Mr Carstares to the Duke of Hamilton, then commissioner, and by him proposed to the parliament in the year 1689, we may see the sentiments of King William himself, and of those with whom he consulted, upon that subject. See *Appendix*.

This overture, when offered by the commissioner, was opposed by another from Lord Cardross for abolishing patronages, as well as episcopacy; upon which the commissioner, afraid, in the present temper of the parliament, to bring the two overtures to a vote, proposed to delay the settlement of the church till a further day, and, before that time, adjourned the parliament.

As

Mr Carstares
against the a-
bolition of
patronage at
the revolu-
tion,

As Mr Carstares was King William's chief confident and adviser in church-matters, the more zealous presbyterians blamed him at that time as the cause of the King's reluctance to yield to their solicitations in the affair of patronages.

On the other hand, Mr Carstares blamed them for asking more of King William when he was established upon the throne, than a compliance with the articles in the claim of right, which, without any mention of patronage, only complains of prelacy, or the superiority of any church-officers above presbyters, as a grievance.

He knew, that, from the reformation, down to the revolution, in all the vicissitudes of church-government, patronage had been the law of the land. He knew, that, by the act 1592, which has always been considered as the grand charter of presbyterian government, patronages were incorporated with its very constitution. And he knew King William was too tender of his prerogative, to allow any authority to the act of estates in 1649, which had been expressly rescinded by an act of parliament, as a violation of the constitution. Besides, Mr Carstares was too well acquainted with the circumstances of the country, with the King's temper, and with the indiscreet zeal of some of his brethren the presbyterians, not to foresee the danger of gratifying them in all their demands; and he found himself obliged, in his applications to the King in their behalf, to make a just distinction betwixt what was essential to that form of church-government, and what was absolutely distinct from it. Of this last kind he considered the article of patronage; and, instead of advising the repeal of that law as beneficial to the church, he was afraid that such a step might have a quite contrary tendency, and prove, in the end, prejudicial, not only to the King's interest, but to the presbyterians themselves, by throwing more power into their hands than they knew how to use with moderation.

The clergy of that persuasion, having been deprived, for near thirty years, of the established livings, were then reduced to a state of absolute dependence upon their hearers for their subsistence: A circumstance

stance extremely unfavourable to the dignity of the ministerial character, by deterring men of spirit from entering into that profession, and by debasing the minds of those who do. Mr Carstares, from the first establishment of presbytery, dreaded the consequences which might ensue, from entrusting the whole government of the church, and the disposal of its benefices, in the hands of a set of men who were tainted with all the prejudices of the people, and, at the same time, irritated by a sense of recent injuries. Whilst he advised, therefore, the establishment of presbytery, he was of opinion, that it ought to be of the most moderate kind, and so modelled, as to admit of the assumption of such of the episcopal clergy as took the oaths to government, upon the mildest terms. This he foresaw would not be the case, unless the right of patrons were preserved, as a check upon the clergy.

Although my Lord Melvill did not differ, in his sentiments upon these subjects, from Mr Carstares, his situation was widely different. As the head of the presbyterians in Scotland, he saw that his whole credit and influence in administration depended upon that party's maintaining the superiority which it had acquired, and found himself obliged to yield to some of their demands, in church-matters, which he did not approve.

The presbyterians, before the revolution, as well as the dissenters from every legal establishment, had been in use to chuse their own clergy, because they paid them for their labours out of their own pockets. As this was a privilege upon which they put a very high value, it was natural for the body of the people to wish to retain the election of their spiritual teachers, even when freed from the burden of their maintenance. They were encouraged to make this demand, by the concessions which had already been made to them by King William, and especially by his placing Lord Melvill, their patron, at the head of administration in Scotland. And that nobleman found himself so situated, that he must either comply, or break with them for ever. He chose the former, and gave the royal assent to the act repealing patronage.

Lord Melvill gives the royal assent to the act abolishing patronage.

The effects
of this act.

The effects of such liberal concessions soon justified Mr Carstares's apprehensions. The presbyterian clergy, instead of conducting themselves with that temper and moderation which sound policy dictated, and the King earnestly enjoined, so disgusted him with their proceedings, by narrowing the terms of assumption for the episcopal clergy, and rejecting the plan of accommodation which was offered in their name, and approved by the King, that his Commissioner to the General Assembly, according to his instructions, suddenly dissolved that court in the year 1692; and it was with no small difficulty that William could be prevailed with to countenance its meeting for the future.

Their conduct in this particular likewise irritated the episcopal clergy to such a degree, that few of them chose to incorporate with the establishment.

In this way, whole provinces were deprived of the means of religious instruction, especially in the north, where the most part of the people was inclined to episcopacy.

As there was not a sufficient number of presbyterian clergy to supply so great a demand, presbyteries were obliged to licence many who were far from being possessed of that literature, liberality of sentiment, or those other accomplishments which are deemed ornamental to the ministerial character; and the want of these endowments was no disqualification in the eye of those into whose hands the election, by this mode of church-settlements, was suffered to fall. For although, by the act 1690, the election of ministers was vested in the conjunct body of heritors and elders, yet it was in the power of the clergy, in every instance, to throw the balance into the hands of the elders, by increasing their number, (to which the law had fixed no limitations), in what proportion they pleased: And I find numberless complaints made to Mr Carstares upon this head by the nobility and gentry in different parts of Scotland, during the reigns both of King William and Queen Anne.

All

All these particulars were represented, and probably aggravated to the King, by Lord Melvill's enemies at court, as the consequence of his yielding to give the royal assent to the act abolishing patronages; and they made such impression upon him, that, although he had once given that nobleman instructions, authorising him to pass an act to that purpose, in case the parliament demanded it*; yet he not only refused to give him any exoneration for his conduct in that affair as Commissioner, but determined to put the administration of Scotland into other hands.

This change of administration afforded Mr Carstares another opportunity of doing an essential service to the church of Scotland. Those who were now employed by his Majesty, finding him disgusted with the presbyterian clergy, for their aversion to the moderate measures he had recommended, fell upon a method of turning the very weapons which the friends of presbytery had forged for their security, against them. In the parliament which sat in the year 1693 †, an act was passed, obliging all in office to take the oath of allegiance to their Majesties, and at the same time to sign the assurance, (as it was called), whereby they declared William to be King *de jure*, as well as *de facto*. As this was the first instance of an oath and declaration of that kind imposed upon the church; and as those who urged it were known to be none of her friends, the presbyterian ministers took the alarm, and con-

The oath of
allegiance
and assu-
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* By an authentic paper, in my Lord Leven's possession, it appears that Lord Melvill was instructed to pass an act, abolishing lay-patronages, provided the parliament desired it. It is true, this paper is of a date prior to the paper of remarks sent down by Mr Carstares. But, as it does not appear that the King had expressly withdrawn his instructions upon that head, my Lord Melvill might think himself at liberty still to give the royal assent to that act. We are happy in having it in our power to do justice to Lord Melvill's character in this particular, in which it has been misrepresented by others, particularly by Dr Burnet, whose mistakes, in his account of the transactions in Scotland during this period, are the more excusable, that he himself tells us, he was not permitted to meddle in Scottish affairs.

† 1 par. 4. sess. chap. 6.

dered it as intended with a view to involve them in the same situation with the episcopal clergy. They were instigated in their opposition to it by their friends the presbyterians in England, who were at great pains to inflame them with the same resentments which they themselves entertained against the measures then adopted by the King. This will appear by the following letter, addressed to some of the leading ministers among the presbyterians, and by them transmitted to Mr Carstares. It gives us a lively representation of the temper of the party at the time when it was written, and throws light upon some transactions, during that period, relative to Scottish affairs. I have therefore thought that it would not be unacceptable to the reader.

“ I perceive you are very desirous to know what the presbyterians here think of the comprehension-bill, and the oath of assu-
rance, which the ministers and preachers are appointed to take. I must acknowledge, that the orders and proceedings are of such weight and importance, both of themselves, and from the present juncture, that they will infallibly produce, either a firm establishment, or certain destruction to your church, according as you are directed to carry it under them ; so that your curiosity is seasonable, and very well grounded. I wish you have made no mistake in the choice of the person who is to satisfy you ; for the subject is nice and delicate upon which you desire my thoughts, and the sentiments of others.

“ However, I shall obey you as well as I can, and shall acquaint you candidly, without partiality, artifice, or design, with some short hints of the reasonings and conclusions of a great many honest and knowing persons here upon the late transactions in Scotland, which they have calmly examined, without any such partiality to the present or late King as might bribe their judgment ; since they hold it a fundamental maxim, that the interest of the church is paramount to that of the King.

“ Your comprehension-bill was contrived, and certainly designed, by the friends of the hierarchy here, as an engine to destroy
presbytery ;

presbytery; and, though the presbyterians have had the interest to thrust in some clauses which seem to obviate the danger, yet, upon the whole matter, the bill, as it stands, is of most dangerous consequence to the government. The King will certainly be dissatisfied with it; for, having made himself a party, and visibly discovered his inclination for it, by his commissioner's ushering in the bill, he must be displeased with foisting in such clauses as quite destroy the design of it, by excluding the episcopal clergy, except upon conditions they cannot accept; and since, by the interest of the church-party here, the King hath been prevailed upon to threaten presbytery in Scotland with such a fatal blow, as the comprehension-bill in the original draught of it would have been, he must go through so far, as not to appear baffled in his design, and losing both sides; the one, by threatening in vain, the other, by not following it home with steadiness and vigour. For, the address contained in the comprehension-bill, for calling a general assembly, you will observe, wounds the rights and privileges of your church in a most sensible manner, since it supposeth that there is no assembly in being, by which the King's dissolution of the last assembly is approved, the assembly's protestation of adjournment is condemned, and the intrinsic power of the church in calling and continuing of assemblies *pro re nata*, with the right of annual assemblies, given them by the act of settlement, are struck off. For since, when an assembly is in being by an adjournment upon the foot of the church's intrinsic power, you think fit to address the King for calling an assembly to an indefinite time, it clearly imports all that is mentioned above, and furnishes so good a handle and pretence of right to the court, whereby to curb and baffle general assemblies, these bulwarks of presbyterian government, which will never, to be sure, be neglected by our episcopal church, or the patrons of episcopacy with you. So that, in effect, an address of this nature is an address for the extinguishing, rather than calling general assemblies.

“ And the comprehension-bill, though it miss of its first design, will have the same consequences in a different method, by incensing
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the King against you, destroying the main strength and principal privileges of the church, and by exposing the party to the obloquies of the world, in defeating so scandalous a bill with so little address; seeing it might have been done to much better purpose, and with a much better grace. But, all the dangers which threaten you at some distance, by the comprehension-bill, with many others, are brought home to your very doors, by the act enjoining preachers and ministers to take the oaths of allegiance and assurance. Your enemies could not have contrived a more colourable, nor a more effectual method for blasting your present establishment, and your future hopes, for ruining you with the present, and rendering you infamous to all future generations. It obligeth you dogmatically to define and determine points, which, in themselves, have been doubtful and disputable, and, amongst all nations, both in the doctrine and application, and that too, under the sacred seal of an oath; for it obligeth you to decide betwixt right and wrong, in things without your proper sphere, and in a sense false and inconsistent: It obligeth you to lay aside your reason, to forget all prudential considerations, and deliver yourselves up, fast bound, as a sacrifice, upon every change and revolution: It obligeth you to act contrary to your former rules, without one precedent from former ages. Nay, you are, by that act, enjoined to make a precedent, by which the church shall be miserably enslaved, and ministers necessitated to juggle with Almighty God by oath, for which the present and future generations shall hold them in detestation.

“Where is there a point that hath been more earnestly and obstinately disputed, than the doctrine of deposing kings and magistrates? Are there not arguments brought from the holy Scriptures, from the nature of magistracy, from the peace of society, from the dreadful consequences, the vast deluges of blood, the lamentable dissolution of kingdoms which have followed such undertakings, whereby many learned and pious men have endeavoured, at all times, to overthrow that king-dethroning power, which never can be practised without

without greater effusion of blood, and violation of all rights, than the greatest tyrants have ever occasioned.

“Have the patrons of these principles been able to answer all these objections, and give entire satisfaction on the head? No, surely. They are necessitated, by the strength of those reasons which stare them in the face, to shroud themselves under such refined notions of government, as render their principles impracticable with any manner of safety. There is not in man wisdom enough to comprehend those mysterious schemes of government they lay before us; there is not virtue enough to execute them. And yet, however doubtful the problem be, by the oath you are enjoined by parliament to take, you are not only obliged to assert this king-dethroning principle, but to seal it in the presence of God Almighty, by swearing allegiance to King William, whose royalty is founded upon this principle alone. Again, how can you, with any manner of reason and justice, declare, that your present governor is King *de jure*, as well as *de facto*, seeing you will not pretend that you have looked into your antient laws and constitution so narrowly, that you have examined the grounds and reasons of King James’s forfeiture so exactly, as to enable you to make so grave and important a declaration? Or rather, have you not, by asserting in your Confession of Faith, that difference in religion doth not vacate the subject’s allegiance, given up what was declared by the meeting of estates to be the most important reason for faulting King James? There is a more particular tenderness expected from ministers of the gospel than from other men: They are not obliged implicitly to obey orders of state, nor to engage in the decision of questions so intricate in themselves; for you do not know in what sense it is you are to declare your present governor King *de jure*, whether by right of blood, of election, or conquest. All the three have been pleaded for; nor has the parliament as yet decided the point. So that, by this oath, you are to declare you know not what; at least, you are to declare, by oath, for whatever the state shall ordain for the future; a piece of complaisance, methinks, beneath the dignity of a rational soul.

foul. Besides, you are indebted solely to the meeting of estates for abolishing episcopacy, and the holding forth of presbytery as the national church; they not only exacted these things, but recorded them as so many conditions of the surrender of the crown; without which precaution, it is much to be feared, the same councils might have prevailed to obtain a continuation of episcopacy, had the decision of that question been left to the civil magistrate; so that the point now in consideration is, Whether you ought to link yourselves so inseparably to a government, where the prevailing councils are contrary to you, and declare against another, whose interest it is now to support you, and who have testified their inclination to be suitable to their interest?

“ But why should a parliament, at this time of day, which pretends to be so friendly to you, attempt to impose a yoke upon your presbyterian church, which neither you nor your fathers were ever made sensible of before? Amidst all the struggles among you about controverted titles to the crown, the church was never obliged by oaths to either of the contending parties. It never entered into the heart of any civil magistrate, either among you or among any foreign nation, to pursue such a politic, until of late that set and party began to bear sway in our public council. I find no instances of it in the history of England or of Scotland; neither doth the annals of the Roman empire, of France, or Spain, where we have the most monstrous examples of contending parties, furnish us with any precedent of this nature.

“ The church of England, indeed, upon the revolution, have been, by order of parliament, obliged to take party-oaths; for the present oath of allegiance is no other. But a great many of their clergy have stood out, though their laws give some countenance to a King *de facto*; whereas there is no such pretence from your law. There is no countenance to a King in possession without right to be found in the language of your law; and yet you are obliged, by the last orders of your parliament, to declare a right, as well as a possession, and a right too of an unknown, indefinite, and illimited

mitted nature. From all which it doth plainly appear, that, by the malice of your enemies, in order to the rendering of you odious and despicable, you are designed to be made a precedent to the greatest mischief that ever befell the church, which, if it take place, must accustom ministers to different and contradictory oaths, calculated for the various systems of human affairs, and engage you in civil broils and disputes: And, should the church of England, when it comes home to their doors, refuse to declare the right, as well as the possession, of the present King and Queen, as they have already done, and will always certainly do, how despicable will you become? Rouze up yourselves and your antient principles, which have hitherto born you up under all your difficulties, and, in the gap, bravely face the danger, and generously ward off the blow which is designed against your church, by a set of counsellors, who would gladly see all churches and their discipline destroyed: And be assured, the state will never give you trouble on so invidious a head."

This letter contains the substance of the argument which determined the presbyterian clergy to refuse signing the declaration, which they now considered as a snare laid for them by those who were in office, to afford them a fair pretext of representing them to the king as no less enemies to himself and his measures than the episcopals, and thereby of withdrawing from them that countenance and protection he had hitherto afforded them. They made application, therefore, to the privy-council, who, by the law, had a power to dispense with the requisition of the declaration in such cases as they should think proper; but the privy-council were so far from complying with their demands, that they recommended to his Majesty, that an order should be issued out for every minister's taking the oath, and signing the assurance, before he should be allowed to take his seat in the ensuing assembly.

Some who were about his Majesty at this time took advantage of Mr Carstares's absence from court, to urge the King to a compliance, alledging, that it was required in the very terms of the act of parliament. Upon this, his Majesty gave instructions to his commissioner,

H

Lord

The oath of
allegiance
and assu-
rance requi-
red of all the
presbyterian
clergy;

Lord Carmichael, to require all the representatives of the clergy in the ensuing general assembly to sign the assurance; and, if they refused, to dissolve the assembly in his Majesty's name.

which they
refuse.

Upon Lord Carmichael's arriving in Edinburgh, and communicating his orders to some of the clergy in town, he found them obstinate in their resolutions not to comply. They assured him, that their sentiments upon the subject were the same with those of all their brethren in the country; and that, if this measure were persisted in, it would spread a flame over the country, which it would not be in the power of such as had given his Majesty these counsels to extinguish.

The commis-
sioner to the
assembly lays
the matter
before the
King,

The commissioner saw, that all his attempts to bring them to better temper would be vain and fruitless. At the same time, he was sensible that the dissolution of the assembly would not only prove fatal to the church of Scotland, to which he was a real friend, but also to his Majesty's interest in that kingdom. From a sincere regard to both, therefore, he undertook to lay the matter, as it stood, fairly before the King; and, for that purpose, sent off a flying packet, which he expected to return from London, with the King's final determination, the night before the assembly was appointed to meet. At the same time, the clergy sent up a memorial to Mr Carstairs, urging him to use his good offices, in this critical conjuncture, for the preservation of that church which he had so active a hand in establishing.

who renewed
his injunc-
tions.

The flying-packet arrived at Kensington in the forenoon of that day upon which Mr Carstairs returned. But, before his arrival, his Majesty, by the advice of Lord Stair and Lord Tarbat, who represented this obstinacy of the clergy as an act of rebellion against his government, had renewed his instructions to the commissioner, and sent them off by the same packet.

Mr Carstairs
recalls the
dispatches.

When Mr Carstairs came to Kensington and received his letters, he immediately inquired what was the nature of the dispatches his Majesty had sent off for Scotland; and, upon learning their con-
tents,

tents, he went directly, and, in his Majesty's name, required the messenger, who was just setting off, to deliver them up to him. It was now late at night; and, as he knew no time was to be lost, (the general assembly being to sit in a few days,) he ran to his Majesty's apartment; and, being informed by the Lord in waiting that he was gone to bed, he told him, it was a matter of the last importance which had brought him at that unseasonable hour, and that he must see the King.

Upon entering the chamber, he found his Majesty fast asleep, upon which, turning aside the curtain, and falling down upon his knees, he gently awaked him. The King, astonished to see him at so late an hour, and in this posture by his bed-side, asked him what was the matter? He answered, he had come to ask his life. And is it possible, said the King, that you have been guilty of a crime that deserves death? He acknowledged he had, and then produced the dispatches he had brought back from the messenger. And have you, says the King, with a severe frown, have you indeed presumed to countermand my orders? Mr Carstares then begged leave only to be heard a few words, and he was ready to submit to any punishment his Majesty should think proper to inflict. He said,

His interview with the King.

“ That the King had now known him long, and knew his entire fidelity and attachment to his person and government. Some of his servants in Scotland might find it their interest to impose upon his Majesty, to screen themselves from his merited displeasure. Others might, under the mask of zeal for his service, seek only to gratify their own private resentments; and, whilst they pretended to conciliate all parties to his government, might pursue such measures as would only unite them in opposing it.

“ That this was the foundation of all those factions which had hitherto rent that kingdom, and made its crown sit so uneasy upon his head: That, for his own part, he could call God to witness, that, ever since he entered into his Majesty's service, he had no interest, for he could have none, separate from that of his master: That, though he had been educated a presbyterian, and, on that account, had a natural bias to this form of church-government; yet

his Majesty knew, that, when he recommended the establishment of presbytery in Scotland, he did it, because he was firmly persuaded the presbyterians were the only friends his Majesty had in that country : That his regard to their principles had not rendered him blind to their faults : That he had been aware of the indiscreet use they would make of the liberal concessions in their favour in Lord Melville's parliament, and had freely given his sentiments upon that head : That, with the same freedom, he had remonstrated against the precipitate measures adopted in the last session of parliament, under the pretext of correcting the errors of the former : That the effects had justified his opinion of both. The first had alienated all the episcopals, the last, great part of the presbyterians, from his administration. One thing alone was wanting to complete the wishes of his enemies, and that was, to cement the two parties by one common bond of union : That nothing could be better calculated for this purpose, than the advice which had been given to his Majesty to push the administration of the oaths to the ministers before the sitting down of the assembly : That, although there was nothing unreasonable in what his Majesty required, yet some who had credit with them had fallen upon methods to represent their compliance as inconsistent with their principles, and had been so far successful, that they were determined not to comply : That, however unjustifiable in other respects their conduct might be, it proceeded from no disaffection to his person and government ; and that, whilst this was the case, it was more for his Majesty's interest to confirm their attachment, by dispensing with the rigour of the law, than to lose their affections by enforcing it. What avail oaths and promises to a Prince, when he has lost the hearts of his subjects ? Now was the time, therefore, to retrieve his affairs in that kingdom : That, by countermanding the instructions he had sent down to his commissioner, he conferred the highest obligations upon the whole body of the presbyterian clergy, gratified all his friends in that kingdom, and effectually thwarted the insidious arts of his and their enemies."

The

The King heard him with great attention, and, when he had done, gave him the dispatches to read, and desired him to throw them in the fire; after which, he bid him draw up the instructions to the commissioner in what terms he pleased, and he would sign them. Mr Carstares immediately wrote to the commissioner, signifying, that it was his Majesty's pleasure to dispense with putting the oaths to the ministers; and, when the King had signed it, he immediately dispatched the messenger, who, by being detained so many hours longer than he intended, did not arrive in Edinburgh till the morning of the day fixed for the sitting of the assembly.

Obtains his request.

By this time, both the commissioner and the clergy were in the utmost perplexity. He was obliged to dissolve the assembly; they were determined to assert their own authority independent of the civil magistrate. Both of them were apprehensive of the consequences, and looked upon the event of this day's contest as decisive with respect to the church of Scotland; when, to their inexpressible joy, they were relieved by the return of the packet, countermanding the dissolution of the assembly. Next to the establishment of presbytery in Scotland, no act of King William's administration endeared him so much to the presbyterians as this. They considered it as a certain proof that his own inclinations were altogether favourable to them, and that any difficulties they laboured under ought to be imputed to his ministers, not to himself. It was soon understood what part Mr Carstares had acted upon this occasion; it gave him entire credit with the whole body of the presbyterians, who had of late begun to suspect that he had deserted their cause; and it was gratefully acknowledged by most of the clergy after he came to reside in Scotland. In one instance, indeed, he was obliged to put them in remembrance of it. When some of his zealous brethren, in the heat of debate in a general assembly, charged him with want of zeal for the interest of the church of Scotland; which provoked him to such a degree, that, in spite of his natural modesty and coolness of temper, he rose up, and begged leave, in justice to his own character, to observe, "That such a reflection came

came with a very bad grace from any man who sat in that court, which, under God, owed its existence to his interposition: That if ever, in any one instance, his zeal had carried him beyond the bounds of discretion, it was in favour of the church of Scotland: That he never had received a frown from the greatest and the best of masters but one, and it was on her account. The following letter wrote immediately after the sitting down of that assembly, to which the foregoing passage relates, may serve to throw some light upon this interesting transaction. The letter is not signed, but it is written by one, who, from several letters of a posterior date, seems to have been much consulted in Scottish affairs.

Edinburgh, March 31. 1694.

“ S I R,

A letter to
Mr Carstairs
relative to
the forego-
ing transac-
tion.

“ I longed for an occasion to write to you, as it is a sort of converse which may be held with a distant friend. I gave your service to the D. of Q. and your thankful acknowledgements, as you desired me; and, in return, by a letter I had from him the other day, he sends you, by me, his thanks very heartily for your so obliging acknowledgements. He bids me tell you, he is to be in town next week, and has something farther to say upon that subject, of which he will then let me give you an account. Believe me, he is very sensible of the injuries you have suffered, and of what your deportment at this time (which, till of late, had been misunderstood) has been, and does deserve. He himself, to deal plainly with you, has had, by his retirement, the happy opportunity of thinking, through the want of which the best men are hurried into mistakes, and the best measures ruined.

“ Though the matter be now happily over, I cannot forbear to say somewhat to you of the late order that was, after our friends parted, elicited from the King, enjoining the assembly to take the oaths before they were constituted. I confess I do not call to mind any such stumbling act, in all the administration of affairs since the
revo-

revolution, as it is, nor a design so deeply laid, or of more pernicious consequence, or of a more dangerous tendency: It is a strange thing for every part of it to be awry, and all over foul: It would, if you had not prevented, embroiled all matters: The assembly must assuredly have broke up in the greatest disorder; and God knows what the consequences might have been. What a heinous thing was it, and how treacherous too, to procure of the King such an order, as if it were in the precise terms of the act of parliament? This is that which makes it most treacherous, to put a thing in it which might have made a King more versant in the law than ours can be, swallow it down. I am sure, if ever there was a gross act of leasing-making, this is one. I am sure it has been originally advised from this: I can, as plainly as sun-shine, see Tarbat and old Stairs's hands in it. To sham a King, by a committee who is trusted, is a thing utterly intolerable. Your countermanding it came most seasonably to prevent the mischief of it, and has endeared the King mightily to the ministers; and, I hope, may prove a great mean to make them to proceed with that moderation you recommend: But, as this is prevented, it were of great consequence, that the fears of such future escapes were likewise removed, which can never be, so long as the procurer is in that post, which may endanger a relapse. On my conscience, he should lose his head for it, if it were right; but, to continue him in his post is unpardonable; and the sooner he is turned out the better, as it would appear such a favour to the nation. Justice in a Prince vigorously execute is more reconciling than a thousand favours are; besides endearing the King more to his friends, it would deter enemies. Now, pray let the King be urged to remove him, and presently. He can have no great need of secretaries till he return; and then, if he be not convinced that it is best to rest on a single secretary, let him have another. This I'll answer for; and I'll do it upon the peril of my interest with the King, and his future favour, which I would not easily be persuaded to part with; that all the Jacobites would be discouraged by it; and that there is not a man, a thorough-hearted friend

friend to the King's interest, who shall not be well pleased. Thus, dear Mr Carstares, you see how my zeal transports me to show myself a fool perhaps. I acknowledge it; but you will own I am an honest fool. And I declare to you, in the sight of God, it is not pique, or private grudge, that prompts me, but my affection to the government. Farewell."

The foregoing particulars are all we have been able to learn concerning Mr Carstares, from his birth to the year 1693, when the regular correspondence betwixt him and the officers of state in Scotland, now in the hands of the publisher, begins: From that time to the death of King William, the best history of his life is contained in that correspondence; from which it appears, that, during this period, he had, by his intimate friendship with the Earl of Portland, and his personal favour with the King, the chief direction of Scottish affairs, and was considered by his correspondents as a kind of viceroy for Scotland. As that nobleman was the greatest personal favourite King William ever had, and, as some historians of that period were at a loss to account for it, we shall make no apology for the following anecdote which Mr Carstares used to relate:

Anecdote
concerning
the Earl of
Portland.

"Mr Bentink was brought up with the Prince from his infancy: He was the chief companion of his pleasures and of his studies. Their friendship grew as they advanced in years. And, when they were both arrived at that time of life when the human mind is susceptible of the strongest attachments, Mr Bentink gave the Prince a proof of his affection, which effectually rivetted him in his heart.

"About the age of sixteen, the Prince was seized with the small-pox; as they proved to be of the most malignant kind, his physicians, agreeably to the practice then in vogue, gave it as their opinion, that the only chance he had for life was, to procure one of the same age with himself, who never had the small-pox before, to lie
in

in the same bed with him, and, by extracting the infection from his body, to abate the virulence of the distemper. Mr Bentink no sooner heard of the prescription, than he claimed it as his prerogative to administer the cure. The prescription, in the opinion of the physicians, had the desired effect. The Prince gradually recovered; but, to his inexpressible grief, found his dearest companion in imminent danger of his life.

He attended him with the most assiduous care; administered, with his own hand, such remedies as were prescribed to him; and could scarce be prevailed on to take necessary food or recreation, till the disease left him. This mutual intercourse of tender offices could not fail to endear them to one another; and, in process of time, gave Mr Bentink that entire ascendant over the Prince of Orange, which even weaker minds are sometimes observed to have over the most exalted characters. At the revolution, he came over in his retinue, was soon after made groom of the stole, created Earl of Portland, and loaded with marks of royal favour. Whatever other talents my Lord Portland had as a statesman, he possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of conciliating the affections, and preserving the attachment of such as were connected with him in the management of public affairs. His letters to Mr Carstares, which are written after his retirement from business, breathe a heart formed for friendship, and are full of the warmest expressions of affection and esteem.

Amongst the other eminent characters with whom Mr Carstares cultivated a particular friendship, when residing at court, was the famous Mr Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of England.

Mr Carstares's correspondence with Mr Harley,

Before Mr Harley was brought into administration by King William, I find he maintained a private correspondence with Mr Carstares, as appears by the following letter, which was probably written just before the change of the ministry in the year 1700.

I

Monday

Monday night, at eight.

“REVEREND SIR,

“I HAVE not been able to get a moment free to wait upon you; but now I have something which, in my poor opinion, presses so much, that I chuse an inconvenient time, it may be, for you, to ask to see you this night at my house, any hour you will please to appoint. If you like not to come in at the fore-door, I will be ready, upon your giving three knocks at the back-door, to let you in. My back-door is the lowest door on the left hand as you come down Villar’s-street, which is the street next to Charing-cross of York Buildings, over against the Water-house. I am,” &c. *.

Their future correspondence relates chiefly to the settlement of the protestant succession, the union of the kingdoms, and the management of the church of Scotland, after Mr Carstares left England. Amidst all the torrent of party-abuse that was thrown out upon both sides during the last four years of Queen Anne’s reign, Mr Carstares, though firmly attached to the Whigs, could not endure to hear any personal reflections against Lord Oxford, as in the least accessory to the design of setting aside the succession in the house

* From this circumstance, it is probable that his design in this interview with Mr Carstares was, by his means, to bring about a reconciliation between the King and the Tories. And the following letter from the Earl of Portland probably refers to some particulars which had passed between Mr Harley and Mr Carstares upon that occasion.

Windfor, November the 11th.

“I thank you very much for your letter. Since that, I hear business is much altered by the King’s resolution of dissolving the parliament.—Your guesses were pretty wright. I doubt whether the speaker will ask any more to see you; or, if hee dos, hee will hardly know what to tell you: His enmity will not much be feared now. Pray, since I am here in my solitude, let me hear sometimes from you what the world says, and what the opinion of the town is, since the business is determined.—Your letter is taken care of.”

house of Hanover, which he had a principal hand in establishing. See *Harley's Letters to Mr Carstares*.

His principal correspondents in Scotland, during the period above mentioned, are, James Johnston secretary of state; Lord Tarbat; Sir James Ogilvy, afterwards Lord Seafield; Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate; Lord Marchmont; the Dukes of Queensberry and Argyle; Lord Carmichael; Cockburn of Ormiston; Murray of Philiphaugh, &c.

and with the
Scottish mi-
nistry.

As this correspondence was carried on in a most interesting period, and when faction raged in all its violence; so the series of letters, of which it consists, gives us a just picture of the state of the nation in general, and an exact portrait of the principal characters who acted their part in the several scenes to which it relates. From this correspondence it likewise appears, what a difficult game Mr Carstares had to play, and with what dexterity he played it. Whilst we see all parties pouring out their complaints to him as to their friend, and laying their several pretensions before him, none of them ever accuse him of partiality or neglect.

At the same time, it was impossible for one who possessed so great a share of power and influence, to escape the envy of some who were superior to him in rank and fortune. This tax, which is generally laid upon distinguished merit, he cheerfully paid; and used to divert himself amongst his friends with assuming the title of *Cardinal*, which some of his enemies had bestowed upon him, alluding to Cardinal Ximenes, who boasted he could play at foot-ball with the heads of the Castilian grandees.

They even attempted, on different occasions, by their complaints and remonstrances, to supplant him in the King's favour; but to no purpose: The longer the King knew him, the higher he stood in his esteem. Nor was he ever so much consulted by him, as between the time of Lord Portland's retirement from business and the King's death, which happened in the month of March 1702. This event affected him so deeply, that he could never afterwards speak of it, or hear it mentioned, without visible concern.

The death
of King
William.

Mr Car-
stares's dis-
interested-
ness.

To those who read the following letters, it will appear almost incredible, that one who was in such favour with the King, who had such easy access to him upon all occasions, who had devoted his life entirely to his service; one, in short, who was daily soliciting for others favours to which he was much better entitled himself, paid so little attention to his own private fortune, as not to provide against an event, which he could not but foresee a considerable time before it happened, and which, he knew, was to deprive him of all that he possessed. The truth is, he had not only a spirit above all mercenary views, but an excess of modesty, which led him to shun whatever might give his enemies any pretence for the imputation of them. Hence, with all the opportunities that ever any man possessed of bettering his fortune, he was left, upon his master's death, as poor as when he first entered into his service; a circumstance which never gave him one moment's uneasiness. Endowed by nature with a happy equanimity of temper, accustomed to various vicissitudes of fortune, he could, with equal ease, adapt himself to the manners of a court, or to the life of a private man; and the only circumstance he ever regretted in the change of his fortune was the event which produced it.

It was generally thought by his contemporaries, that, upon his coming over with King William, he had the offer of the first vacant bishopric in England, and that he absolutely declined it. This story was probably founded upon his known interest with the King; but it seems to have been without foundation. In truth, Mr Carstares was of much more importance, and had it more in his power to serve his King and his country in the sphere in which he acted, than if he had been promoted to any bishopric in England. As the King was abundantly sensible of this, as he knew his talents for business, and had occasion for them, it is more than probable that he never thought of making such an offer to him. At the same time, such were Mr Carstares's sentiments of propriety and consistency of character, that,

that, it is next to certain, if the offer of it had been made, he would have rejected it.

As his connection with public business was entirely founded upon personal favour with the late King, it ceased in a great measure upon his demise. However, he had too many friends at court, and was of too great consequence to government, to be entirely forgotten or neglected in the succeeding reign; and Queen Anne, although not much inclined to countenance King William's particular favourites; yet, without any solicitation, nominated him her chaplain for Scotland, with the same appointments which had been annexed to that office by King William.

Queen continues him in his office of chaplain for Scotland.

Some time before this, the office of Principal in the college of Edinburgh had become vacant, by the death of Dr Rule; a station far from being lucrative, but, on several accounts, very respectable; especially when filled by one whose learning, talents, and circumstances in life, are suited to the office. In all those respects Mr Carstares was abundantly well qualified for that chair. Accordingly, when it was understood that he was to retire from court, an invitation was given to him by the city of Edinburgh to accept of that charge; but it was with considerable difficulty he could be prevailed upon to comply. On the one hand, the emoluments of that office were no temptation to him; the life he had led for many years was the reverse of academical; and he was unwilling, at his years, to enter upon a new scene of action. On the other hand, it was an honourable retreat from that hurry and bustle in which he had been involved; it afforded him an opportunity of being further serviceable to his country, by exerting that influence he had acquired, in promoting the interest of literature in the university, and of moderation in the church. But what chiefly determined him was, the united solicitations of all his friends in Scotland. To their importunity he at length yielded, and was admitted as Principal of the college, and first professor of divinity in the university of Edinburgh, in the year 1704.

He is made Principal of the college of Edinburgh.

In this public character, he soon gave ample proof to the world, that his employment as a statesman had not interrupted his literary pursuits.

His conduct
in that sta-
tion.

pursuits. In his first oration, which he pronounced in the common-hall of the university, before a very numerous and respectable audience, he displayed such a fund of erudition, such a thorough acquaintance with classical learning, such a masterly talent in composition, and, at the same time, such ease and fluency of expression in the purest Latin, as delighted all his auditors. Even his enemies were obliged to confess, that in him were united the manners of a gentleman with the science of a scholar. The famous Dr Pitcairn, who was always one of his hearers upon these occasions, used to observe, that, when Mr Carstares began to address his audience, he could not help fancying himself transported to the forum in the days of antient Rome.

No sooner was he placed at the head of the university, than, by a certain gentleness and affability of manners, mixed with great dignity of deportment, he secured the affections, whilst he commanded the respect, both of masters and students.

Procures an
augmentation
of their sa-
laries to the
several re-
gents.

As the salaries of the several regents were at that time extremely small, he immediately set on foot a scheme for having them augmented. He went to London on purpose, and used all the influence he had, both with Queen Anne and her ministers, to obtain a gift out of the bishops rents, not only to the university of Edinburgh, but also to the other universities of Scotland. This was at last granted; and, as appears from a series of letters betwixt him and the secretaries of state upon that subject, it was granted by his solicitations alone. This, they tell him, they had notified to the agents of the other universities, that they might know to whom they were obliged for the favour*.

His plan for
accommo-
dating Eng-
lish students
at the uni-
versity.

His endeavours to promote the interest of the university did not rest here. As his reputation had brought down many students from England, who complained of the want of proper accommodation in Edinburgh, he concerted a plan with his friends in that king-

* The Queen left the distribution of her royal bounty to the University of Edinburgh solely to Mr Carstares, who, with his usual generosity, refused to appropriate one farthing of it to the augmentation of his own salary. A pattern which the heads of the other universities did not chuse to copy.

kingdom, which, if he had lived to carry it into execution, would probably have proved of great benefit to the college and city of Edinburgh. It was proposed, that a public contribution should be raised among the whole body of the dissenters in England, for the purpose of repairing the fabric of the college, so as to render it fit for accommodating all the English students who should resort thither. A public table was to be kept, at which they were to be entertained at a moderate expence. An English tutor, with proper assistants, was to be brought down, to have a particular inspection over the students, to preside at the common table, to assist them in their academical exercises, and to instruct them in such branches of education as were not taught in the university. By letters addressed to Mr Carstares from different parts of England, I find considerable sums were actually subscribed for these purposes some little time before his death, which event overturned the whole project.

Not long after he was made principal of the college, some of his friends, unwilling that his talents as a preacher should be buried in obscurity, proposed, without acquainting him of their intention, that he should be called to be one of the ministers of the city. As there was no vacancy at this time, and a new erection was attended with some difficulties, which the Lord Provost happened to suggest when the matter was first proposed, Mr Carstares no sooner got notice of what had passed, than he wrote the following letter to the Provost.

Is called to
be one of the
ministers of
Edinburgh.

“ My LORD,

“ Two of my friends, to whom your Lordship spoke about an affair in which it seems I am concerned, I mean a call to be one of the ministers of your good town, have informed me that your Lordship is straitned between the kindness you are pleased to have for me, and the concern you are obliged to have for the interest of the town.

“ I have thought it my duty, by these lines, to contribute to your ease in that matter, by assuring your Lordship, that, as I have had
no

no manner of concern in seeking after such a call, so I do not desire to be the occasion of the least prejudice to the interest of the town of Edinburgh: And I beg that neither your Lordship nor any others of the Magistrates of the city, may be in any perplexity on my account.

“Your Lordship knows, that, whatever might have been the inclinations of my friends to have me settled in my own country, it was with reluctance I brought myself to be so much as passive in accepting the honour the good town conferred upon me, by calling me to the station I now fill. I can safely say it was not the prospect of gain that brought me hither. I bless God who hath been pleased not to leave me so destitute either of friends or interest, as that I might not have obtained a more lucrative settlement elsewhere.”

Whatever effect this letter had upon the Provost, Mr Castares's friends, it seems, still prosecuted their design; for, in that same year, he received an unanimous call to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh, which he accepted, and discharged the duties of his pastoral office with great fidelity and diligence, qualities which attended him in every sphere of life in which he was engaged.—Such of his sermons as he has left behind him, are written in a short-hand peculiar to himself; so that we cannot ascertain his character as a preacher from his compositions. It is certain, he was much esteemed as a preacher in these times. His manner was warm and animated; his style strong and nervous, and at the same time chaste and correct. And, although he had been for a considerable time out of the habit of preaching, yet he had such a comprehensive view of the great subjects of religion, and so happy a talent of arranging his ideas upon every subject, as rendered this branch of his duty no great burthen to him. Of this the following instance will serve as a proof.

His manner
of preach-
ing.

About the time of the union, a national fast had been appointed, which the violent opposers of that scheme amongst the clergy would not observe, as they could not approve the reasons for which it was appointed. Mr Castares had given his advice against the appointment; but, as a zealous friend of the union, he
observed

observed the fast. His colleague, who was equally zealous in his opposition to that measure, not only refused to observe it, but next Sunday took occasion, in the forenoon-sermon, to throw out some bitter reflections upon the union in general, and upon certain contrivers and promoters of it in particular, who, he alledged, were traitors to their country and to the church of Scotland, although some of them were ministers of that church, and had too great influence over their deluded brethren.

As this violent attack was directly pointed at Mr Carstares, it fixed the whole eyes of the congregation upon him, whilst, with great composure, he began to turn over the leaves of his Bible. His colleague's discourse being considered by the people as a formal challenge to Mr Carstares to vindicate his conduct, a great crowd from all corners of the city were assembled to hear him in the afternoon, when he gave out for his subject these words of the psalmist, *Let the righteous smite me, it will not break my bones.* From which he took occasion, with great calmness of temper, to vindicate his colleague from any suspicion of being deficient in point of regard and affection for him: That difference in opinion was the natural effect of the weakness and corruption of the human mind: That, though he differed from him in his sentiments upon some points, yet he was sure both of them had the same end in view: And that, as he knew the uprightness of his colleague's intentions, and the goodness of his heart, he was determined to consider any admonitions or rebukes directed to himself from that place as the strongest expressions of his love.

This discourse had a wonderful effect upon the whole audience: It effectually obliterated every prejudice they had conceived against him; obliged his colleague to confess, that he had obtained a complete victory; and that so soft an answer had turned away wrath.

The first assembly which met after he became a member of the church of Scotland, as a proof of their gratitude and esteem, made choice of him for their moderator. This honour was conferred upon him no less than four several times in the space of eleven years;

He is chosen moderator to the general assembly.

an honour to which he was justly entitled, not only by his services to the church, but by his character, which was excellently suited to command the respect and moderate the heats of so numerous, and, in those days, so turbulent a judicatory.

His manner
of speaking
in church-
courts,

His manner of speaking in church-courts was calm, sententious, and decisive; which, along with his influence over the most considerable members of the house, gave great weight to his opinion in every debate. Such was their respect for his character, that one sentence from him would often extinguish in a moment the most violent flame in the house. This authority which he had acquired, he knew well how to maintain. In matters of lesser moment, he seldom spoke at all; in business of consequence, he spoke only in the close of the debate; and it was a rare instance in which any ventured to speak after him. By thus maintaining his influence in the church, he made himself of real importance in the state, and preserved his interest with the court to the last. A letter from my Lord Seafield to him, some time after Mr Carstairs came to Scotland, shews us in what light his friends considered him at that time.

“REV. SIR,

“I write this only to continue our correspondence; for I have nothing to acquaint you with, but what you will learn from other hands. My Lord Portland gave me the honour of a visit this day, and is very well. He asked kindly about you; I told him, you governed the church, the university, and all your old friends here. That you lived with great satisfaction, and was as much his servant as ever. He said, it was some satisfaction to him, to find that you and I, in whom King William reposed so great trust, were still of such consideration in the present reign. I promised to deliver his service to you, and hereby discharge myself of that debt. Argyle and Annandale are as they were; the last is neither in nor out, and I am for giving him time to consider. I am hopeful his interest will prevail with him, which he uses not to forget.

forget. I bleſs God I am received after the old manner. They do nothing as to the treaty till the members of parliament are prepared. I hope the beſt. The whig-party are the majority. I know you will take care, that moderate men be of the next aſſembly. I am, with all ſincerity, &c.

SEAFIELD."

From a ſeries of letters which paſſed between him and the Earls of Oxford, Portland, Seafield, Stair, Mar, Glaſgow, London, Sir David Nairn, &c. for ſome time before, and immediately after the union, it appears, that nothing was done relative to that important tranſaction, without conſulting him. It was perfectly well underſtood, both by the Queen and her miniſtry, that, if the preſbyterian clergy had ſtated themſelves in formal oppoſition to the treaty, it could not have taken effect; and they ſeem to have been fully ſenſible that the intended remonſtrances and complaints of the clergy to parliament againſt that meaſure, were prevented ſolely by Mr Carſtares's influence in the church. Accordingly, by a letter dated the 4th February, from London, but, whether from Mr Harley or ſome other of the Engliſh miniſters, does not appear, as it is not ſubſcribed, I find great merit aſcribed to Mr Carſtares on account of his conduct upon that occaſion.

Uſes his influence in the church for promoting the union of the two kingdoms.

" REVEREND SIR,

" It is with great honour that you have ſeen e'er this, that the queen introduced the union into the houſe of Lords, and with great ſatisfaction; that the majority of both houſes have received it now; nor has any body declared yet openly againſt it in the H. of Lords, but my Lord Haverſham. Some have talked a little more freely againſt it in the houſe of commons.

A letter of compliment to him upon that occaſion.

K 2

" Give

“ Give me leave to assure you, Sir, that the part you have acted in this great affair is sufficiently understood by all that know any thing of the affairs of Scotland. And I dare say it will not be easily forgot, what all our great men are very sensible of, that the union could never have had the consent of the Scotch parliament, if you had not acted the worthy part you did.

“ The clause you mention in yours of the 16th and 29th of January, in the act of ratification, is the only bad clause in it: But, having told you my sentiments upon it, and dissatisfaction with it, in a letter I sent you under cover to Sir Patrick, this day se’ennight, I need not say any thing on that head now. By all the inquiry I can make, that clause was as great a surprise to those in whose names I talked and wrote to you, as it could be to you or me. There was a copy sent up of what was designed to be your act; but, as I am assured, not a syllable of any such clause is in it. So that I am persuaded it proceeded from too great a degree of caution in your friends, who, being more apprehensive of the consequence of not inserting such a clause by far than they needed to have been, would have it put in. And I am confirmed in this, by a letter I saw from the E. of M—ch—t to a noble peer. However, though I don’t like the clause at all, yet it is more upon your account than ours; for I am very apt to believe we have both power and inclination enough to prevent most of the ill consequences here, if not all of them, which I was very apprehensive would follow such a clause.

“ So that, if you can but satisfy the scruples that it has raised among you, I hope you need not fear that any thing which may be further grafted on it here, will raise any further objections on your account or ours.

“ I hope our nation will treat those who have trusted us, so far as the friends to the union among you have done, with that justice, honour, and generosity that become the confidence you have reposed in us. And I hope and believe, we shall endeavour to win over all honest men who have opposed it out of mistake, with a tenderness due to weaker brethren. I persuade myself, every honest man will do

do his utmost to inspire his acquaintance with such sentiments as these. And you may depend upon it, Sir, that no methods which can contribute to diffuse such sentiments will be omitted by him, who hopes he may take the liberty to assure you, that he is, without any reserve, and without the ceremony of a subscription,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

and very humble servant."

As it appears from this, and some other letters to the same purpose, that it was owing to Mr Carstares's prudent management in the church, that the union met with so little opposition in parliament from that quarter; so I find, from his correspondence with the leading members of the commission from Scotland, appointed by her Majesty for treating with the English upon that subject, that, during their negotiations, they constantly advised with him upon every difficulty which occurred to them in the progress of it. See *Letters from Lord Stair, Leven, Mar, &c.*

The Queen was so sensible of his good offices upon that occasion, that, upon his going to court the year after, she took an opportunity of returning thanks to him in private; and, at the same time, presented him with a silver medal, struck upon the union, (a very few of which she had made to be cast off for her particular friends.) It is to this Lord Portland alludes in a letter to Mr Carstares, dated at Sorgvliet, the 15th of August 1707.

Receives
thanks from
the Queen.

"MONSIEUR,

"JE vous assure, que ce n'est pas avec peu de satisfaction, que je reçu la votre de Londres du 17 passé, et que je n'ay pas peu de chagrin de ce que je suis ici pendant que vous êtes en Angleterre; puis que j'ay toujours conservé mes sentiments pour vous; une honneste homme et un vieux ami est ce que j'estime le plus. Ce que vous me mandez de la maniere dont la Reine vous a reçu, me fait une vraye plaisir; elle temoigne connoitre en vous un veritable serviteur, &c.

"Je

“ Je vous prie de me continuer toujours votre amitié, et de me croire inalterablement

Votre tres humble serviteur,

P O R T L A N D .”

The union of the kingdoms, though attended with other happy consequences, gave a fatal blow to the importance of the church of Scotland in the eye of government; and the general assembly was no longer so formidable to administration, as it had been from the revolution down to this period.

Attempts to introduce episcopacy into Scotland after the union;

The enemies of that establishment were abundantly sensible of this, and took encouragement from thence to renew their attempts in favour of prelacy; and, as a direct attack upon the presbyterian settlement was too bold an attempt, immediately after the ample security which it had obtained by the union, they had recourse to other methods, which had well nigh proved successful, by precipitating the presbyterians into such measures as they knew would effectually irritate the Queen and parliament against them, and thereby draw upon them those very evils which they most dreaded. Mr Carstares penetrated into their designs, and knew, that, however they might disguise their intentions, by a pretended zeal for a toleration, they meant nothing less, than the subversion of the civil, as well as the ecclesiastical constitution. On this account, whilst he exerted all the influence he had in the church, to guard the clergy against such violent proceedings as might afford any just ground of complaint against them, he was no less solicitous to prevent administration from adopting the groundless prejudices of their enemies, or giving the presbyterians any reason to suspect that their privileges were less secure, under the present, than they had been under the preceeding reign.

which Mr Carstares endeavours to frustrate.

By the latter, he exposed himself to the resentment of all the enemies to the present establishment; by the former, he rendered himself obnoxious to a great faction in the church, whose zeal, had it not been tempered by his moderation, and that of

a few of his friends, would have proved no less fatal to her interests, than the assaults of her enemies.——So very high did the spirit of party run, that, although the most respectable clergyman in the church, he was, perhaps, the most unpopular. This made him often complain, both in private and in public, that his situation was peculiarly hard, to be forced, first to draw upon himself the censure of his brethren, by encountering their prejudices, and putting a stop to their violent proceedings, and then to justify those very measures to administration, which he had disapproved, and in vain attempted to frustrate.

He felt this, in a variety of instances, during the course of those prosecutions which were carried on, by his more rigid brethren, in different corners of Scotland, against some of the episcopal clergy, who, by virtue of the powers entrusted with presbyteries, were, upon the most frivolous pretexts, turned out of their livings. But he felt it most of all in the case of Greenshiels * at Edinburgh. Having in vain attempted to dissuade his brethren and the civil magistrate from so unpolitic a step as that of stating themselves in downright opposition to the church of England, at the bar of the house of peers, he ventured to prognosticate, that their severity in that instance would only open a door for other encroachments, and give an advantage to their enemies, in carrying on their projects for the subversion both of church and state.

Accordingly, it is well known to such as are conversant with the history of that period, that it was the proceedings in the affair of Greenshiels which laid the foundation, as it afforded the fairest pretext for the act of toleration, and the act restoring patronages, which, in the circumstances of the country at that time, were considered as preludes to the restoration of prelacy and the pretender.

Mr

* He was the first who introduced the liturgy of the church of England into the episcopal service in Scotland.——See Mr Robert Pringle's letters to Mr Carstares, with a letter from Greenshiels to Mr Pringle, in the year 1709.—See also an account of this matter by Dr Swift, in the Examiner, No. 30.

Mr Carstares certainly viewed these acts of parliament in this point of light, because, in every other view, there was nothing in them inconsistent with his principles; and therefore, when he consented to go up as one of the commissioners from the church to the Queen and parliament to oppose them, he told the commission that he could expect no success, as, in the present situation of the court, he could not use the arguments which weighed most with himself in opposing a toleration and the restitution of patronages, without doing more harm than service to the cause, by his application.

Upon his arrival in London, he soon perceived that his conjectures were too well founded. The event was such as he expected, and such as convinced him, that all future attempts to repeal the act of patronage would prove equally unsuccessful. The arguments for and against that act, as they were stated in the house of peers upon that occasion, are contained in two papers, which the Reader will find in the Appendix. They contain the substance of all that has ever been said or written upon the one side or other of that subject. By what particular arts the friends of that measure prevailed in their design, does not appear from Mr Carstares's correspondence. But, that neither the Queen, nor her ministers, had any intention to countenance it, a few months before the act restoring patronages was passed, appears from the two following letters. The first is from Lord Loudon, then Secretary of State for Scotland; the other, from Lord Oxford, then Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain.

April 7. 1711.

“ S I R,

“ I had the favour of your's of the 24th of March, some time ago. I have, by one accident or other, been hindered from acknowledging it till now; which I hope you will pardon. I believe I may tell you, with very good reason, that there will not be any motion made, in either house, concerning patronage; there has been
pains

pains taken to prevent it; and, amongst others, I ha'nt been wanting in using my endeavours in that affair.

“ As to Mr Greenfields; I was of a different opinion from that which was carried in the house, and took the liberty to offer my sentiments upon it, after having taken all the pains I could to have it waved. It was unlucky, as you observe, that the first case of that kind that was brought before the parliament should have come upon the narrowest grounds of any thing of that kind that has been determined by our judicatories there; for, 'twixt you and me, it depended more upon the constant custom of interpreting the laws in relation to those matters, than upon the plain or express words of our act of parliament. That affair is now over; and, I hope, our church will show their prudence, in not giving any tokens of their being alarmed at it in the ensuing assembly; and that they will always have that confidence, which they ought, in the repeated assurances they have had of her Majesty's favour, and the many marks they have had of it.

“ I hope to be with you in Scotland this summer, and to entertain you at large upon these subjects.—You'll easily perceive that this is writ in haste; but I would not any longer delay to acknowledge your's, and to assure you that I am, with great sincerity, your most faithful friend, and most humble servant,

LOUDOUN.”

8th May 1711.

“ SIR,

“ ALTHOUGH I have not recovered sufficient strength to resist the attacks of the ill weather we have had since I have been abroad, yet I cannot longer delay my acknowledgements to you for your most christian and affectionate letter. I do not doubt but I have had the advantage of your prayers; for which I return you my hearty thanks, and desire their continuance. My sole view is, the service and glory of God, and the peace and happiness of the Queen

L

and

Letter from
the Earl of
Oxford to
Mr Car-
stares.

and country. My daily supplications are, that he who hath delivered my soul from death, would keep my feet from falling, that I may walk before him ; and that he would guide me in his truth, and teach me the way wherein he would have me to walk.

“ I did intend you a much longer letter; but my cold makes writing uneasy to me at present ; therefore I must refer what I would say to another time. But I cannot omit assuring you, that the Queen, and all who have the honour to have credit with her Majesty, are not only resolved to maintain the union in all its parts, both religious and civil, but there will be no attention given to any proposals which may justly alarm your friends ; and, particularly, as to that affair of patronages, it was never entertained, and was really an invention, suggested to two rash persons, with a design to create jealousies ; but it never was in the least countenanced or entertained. As to the pensions ; I have laid your desire before the Queen, who has commanded me to signify to you her pleasure, that she intends to continue the same payments to the universities. I doubt not you will continue your best endeavours to calm the spirits of people in the assembly, that they may give no occasion to blaspheme ; and I am confident they will have no just grounds to apprehend any danger from hence. I am, with great sincerity, Reverend Sir, yours,” &c.

It is probable that Lord Oxford was sincere in his professions upon this occasion ; but a minister of state is not always master of his own schemes, and must sometimes sacrifice his private inclinations to the spirit of the party with whom he is connected. He was therefore obliged, in this instance, to give way to the friends of that motion, who were firmly attached to an administration of which he was the head.

Mr Car-
stares's jour-
ney to Lon-
don of great
use to the
church of
Scotland.

Although Mr Carstares did not succeed in his application to parliament against the bill for restoring patronages, yet his presence at London was of considerable advantage to the church of Scotland, by giving him an opportunity of thwarting some other projects, which

which he considered as more dangerous in their tendency, because they affected her constitution in a more sensible manner.

Some of her enemies, who were then in administration, had proposed that her annual assemblies should be discontinued, as the source of all the opposition to the measures then pursued by the court: Others were of opinion, that they ought to be permitted to meet, but should be prorogued by her Majesty's authority, so soon as they were constituted. And, to take away the only pretext for holding assemblies for the future, or their sitting for any time, a bill was proposed, obliging presbyteries, under certain penalties, to settle, upon a presentation, every man to whom the church had given a license to preach, without any further trial or form.

Mr Carstares saw very well, that, however prejudicial these regulations might be deemed to the church of Scotland, yet, in the present temper of the parliament, they would meet with little opposition, if proposed or supported by the court. He was willing, therefore, to compound matters with administration; and, upon condition that he was authorized to assure his brethren, that no attempts would be made to introduce any alterations in the government or discipline of the church, he undertook to use all his influence, in order to allay those ferments which the late proceedings in parliament had occasioned. Accordingly, upon his return to Scotland, we find him exerting his utmost endeavours in calming the spirits of such of the clergy as, from a misguided zeal, were disposed to inflame the minds of the people, disturb the peace of the country, and, in the end, wreath the yoke with which they were galled still harder about their necks. And, in doing so, he has left a pattern which every wise man, in his circumstances, will chuse to follow, provided he has public spirit enough to despise the clamours of a faction, and the prejudices of the people, when put in competition with the peace of his country, and the good of the church.

His prudent
conduct up-
on his return
to Scotland.

He was so successful in his endeavours, that both the Queen and her ministry were astonished at the peaceable temper of the next general assembly which sat after these acts of parliament were passed;

and, by a variety of letters which he received at that time, testified their approbation of his prudent management, to which they ascribed it.

Is desired to name the commissioner to the general assembly.

Not only so, but, by a letter from the Lord High Treasurer, the Earl of Oxford, before the sitting down of the assembly in the year 1713, Mr Carstares is desired to name the commissioner to that assembly, and send up a copy of such instructions as he judged seasonable in that juncture.

“ S I R,

“ I received, by the last post, a letter from Lord Advocate, taking notice of the near approach of the day for the meeting of the general assembly : I send this to you by a flying packet, to desire your opinion freely, (which shall not be made use of to your disadvantage), whom you would chuse to be her Majesty’s commissioner ; and that you would send any particulars that you think fit to be added to the standing instructions ; and what you judge proper to be inserted in her Majesty’s letter to that venerable assembly. I hope the last commissioner gave you satisfaction. I shall have occasion to write farther to you in a little time upon many particulars relating to the repose of the church, which I know you have much at heart ; and, therefore, shall add no more at present, but that I am, with very great respect,

Your most faithful,

and most humble servant,

O X F O R D .”

Mr Carstares, in return to this letter, recommended the Duke of Athol as the most proper person for commissioner, and sent up a draught of the Queen’s letter, with the instructions to be given by her Majesty to the commissioner. And, by another letter which he received from the Earl of Oxford, he is acquainted, that the Queen, in

in consequence of his recommendation, had sent down the Duke of Athol as commissioner.

The experience of sixty years has at last evinced, what it was im-

Remarks upon the act of toleration, and that for restoring patronages.

possible for human sagacity then to discover, that the act of toleration, and the act restoring patronages, which were considered by the friends of the church of Scotland as fatal to her interests, and which were probably intended as the preludes to greater changes, have proved the source of her greatest security, and the remedy of those evils which Mr Carstares dreaded most from the concessions in favour of presbytery at the revolution.

Upon the one hand, the act of toleration, by taking the weapon of offence out of the hands of the presbyterians, removed the chief ground of those resentments which the friends of prelacy entertained against them, and, in a few years, almost annihilated episcopacy in Scotland. Upon the other hand, the act restoring patronages, by restoring the nobility and gentlemen of property to their wonted influence in the settlement of the clergy, reconciled numbers of them to the established church, who had conceived the most violent prejudices against that mode of election, and against the presbyterian clergy who were settled upon it. It is likewise an incontestable fact, that, from the date of these two acts, the church of Scotland has enjoyed a state of tranquility to which she was an utter stranger before.

There is another advantage flowing from the act of toleration, which it was impossible to foresee, viz. That the very people whose principles led them most eagerly to oppose it, have derived the greatest, if not the sole, benefit from it. For, although the act was certainly intended for no other purpose but to give relief to those of the episcopal persuasion who judged themselves aggrieved by the church-judicatories in Scotland; yet, by the moderation of the church since that period, and by the lenity of administration, dissenters of every denomination have been permitted to take the benefit of that statute without any molestation; and long may

may they continue to enjoy it unmolested! It will give a sensible pleasure to every worthy member of the church of Scotland, to reflect, that, whilst his dissenting brethren vie with him in loyalty to his sovereign, and attachment to the civil constitution, they enjoy at least a legal protection in the exercise of their religion. That man is unworthy of those privileges which belong to members of an establishment, who can grudge his fellow-citizens those rights which belong to them as men and as christians.

Whilst Mr Carstares was employed in soothing the minds of his brethren under the repeated alarms they received during the four last years of Queen Anne's reign, he was no less active in animating them to a becoming zeal for the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, as established by law. This he thought the more necessary, as several of the Queen's principal favourites, during that period, lay under heavy suspicions of a design to set it aside.

His zeal for
the Hanove-
rian succe-
sion.

In the year 1711, Mr Carstares being moderator of the assembly, prayers were ordered to be put up in all the churches for the Princess Sophia and the protestant line in that family. Mr Carstares acquainted Mr St John, then secretary of state, with this particular, and received the following answer.

Whitehall, 24th May 1711.

“ REVEREND SIR,

“ I acknowledge, with many thanks, the favour of your letter, and intreat you to believe I read it with all the satisfaction which that spirit of moderation, and that zeal for the protestant succession, ought to inspire into every breast who wishes well to the protestant interest, and to the public good.

“ The Duke of Queensberry having, by order, acquainted you, how graciously your applications have been received by her Majesty, I have nothing more to add, but my very sincere assurances of being,

REV. SIR,

Your most faithful,

and most obedient servant,

H. St JOHN.”

Although,

Although, from the strain of this letter, one would imagine, that nothing could have been more acceptable to the court, than the conduct of the general assembly in this instance, there is reason to suspect, that so strong a proof of its anxiety for the protestant succession was far from giving that satisfaction to the Queen and her servants, which a zeal for that cause ought to have inspired. For, it was in the course of this year that those acts which wore so unfriendly an aspect to the church of Scotland were devised. However, the more cool her Majesty became in her regards to that church, its members became the more rivetted in their attachment to the house of Hanover, as the most effectual security for the preservation of their rights and privileges. Accordingly, all their addresses to the throne, from that time forward, till the demise of the Queen, are full of the warmest protestations of their inviolable attachment to the succession as established by law; and they were among the foremost in their congratulations of King George I. upon his accession to the crown. The address does honour to Mr Carstares who drew it. These particulars could not fail to give the most favourable impressions of the church of Scotland to that Monarch*.

He

* The following is the letter referred to above, from Monsieur Robethon secretary to the Elector of Hanover, to Mr Carstares.

“ MONSIEUR,

Hanover, le 3. Octobre 1713.

“ Comme je compte trop sur nostre ancienne amitié, pour craindre que vous m'ayez tout a fait oublié, je me donne l'honneur de vous informer de l'extreme satisfaction avec laquelle Mad. l'Electrice et Aug. l'Electeur ont lié cet advertissement si chrestien et si salutaire des commissaires de l'assemblée generale du clergé presbyterien d'Ecosse.

“ Comme leurs Alteſſes sont persuadées, que vous avez puissamment contribué a une oeuvre si salutaire, elles m'ont ordonné, Monsieur, de vous en remercier de leur part, et de vous dire, que vous les obligerez fort, si vous voulez bien assurer les personnes que vous jugerez à propos de la reconnoissance qu'ont leur Alteſſes de cet que le dit advertissement contient pour elles, et pour la succession. A quoi elles reponderont de leur costé, en faisant redresser les griefs de la nation Ecossoise aussitot quelles en auront le pouvoir.

“ On

His death.

He had signified his acknowledgements to Mr Carstares for the part he had acted, by a letter from his secretary, two years before he came over; and, so soon as he was established upon the throne, in testimony of his gratitude, he continued him in the office of his chaplain for Scotland; which, however, he lived not long to enjoy. In the month of August 1715, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which gave such a shock to his constitution, as threw him into a lethargic indisposition. This greatly impaired all his faculties, and carried him off, upon the 28th day of December, that same year; justly lamented by his country, as a true patriot; by the church, as her best benefactor; and by the university, as her greatest ornament.

His private character.

Having thus attempted to give some imperfect account of Mr Carstares in his public capacity, it would be a piece of injustice to his memory, were we to say nothing of his private character, the rather because it too often happens that the virtues of the private man fall a sacrifice to the talents and ambition of the courtier and the statesman; and particularly, because instances are very rare of clergymen in such circumstances being exempt from this imputation: Whereas, to his honour, his greatest enemies in political matters were never known to charge him with deviating in one instance from the propriety and decorum of the ministerial character. His religion was neither tinctured with the extravagancies of enthusiasm, nor the rigours of superstition. At the same time, amidst the greatest

“ On ne doit pas croire que, par rapport a ces griefs, et mesme par rapport a la dissolution de l'union, les Ecoissois pourroient obtenir d'avantage du pretendant que de leurs Alteſſes, dans la succession des quelles (outre le redressement de leurs griefs) ils trouveront la sureté de leur religion, loix, biens, et libertés. Il nous importe fort que la nation soit bien persuadée de cette verité. Nous vous prions d'y vouloir travailler; et moy, je demeure toujours, avec respect,

MONSIEUR,

Votre tres humble, et tres

obeissant serviteur,

F. ROBETHON.”

greatest hurry of secular affairs in which he was involved, he was always ready to discharge the duties of his pastoral office *. As his piety was unfeigned, so his charity was unbounded, more so indeed than his circumstances could well afford; for, whilst he had one farthing remaining in his pocket, he could not turn aside from any necessitous object that claimed his assistance. This was so well known to the poor, that, whenever he went abroad, he was perpetually harrassed by them, and was at last obliged to submit to a regulation, proposed to him by one of his friends who knew his foible; which was, to put only so much money in his pocket as he could conveniently spare for the purposes of ordinary charity. His charity

Amidst that multiplicity of business in which he was perpetually engaged, it is remarkable, that he found abundance of leisure for the duties of hospitality. His house was a place of resort to all the youth of the best families and the most promising hopes, who were generally recommended to his attention during their course at the university; and he failed not to improve the opportunities which his station afforded him, of instilling into their minds, along with an ardour for study, the best regulations for their future conduct. and hospita-
lity,

* His sister, who had been married to a clergyman in Fyfe, used to give a remarkable instance of this. A few days after her husband's death, Mr Carstares came down from London, to transact some matters of importance with King William's ministers in Scotland. She hearing of his arrival, came over to Edinburgh to see him. Upon calling at his lodgings in the forenoon, she was told he was not at leisure; as several of the nobility and officers of state were just gone in to him. She then bid his servant only whisper him that she desired to know when it would be most convenient for him to see her. He returned for answer, Immediately; and, leaving the company, run to her, and embraced her in the most affectionate manner. Upon her attempting to make some apology for her unseasonable interruption to business, Make yourself easy, says he; these gentlemen are come hither not on my account, but their own. They will wait with patience till I return. You know I never pray long; and, after a short, but fervent prayer, adapted to her melancholy circumstances, he fixed the time when he would see her more at leisure; and returned all in tears to his company.

conduct. Many of them, who have since acted their part in the most conspicuous stations, have not scrupled to own that it was to him they were indebted for the best maxims both in public and private life. Archibald Duke of Argyle, in particular, was early recommended to him by his father, and continued to advise with him in every matter of importance in which he was concerned, from the time he entered upon public life, until Mr Carstares's death. See *Letters from Lord Hay*.

particularly
to the episcopal Clergy.

The clergy of all denominations were welcome to his family; particularly such of the episcopal clergy as were deprived of their livings at the revolution. He always treated them with peculiar tenderness and humanity *. He often relieved their families when in distress, and took care to dispense his charities in such a manner as he knew would be least burthenome to them. Some of them, who were his yearly pensioners, never knew from what channel their relief flowed, till they found by his death that the source of it was dried up.

He was sometimes ingenious in devising methods of imposing upon the modesty and pride of such as would have rejected his good offices with disdain, if he had not disguised his intentions. We shall give one instance out of many that are told of him.

One Caddel, an ejected episcopal clergyman, sometimes waited upon him when he came to Edinburgh. One day, when Caddel came to call upon him, he observed that his cloaths were thread-bare; and, eying him narrowly as he went away, he desired him to call again two days after, pretending he had some commission to give him before he went to the country. He was no sooner gone, than Mr Carstares sent for his taylor, and desired him to make a suit of cloaths that would answer himself as to length, but not so wide by two or three inches, and to have them sent home about the hour at which Caddel had engaged to call upon him. Caddel kept his appointment; but, upon entering the room, found Mr Carstares in a violent

* At the revolution, Mr Carstares laid down a plan for the maintenance of such of the episcopal clergy as were removed from their churches, out of the bishops rents. But the ministry always found some pretext for applying this fund to other less charitable purposes.

violent fit of passion at his taylor for mistaking his measure, so that neither coat, waistcoat, nor breeches would fit upon him. At last, turning to Caddel, who agreed with him that it was impossible he could ever wear them; then, says he, they are lost if they don't fit some of my friends; and, by the bye, adds he, I am not sure but they may answer you: Be so good as try, for it is a pity they should be thrown away. Caddel complied, after some importunity; and, to his surprize, found they answered as if they had been made for him; upon which Mr Carstares ordered the cloaths to be packed up, and sent to his lodgings. Next day, upon putting them on, he found a ten pound note in one of the pockets, which he naturally imagined Mr Carstares had forgot to take out when he threw off the the cloaths. Returning directly to the college, he told Mr Carstares, he had come to restore him a note, which he had neglected to take out of the pocket of the suit of cloaths he had sent him. By no means, says he, Caddel, it cannot belong to me; for when you got the coat you acquired a right to every thing in it.

The effect which his generosity to that body of men had, in overcoming their prejudices against him, and conciliating their affections, appeared strong at his funeral. When his body was laid in the dust, two men were observed to turn aside from the rest of the company, and, bursting into tears, bewail their mutual loss. Upon inquiry, it was found they were two non-jurant clergymen, whose families, for a considerable time, had been supported by his benefactions.

His body lies interred in the Gray-friars church-yard; where there was a monument erected some time after, with a suitable inscription in Latin. The inscription already begins to fade. But his eulogium was pronounced long before his death by King William; and ought not so soon to be effaced, when, in the presence of several of his courtiers, he declared, "That he had known Mr Carstares long: That he knew him well: And knew him to be an HONEST MAN."

A N
A B S T R A C T
O F T H E

HISTORY of the STATESMEN

Whose LETTERS are contained in this PUBLICATION.

Taken from a Manuscript in the Library of the Right Honourable the Earl of Hyndford; which his Lordship was so good as communicate to the Publisher.

[This Abstract seems to have been written in the Year 1704, or in the beginning of the 1705, although there are some Additions to it of a posterior Date, and in a different Hand. The Author intended it for the private Use of Princess Sophia, and the Elector of Hanover.]

Secretary Johnston, now Lord Register,

IS a younger son of my Lord Warriston, who was beheaded at the restoration. In this misfortune of his family, this gentleman was sent to Holland, where he studied the civil law, and had the character of the greatest proficient in the university of Utrecht.

When he finished his studies, he went into Italy; and, falling into acquaintance with Lord Rumfay, he was by him intrusted with the secrets of the revolution, and employed to come privately into England; which he did successfully.

On King William's accession to the throne, he was sent envoy to the court of Berlin, and from thence he was recalled in the year
1692,

1692, and made secretary of state for Scotland. He did great service by discovering the La Hogue descent, and had better intelligence from France than any about King William. This gave him great credit at court, but created him enemies in both kingdoms. He was always a zealous promoter of men of revolution-principles, and a faithful servant to that cause. But, upon passing the bill for establishing the African-company, in the Scottish parliament, he was turned out of all his offices; nor was he ever after employed by King William. But, in the year 1704, when the Marquis of Tweeddale was made commissioner to the Scottish parliament in place of the Duke of Queensberry, the Queen made Mr Johnston Lord Register for Scotland, the most lucrative employment in that kingdom, which he lost the year after, when the Duke of Queensberry and his friends were restored to favour.

He is honest, but something too credulous and suspicious—endowed with a great share of learning—free of ceremony—would not tell a lie for the world—very knowing in the affairs of foreign states, and the constitution of both kingdoms.

After he retired from public business, he amused himself with planting and gardening, in which he was reckoned to have a very good taste. But, being naturally active and restless in his temper, he made frequent journeys into different kingdoms. He went several times to Hanover when George I. was there, and often conversed with him very familiarly. He was a great favourite of Queen Caroline, who was much entertained with his humour and pleasantry. The freedom of his manners was rather disgusting to King William, who was often fretful and splenetic.

Earl, afterwards Duke, of Argyle,

Was representative of the noble family of Campbell, grand-son to the Marquis that was beheaded at the restoration, and son to the Earl who was beheaded by King James. He came over from Holland at the revolution with King William; had the command of the
horse-

horse-guards; and was one of the Lords of the treasury. He was much consulted in Scottish affairs, and told his sentiments with great freedom and spirit. He maintained a constant correspondence with Mr Carstares during the reign of King William, who was wont to observe, that he got more truth from Argyle than from all the rest of his servants in Scotland; because he had the courage to speak out what they durst scarce venture to hint.

Secretary Ogilvy, afterwards Earl of Seafield, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland,

Is a younger son of the Earl of Finlater, a branch of the family of Ogilvy. He was bred to the law, and, at the revolution, was chosen a member of the convention of estates, and zealously opposed declaring the throne vacant. When Mr Johnston was secretary of state, he and Mr Carstares brought over Mr Ogilvy to King William, and got him made solicitor-general to that kingdom. Upon his coming up to London, he made his court so effectually to the King, that, upon Mr Johnston and Sir John Dalrymple's demission, he was made secretary of state; in which office he continued all King William's reign; and, upon the Queen's accession, was made Lord High Chancellor, and Knight Companion of the Thistle. He has great knowledge of the civil law and the constitution of Scotland—understands perfectly how to manage a Scottish parliament to the advantage of the court. This, together with his implicitly executing whatever King William pleased, without ever reasoning upon the subject, established him very much in that Monarch's favour; but his conduct in the affair of Darien lost him with the people. He affects plainness and familiarity of manners; but is not sincere.

Lord Tarbat, afterwards Earl of Cromarty, Lord Register, and then Secretary of State,

Was Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbat in the reign of King Charles II. and a great opposer of the Duke of Lauderdale's. But,
falling

falling in with the Duke of York's measures, when he came down commissioner, he was made Lord Register, and created Viscount of Tarbat, and was chief minister all the rest of that reign, and the reign of King James.

At the revolution, he came to court, and was well recommended to King William. But his arbitrary proceedings in the former reigns had rendered him so obnoxious to the people, that he could not be much employed in this.

Upon the Queen's accession to the throne, he was sent for to court, and made secretary of state, and, from Viscount of Tarbat, created Earl of Cromarty.

He is a gentleman of very polite learning, and good parts; hath a great deal of wit; is the pleafantest companion in the world—a great master in philosophy, and much esteemed by the Gresham college society.

Earl of Melville

Is the representative of a very honourable family in Scotland, conspicuous for its zeal against popery since the first reformation.

This nobleman was much in the interest of the Duke of Monmouth, and followed his fortunes. At the revolution, he came over with King William, was made sole secretary of state for Scotland, created from Lord to Earl, and commissioner to the parliament, in 1690.

His eldest son, Lord Raith, had the management of the revenue; and his second son, the Earl of Leven, was made governor of the castle of Edinburgh, and had a regiment.

The whole management of the affairs of Scotland was in his family for some years, which he owed to King William's personal friendship, and his zeal for the revolution, although his enemies represented him as a tool to the Earl of Portland and Mr Carstairs.

Sir

Sir James Stewart, Lord Advocate,

Was a younger son of the family of Coltness, in the west of Scotland. He was bred to the law, and in great esteem in his profession.

In the reign of Charles II. being suspected as one of the advisers of the Earl of Argyle's explication of the test, he was obliged to retire to Holland, and was declared fugitive. He continued in Holland all that reign; but, upon King James's setting up a dispensing power, and designing to put down the church by the dissenters, this gentleman was thought a fit agent for that purpose; and was sent for by the court of England.

He wrote two letters to Mr Fagel, pensionary of Holland, in defence of the King's taking off the penal laws, which, with Mr Fagel's answer, were afterwards published *. It was some time after the revolution before King William could be perfectly reconciled to him. When that was brought about, he made him his advocate for Scotland; and the Queen continued him in that office. He was one of the best civilians of the age; has fine natural parts. He affects great plainness, affability, and familiarity in his manners.

James Duke of Queensberry

Is a branch of the antient and noble family of Douglas, called Drumlanrig. His father was from Earl created Duke by King Charles II. and was Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and High Commissioner to the first parliament of King James.

This nobleman commanded a regiment of horse at the revolution; left King James at the same time with the Duke of Ormond, and joined the Prince of Orange, who made him a gentleman of his bed-chamber, and captain of the Scottish troops of guards. Towards

* Mr Carstares is the friend to whom Mr Stewart alludes in his answers to Mr Fagel's letters, and was the person employed by him to sound the Prince of Orange upon the subject of the dispensing power.

wards the end of King William's reign, he had the garter, was made secretary of state for Scotland, and commissioner to the parliament of that kingdom. Upon Queen Anne's accession, he was much in favour, and continued in both these employments. But, not being able to carry on the Queen's affairs in parliament, and being accused of endeavouring to create a misunderstanding betwixt the Queen and her subjects, by a sham plot, which was much agitated in the English parliament, he was discharged of all his employments. He was restored to them not long after; was commissioner of the last Scottish parliament; and had the chief hand in accomplishing the union of the two kingdoms. He is a nobleman of fine natural dispositions, of easy access, has a genteel address, and much the manner of a man of quality.

Earl of Tullibardine, afterwards Duke of Athole, Lord Privy Seal,

Is the representative of the noble family of Murray. His father, the Marquis of Athole, declared for King James at the revolution. But this gentleman declared for King William; had a regiment given him, was created Earl of Tullibardine, and made secretary of state with Lord Seafield. But, upon finding that a faction in opposition to him was likely to gain the ascendant in the King's favour, he threw up the seals, retired from the court, and headed the opposition to it in all the subsequent parliaments during that reign.

When Queen Anne came to the throne, he was made Lord Privy Seal; and upon, his father's death, was, from Marquis, created Duke of Athol, and Knight-companion to the Thistle. He does not want sense, but is often choaked with passion, especially in public assemblies, where his quality entitles him to be heard.

Marquis of Annandale, President of the council,

Is chief of the ancient family of Johnston. He fell in heartily with the revolution at first; but, in a few months after, entered

N

into

into a design of restoring King James; which being discovered by the apprehension of Nevil Payn, who was sent from England to carry it on, he submitted himself to King William, confessed his crime, and obtained his pardon. He was often out and in the ministry during that King's reign; is very apt to be influenced by his private interest; hath good sense, and a manly expression; but not much to be trusted.

Mr Carstares

Is a presbyterian clergyman, who fled from Scotland after the insurrection for religion in the reign of King Charles II. He was taken prisoner in England, upon suspicion of being concerned in the intended insurrection for which Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney suffered, and was sent down to Scotland, where he underwent a torture.

He afterwards retired into Holland, and came over at the revolution with the Prince of Orange. He contracted, when in Holland, an intimate friendship with the Earl of Portland; and was in great favour with the Prince, who, upon the revolution, made him his chaplain for the kingdom of Scotland, and gave him the revenue of a bishoprick for his salary. He attended King William in all his campaigns, and was allowed L. 500 each campaign for his equipage.

As the King committed the government of Scotland to Lord Portland, as his ostensible minister, so that nobleman devolved it upon Mr Carstares; all offices of state and other employments being disposed of by his influence. Indeed, few Scotsmen had access to the King but by him; so that he was properly viceroy of that kingdom, and was called at court *Cardinal Carstares*. The Queen continues him in his offices; but he does not concern himself so much in public affairs.

Earl of Stairs

Is eldest son to my Lord Stairs, who was president of the session in the reign of King Charles II. fled to Holland after the Duke of York's

York's parliament, and was restored to his former place at the revolution.

This gentleman, notwithstanding his father's disgrace, was made Lord Advocate in the reign of King James : After the revolution, he was made Secretary of State with my Lord Melville, and then with Mr Johnston, who at last threw him out of all: Nor was he after employed in that reign.

On the Queen's accession to the throne, he was, from Lord created Earl of Stairs. He is a very good lawyer, has great natural talents, is a fine orator ; but factious, and makes a better companion than a statesman.

Cockburn of Ormiston

Is the representative of a very good family, amongst the first in Scotland conspicuous for its zeal in the reformation, in the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, and Edward VI. of England. They have been zealous asserters of presbytery ever since.

This gentleman entered heartily into the measures of the revolution, and was zealous all King William's reign, especially for the presbyterian church-government. He was made Lord Justice Clerk and Privy-counsellor by King William; and, some time after, Lord Treasurer Deputy, or Chancellor of the Exchequer.

On the Queen's accession to the throne, he was dismissed from all his offices. He is too great a bigot in his principles ; but, in other respects, a very fine gentleman, both in person and manners ; of strong good sense, and great integrity.

Murray of Philliphaugh

Is the representative of an antient family near the borders of England. He was concerned in a design of making an insurrection in Scotland at the time of Shaftsbury's plot, and was one of the evidences against Jerviswood.

He was made a Lord of Session at the revolution, and some time after Lord Register; and went out of that office along with the Duke

of Queensberry, his friend and patron, in the year 1704, and was restored to it in 1705. He is a gentleman of a clear head, a man of business, and a good countryman.

Earl of Marchmont

Was Sir Patrick Hume of Polwart, a branch of the antient family of Hume. He was one of those engaged in the designed insurrection, called *Shaftsbury's plot*, in King Charles II.'s reign; and, upon his not compearing to answer his accusation, was declared a traitor, and his estate confiscated. He came over from Holland with my Lord Argyle, in the Duke of Monmouth's expedition, and had the good fortune to escape to Holland again; from whence he came over at the revolution with King William, who created him, first, Lord Polwart, and, some years after, Lord High Chancellor, and Earl of Marchmont. He was also for some time Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish parliament.

In Queen Anne's reign, he was discharged from his employments. He is a fine gentleman, of clever parts, zealous for presbyterian government, which was his great motive in engaging against the crown. A lover of set speeches, and can hardly give an advice to a private friend without them.

Sir Hugh Dalrymple, President of the Court of Session,

Is the third son of my Lord President Stairs, and brother to the present Earl of Stairs. He was made President by King William upon his father's demission. He is reckoned to be one of the best lawyers in Scotland, has a clear understanding, and great gravity of manners. He is an eloquent speaker, smooth and flow in his expression.

The Following character of *Andrew Fletcher of Salton*, extracted from the same MSS. merits a place in a work intended to illustrate the history of a period in which he made so great a figure.

He is a gentleman of a good estate in Scotland, with the improvement of a good education. He was knight of the shire of Lothian to

to that parliament to which the Duke of York was commissioner, in the reign of King Charles II. and openly opposed the arbitrary designs of that Prince, and the fatal bill of succession; which obliged him wisely to retire, first to England, then to Holland, because the Duke of York would not forgive his behaviour in that parliament.

They summoned him to appear at Edinburgh; which he not daring to do, was declared traitor, and his estate confiscated. He retired to Hungary, and served several campaigns under the Duke of Lorraine; returned to Holland after the death of King Charles II. and came over to England with the Duke of Monmouth; had the misfortune to shoot the mayor of Line after his landing, and upon that returned to Holland again; from whence he came over with the Prince of Orange at the revolution.

He is a zealous asserter of the liberties of the people, and so jealous of the growing power of all Princes, in whom he thinks ambition to be natural, that he is not for entrusting the best of them with a power which they can make use of against the people. As he believes all Princes made by, and for the good of the people, he is for giving them no power but that of doing good.

This made him oppose King Charles, invade King James, and exclaim against giving too much power to King William, whom he never would serve; nor does he come into the administration of Queen Anne, but stands up as a pillar of the constitution in the parliament of Scotland.

He is a gentleman, steady in his principles, of nice honour, with abundance of learning, brave as the sword he wears, a sure friend, and an irreconcilable enemy, would lose his life cheerfully to serve his country, but would not do a base thing to save it. His thoughts are large as to religious subjects, and could never be brought within the bounds of any particular sect, nor will he be under the distinction of a Whig or Tory; says these names are but cloaks for the knaves of both sides.

His

His notions of government, however, are too fine spun, and can hardly be lived up to by men subject to the common frailties of human nature. Neither will he give allowance for extraordinary emergencies; witness the Duke of Shrewsberry, with whom he had always been intimate; yet, the Duke coming to be secretary a second time, with a view to save his country, this gentleman would never be in common charity with him afterwards. And my Lord Spencer, now Lord Sunderland, for voting for the army, was used by him after the same manner.

He hath written several good things, but not published in his own name; and hath a very fine genius, full of fire; of low stature, with a stern, sour look.

ORIGINAL

O R I G I N A L

S T A T E - P A P E R S.

A N D

L E T T E R S.

STATUTE

AND

THE

ORIGINAL
STATE-PAPERS,
AND
LETTERS.

ARGYLE'S CORRESPONDENCE *.

WHAT renders the cyphers by which the correspondence with Argyle was carried on so very intricate, is the following particulars.

1. Things were expressed by new words, so that, in effect, the letters were written in a new language. 2. These words were written in cyphers. 3. This cypher consisted of a triple alphabet. 4. Many words were intermixed with mute cyphers. 5. In some of the letters, all the relatives are expressed by figures; as, in Lady Argyle's letter, the figure 43, or letter D, stand for the relatives, *he, his, him, &c.* 6. That, though Mr Spence was instructed to shew the way of reading the following letters, yet he knew nothing of the particulars contained in them. 7. The words in the long letter subjoined were so ordered, that 254 words, in course of writing, were interposed betwixt the first and second word in sense, and as many betwixt the third and fourth, and so forth, to the last word of the
O letter;

* See the records of the Scottish privy council for the year 1684.

letter; then beginning with the second word, there was 252 words between that and the next in sense, and so forth, till you come to the penult word; again beginning with the third word of the letter, between which and the next in sense there intervenes only 250 words, and so on to the end. 8. In the short letter, 62 words are interjected betwixt the first and second; and you proceed as in the other.

By this unequal distribution, and gradual decrease of the interjected words, the method of reading became altogether mysterious. Thus, in the long letter, you must first throw it into eight columns, consisting each of 128 words; and then Argyle's way of using them is, he begins at the head of the first column, and proceeds to the foot of it; then beginning at the bottom of the second column, you mount to the head of it; next you begin at the head of the third column, and so proceed till you come to the topmost word of the eighth column. By this all the words are placed in their natural order, as appears from the decypher; so that, if one word is misplaced, the whole letters become a chaos of nonsense.

Here follows the Alphabetical Key which opened the Countess of Argyle's Letter.

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	&
Alphabet 1st.	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34
2d.	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
3d.	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94

A

A Letter written in the middle Alphabet from Argyle to his Lady, probably after he heard that the Conspiracy was discovered. This Letter abounds in mute cyphers.

“ * 326748452543245126414436514043446928372654564857535239
4456274744294857395053575822535340504852585764545956545357
4457685847564842445169215644435751404344285456535453584858
4853522053454459445662675847485246325148464758574442595644
3941564052436048584753595840415361645847445258534344405044
6048584741485642574159584858485752535858405049485246604850
4353444858646047505848577440544452444352444443975253584748
52434456415958574753595043455956584744564451.”

The above letter decyphered, and mutes pointed out, m stands for mute.

“ ^m 32 ^m 67 If ^m 25 ^{Duke} D ^m 27 ^{Monmouth} M ^m 26 be ^m 36 made ^m 69, ^m 28,
^m prifon^m 39er, ^m 27 he ^m 29 is ^m 39 loft ^m 22 to all intents and purposes. ^m 68.
Thrice Mr ^m 6921 ^{Carstares} Red † made ^m 28 proposition ^m 20 of every ^m 67 thing
^m 32 might ^m fecure ^{Scotland} 39 Brand ^{battle,} without a box, and then to deal with
England;
Birch; but it is not talking will do it; and what has happened
need not hinder, but should further them.”

O 2

The

* As, by the alphabet made use of in this letter, 40 stands for the letter a, 41 for b, and so on till you come to 64, which stands for &, the way to distinguish the mutes from the significant cyphers is, to observe whether any two figures fall within the compass of the alphabet from 40 to 64. Thus, the figures 32, 67, at the beginning of the letter, are mutes, 32 being a number below the first cypher, and 67 a number above the last.

† This alludes to a plan which Mr Carstares had formed for surprising the castle of Edinburgh.

The Key of Words, whereof two Copies were found with Major Holms; one of them being in Mr Carstares's Hand-writing, and confessed by him to be the Key of their Correspondence. In which also there is an Alphabet different from the other three, for which as yet we have found no Use. The middle Column is thought only to be mute Figures, to confound the Design of the Key; so that one Word is only set down for another, as Ker stands for King, Birch for England, Brand for Scotland, &c.

The Alphabet.

King	-	40	Ker	Officers	-	81	Ramsey	a	12
D. York	-	71	Corfe	A general	-	88	Barcley	b	14
D. Mon.	-	39	White	Col. Sidley	-	96	Ramsay	c	16
E. Roch.	-	37	Whit.	Mr Holms	-	53	Barclay	d	19
E. Halifax	-	43	Whyte	Commisfar. Monro	-	59	Reid	e	23
The court	-	45	West.	Sir John Cochran	-	49	Rae	f	28
The council	-	50	Westle	Mr Carstares	-	74	Red	g	29
One of the council	-	57	East	Mr Stewart	-	83	Harlay	h	33
The Tories	-	30	Westly	Mr Athol	-	84	Harlaie	i	34
The Whiggs	-	22	Brown	Mr Huntly	-	77	Rofs	k	41
The city	-	18	Wilson	Scotland	-	10	Brand	l	42
The Mayor	-	27	Watson	Council there	-	92	Bold.	m	46
Sheriffs	-	31	Brun.	Chancellor	-	11	Calender.	n	55
Court of Aldermen	-	36	Baxter	Queensberry	-	15	Davidson	o	55
Common Council	-	35	Barker	D. Ham.	-	94	Boyd	p	56
L. Ruffel	-	29	Weste	E. Argyle	-	67	Forrest,	q	60
E. Essex	-	32	Wilson	Scots forces	-	66	Forret	r	63
Dissenting Lords	-	47	Browne	Scots fanatics	-	42	Goven	s	68
Bishops of England	-	61	Wood.	Scots. n. c. ministers	-	13	Lands	t	69
The clergy	-	65	Child	Scots clergy	-	5	Menzies.	u	70
Non-conformists	-	64	Chyld	The West	-	6	Mason	v	78
England	-	73	Birch	The Highlands	-	7	Wright	w	79
France	-	72	Birche	The South	-	9	Maifon	x	82
The States	-	44	Heart.	The North	-	95	Nairn	y	85
The Prince	-	38	Harwood	Edinburgh	-	26	Rofs.	z	86
Forces	-	17	Hal.	The Castle	-	25	Mafone.	&	89
Horfe	-	28	Hilyard	Dumbarton	-	24	Thomson		
Foot	-	90	Hickman	The East	-	20	Tomfon		
1000 of the one or			So many	The Scots gent.	-	21	Grein.		
other, a tick after.	his		partners.	The gent. at Lond.	-	94	Gray.		
and so forth 100—	his		So many	The borders	-	76	Menzies		
A stroke after, thus—	neighbours			Ships	-	99	Mr Berrie		
Arms	-	75	Chylde	For their number			A figure added		
Money	-	80	Hall	A garrison	-	98	Bierre		
				Religion	-	48	Bafs.		
				Popery	-	58	Sibbet.		
				Papists	-	51	Long.		
				Scots nobility	-	52	Sibit		

A N

An ADDITION to the KEY, written by Mr Carstares

Old friend	Tome	To surprize	To speak with
Mr Kiffin	Bishop	To land	To go to
Mr Cox	Crafts	To march	To deal
Lock	Huxter	To make prisoner	To agree
Ceffnock	Cozens	To fight	To talk
Jerviswood	Ball	To disarm	To fight
		To kill	To see
		To give quarters	To hear
		To overcome	To find.

This is a Letter, wherein Argyle gives an Account to his Confederates in England of the Proceedings of the King's Ministers in Scotland, with a view to disparage them; all written with his own Hand.

" West much way daily at I if with 69415358475944503322 then or 4253514857485352 or a if to 5644693941445057 at in 5744525844524244 of he cause other to keep and also did 58445240525357 persons any thing they of any if gave any Mr M. did thereof knew these and relation 39505360435352 and go he 585644405862 any with any in or 36485258445642535159524445 he send Air to be 40504056514443 Shiels is as done extremities to them knew 3951485248575758445657 if 405651445766 others any other and knew to if a or to if persons of and employ 394250445649 person him any thing others say they please will to to of money out of him if there now he the 3157457 528349 he 233246504057465360 who who of person did or they or any to a here where any arrived the and you are 584452445258 you that others conversed since write to the was employed and knew or present kept with going 446950 to the of for the persuade go be for fear found to or above that the 3842485642594858 go 6942 4457525349 away drawn correspondence 465359445651445258 any of 4740514850585352 Mr the 4948524657 my or and with at had for of 485258445653464058535657 are

as

as president is desirous things given 44 the private or their send 50
party person M. to any other and with and or or to 425359563854
5356844 5957 effect named dissuade the to or money swear 56444
14450485352 any persons and roll to 332246504057465360 any
the if any black 6053435738 place meeting the C. and for M. any
they rebels before meeting stile L. in go what as,

Lib. .SS.

* There rests just 32 8."

The Decypher of the foresaid Letter, as it was done in England, with
some Amendments in Scotland, which answered exactly with the
middle Alphabet.

" West much may daily at I if with 69 both well 33 22 then or
commission or a if to re 69 39 bels at in sentence of the cause other
to keep and also did tenants persons any thing they of any if gave
any Mr M. did thereof knew these and relation 39 London and go
he treaty any with any in or 36 intercommuned he send Air to be
alarmed Shields is as done extremities to them knew 39 ministers if
arms be others any other and knew to if or to if persons of and em-
ploy 38 clerk person him any thing others say they please will to
to of money out of him if their now he the 31 Cessnock he 23 32
Glasgow, who who of person did or they or any to a here where a-
ny arrived the and you are tennant you that others conversed since
write to the was employed and knew or present kept with going
E. 69 L. to the of for the persuade go be for fear found to or above
that the 38 circuit go 69 Cessnock away drawn correspondence go-
vernment any of Hamilton Mr the King's my or and with at had
for of interrogators are as president is desirous things given E. the
private

Lib. .SS.

* By 32 8 at the foot of the letter, Argyle signifies how many words
must be placed in each column, and into how many columns the whole letter must
be divided. Thus, in the above letter, there are eight columns, each column
consisting of 32 words, as in page 112.

private or the if fend L. party person M. to any other and with and or or to court Porteous effect named dissuade the to or money swear rebellion any persons and roll to 33 22 Glasgow any the if any Blackwoods 38 place meeting the C. and for M. any they rebels before meetings stile L. in go what as.

Lib. SS.

There rests just 32 8".

The COPY of the said Letter, as it was given in upon Oath by Mr Spence.

“ West-Shields is arrived ; the President is as much alarmed as any, and as desirous what may be done where you are. Things go daily to extremities : Here are interrogatories given in at Ayr to a tenant of E. L. I fend them to you for the stile : If he knew any that had private meetings with intercommuned ministers, or others, at or before Bothwell ? Or, if they conversed with the rebels then in arms, or since ? And, if they, or any others, did write, or fend any commission with any person to my L. M. or any other of the King’s party, for a treaty ? and who was the person ? And if he knew who employed Mr M. C. to go to Glasgow and Hamilton to the rebels ? And if he knew of any meeting at Lowdon or Cessnock, or any other place, in relation to the present government, and Blackwood’s sentence ? And if he kept correspondence with any of these persons now withdrawn ? And if he knew of their going away, or the cause thereof ? And if E. L. Cessnock, or any other, did employ him to go to Glasgow to Mr M. clerk of the circuit-court, to keep any person out of the Porteous roll, and gave him money for that effect ? And also, if any of the above named persons did any thing to persuade or dissuade any tenants of others to go to the rebellion ? Persons, they say, will be found to swear any thing they please, for fear or money.”

The

The aforefaid Letter fet down according to the Method of opening before narrated.

West-	Shields	is	arrived	the	President	is	as
much	alarmed	as	any	and	as	defirous	what
may	be	done	where	you	are	things	go
dayly	to	extremities	here	are	interrogatories	given	in
at	Air	to	a	tenant	of	E.	L.
I	fend	them	to	you	for	the	file
if	he	knew	any	that	had	private	meetings
with	intercommuned	minifters	or	others	at	or	before
Bothwell	or	if	they	converfed	with	the	rebels
then	in	arms	or	fince	and	if	they
or	any	others	did	write	or	fend	any
commiffion	with	any.	perfon	to	my	L.	M.
or	any	other	of	the	King's	party	for
a	treaty	and	who	was	the	perfon	and
if	he	knew	who	employed	Mr	M.	C.
to	go	to	Glafgow	and	Hamilton	to	the
rebels	and	if	he	new	of	any	meeting
at	Lowdon	or	Ceffnock	or	any	other	place
in	relation	to	the	prefent	government	and	Blackwood's
fenfence	and	if	he	kept	correfpondence	with	any
of	theſe	perſons	now	with-	drawn	and	if
he	knew	of	their	going	away	or	the
cauſe	thereof	and	if	E. L.	Ceffnock	or	any
other	did	employ	him	to	go	to	Glafgow
to	Mr M.	clerk	of	the	circuit	court	to
keep	any	perfon	out	of	the	Porteous	roll
and	gave	him	money	for	that	effect	and
alſo	if	any	of	the	above	named	perſons
did	any	thing	to	perſuade	or	diſſuade	any
tenants	of	others	to	go	to	the	rebellion
Perſons	they	ſay	will	be	found	to	ſwear
any	thing	they	pleaſe	for	fear	or	money

A Letter written with Argyle's own Hand, addressed to Major Holmes.

" Though I cannot by this post send you a full account of your affairs, yet I send you as much as may make you take measures what bills to draw upon me, which I hope you will fully understand by Mr B.'s help. The whole account amounted to several pages, but I only give you one to total, as sufficient.

" I gone so I and refuse object first you time much is way the our would of altogether concerned do upon absolutely do to do effectually as that it be to is at all be 335759424244575769 money 3647575657 of and to 69224736535657 and they have is at be that no some their 2345535958 &c. 500004548464758 part as against the but concurrence from be less nor like place and interest is small and power against need do bring which Birch that cannot time are out upon an 324753235657 to 56444256594858444367 projected meet very may little done the been purse I to shall my lifts I to great venture they prospect provided have can willing God given conference week Brown I of things said some the now their my head guard mention 324344675748465257 things which to your hope some ago as over some if do spoke for of know and encouragement confer have and self be order resolve and to reckoning all and undertake honest or was far be Shoes undertaking many of to for purchase was as is the a possibly us of by force it though so how the credit for time Birch and some greatest them concerned will for and to and 404843 station good may only the if more will if should expect tolerably standing and by and necessary the more the hazard to it 8 and think urge so necessary I the that so affairs have business very I possible of I send here against my till what little upon know not which money 25405748575840524244 I service any what shall resolve the at did least effectually thought and far if business reckoned for still the there I or stuck you upon money by first sum if then bills 26435640464559525769455356424457 well that 3841444058 515950584858594357 need trouble something very

a frighten the probably not 2000 the though the once for and 5759
 424244575735 will 40575875840524244 and to money could
 foolish Browne many the not to God's Brand besides stay Job feat
 yet to proposed 322240565157 a deal the things as all once less a-
 ny drink well on know I as pay whether never the received to any
 calculate about to that that the such with you I other I I for confi-
 derable be particular add I are of left I but all have it enemies to
 cannot to friends made part I write with may be service Mr an whole
 there consider persons it when knowing any and payments to I it
 low shall little little meaning intelligence thing out had which tents
 usual whole with 673151785048584840 and by the more of if but
 the that blissing raise a 54565358445758405258 4753565744 can
 virgins supply to call 485650405243 not keep imaginable though
 them 4853485244 standing many number 254753565733 only at
 standing a 5159505848585943 first considerable with more can
 them country 425351514052434443 in and there 40565157 it
 was weeks half I so to at 600 think needs precise I the the it a
 within what requisite not sum truly this grounds to say Mr thing
 not know they as hath the grounds occasioned I they both do is
 Red only let I distance in I half in I the little would 40574857584
 05242 first shall number very 1000 and the consider small confess
 them work proposed please cannot are 2000 Brand it 5444535450
 44 the be 4056515 then be 40544440564852464640584744564
 443 little 4553564244575758445650485244 have the but it will
 455356574457 and as we yet together only it for buy it consider
 employ better interest small so to some 47535657 a future the to to-
 tal the absolute of and designed and wagons are but or proposed or
 and because what add as out middle touch of I knowing merchant
 there is that what is 404540485644405844515458 Red I not but
 I of expect of up I enforce at be that should a is in considerable
 put I done this all have by the not to had before able will I if and
 a they have will is for 5753504348535956 shall necessities the or of
 if is is they very incident for the daily not cloaths necessary to there
 the necessary best of the 60405639 events little to hope 5644545644

57 many sum for so in we them more will in and it had any many yet
 be may all 51485048584840 and will it without and not but more
 get triple on is very 45535959 now be God and but is what a if
 odds it as near named not brush of not less power proposed an of
 thought my and go you in or resolved so I intend hear them out 45
 564844524357 to neither to will much till any the know on in
 proposition could what other I of could be the and be but that easy
 were I all differ was absolutely soon more to sent above at well right
 foot their together provifious the suddenly that 404258485352 will
 take will of the be unwilling the will can at is get Brand not 4056
 5157 no should the much their not and men the are be while do to
 advantage the husbanding for number is be for 5747534457 only to
 whole provisions charges good can to I I my middle money as free-
 ly for the and be estates do project all after fee be I it such you all
 47535657 the yet I distance to dare them direction Gods hands in
 on not prevent and have some help may from a a be pray very I I
 necessaries and that to a occasion prices the submit they but not own
 had made be do men some of sum be necessary 47535657 such be-
 stowed nothing they one it money of Brand not to sent engaged
 whole with a concerned own money next prove money for then
 but some impossible first be be most to of 4744564858535657200
 00 to up to do though their done case and yet number without hard
 appointed left 1200 like give will after necessary proposed as should
 leave hard had number I peremptory I 673347535657 stood pos-
 sibly those thought juncture I do mention this as as mean other I as
 neither give know offer have Adieu.

Gil. St.

The total sum is 128 8

Which will be paid to you by Mr B."

P 2

The

The Decypher of the said Letter as it was done in England, with some Amendments since, which answers exactly with the Middle Alphabet found out in Scotland.

S I R,

THO' I cannot by this post send you a full account of your affairs, yet I send you as much as may make you take measures what bills to draw upon me, which I hope you will fully understand by Mr B.'s help. The whole accompt amounted to several pages; but I only give you one to total as sufficient.

I gone so and refuse object first you time much is away the our would of altogether concerned do upon absolutely do to do effectually as that it be to is at all be 33 success 69 money 36 horse of and to 6922 h 36 orse and they have is at be that no some there 23 foot &c. 50000 fight part as against the but concurrence from be less nor like place and interest is small and power against need do bring which Birch that cannot time are out upon an 32 ho 23 rfe to recruited projected meat very may little done the been purse I to shall my lists I to great venture they prospect provided have can willing God given conference week Brown I of things said some the now there my head guard mention 32 d 67 signs things which to your hope some ago as over some if do spoke for of know and encouragement confer have and self be order resolve and to reckoning all and undertake honest or was far be shoes undertaking many of to for purchase was as is the a possibly us of by forse it tho' so how the credit for time Birch and some greatest them concerned will for and to and aid station good may only the if more will if should expect tolerably standing and by and necessary the the more the hazarded to it 8 and think urge so necessary I the that so affairs have business very I possibly of I send here against my till what little upon know not which money 25 assistance I service any what I shall resolve the at did least effectually
thought

thought and far if business reckoned for still the there I or stuck you upon money by first sum if then bills 20 dragoons 69 forces well that 38 beat multitudes need trouble something very a frighten the probably not 2000 the tho' the once for and success 35 will assistance and to money could foolish Browne many the not to God's Brand besides stay job sent yet to proposed 3222 arms a deal the things as all once less any drink well on know I as pay whether never the received to any calculate about to that that the such with you I other II for considerable be particular add I are of left I but all have it enemies to cannot to an accompt to friends made part I write with may be service Mr an whole their consider persons it when knowing any and payment to I it low shall little little meaning intelligence thing out had which tents usual whole with 6731 militia and by the more of if but the that blessing raise a protestant horse can virgins supply to call Ireland not keep imaginable tho' them join standing many number horse only at standing a multitude first considerable with more can them country commanded in and there arms it was weeks half I so to at 600 think needs precise I the the it a within what requisite not sum truly this grounds to say Mr thing nor know they as hath the occasioned I they both do is Red only let I distance in I half in I the little would assistance first shall number very 1000 and the consider small confess then work proposed please cannot are 2000 Brand it people the be arms them be appearing gathered little forces Stirling have the but it will forces and as we yet together only it for buy it consider employ better interest small so to some horse a future the to total the absolute of and designed and waggons are but of proposed or and because what add as out meddle touch of I knowing merchant there it that what is affair attempt Red I not but I of expect of up I enforce at be that should a is in considerable put I done this all have by the not to had before able will I if and a they have will is for soldier shall necessaries the or of if is is they very incident for the daily not cloaths necessary to their the necessary best of the war 39 events little to hope represents many some were for so in we them more will in and it had any

any many yet be may all militia and will it without and not but more got triple on is very foot now be God and but is what a if odds it as near named not brush off not less power proposed an of thought my an go you in or resolved so I intend hear them our friends to neither to will much till any the know on in proposition could what other I of could be the and be but that easy were I all differ was absolutely soon more to sent above at well right foot their together provisions the suddenly that action will take will of the be unwilling the will can at is get Brand not arms no should the much there not and men the are be while do to advantage the husbanding for number is be for shoes only to whole provisions charges good can to I I my meddle money as freely for the an be estates do project all after see be I it such you all horse the yet I distance to dare them direction God's hands in on not prevent and have some help may from a a be pray very I I necessities and that to occasion prices the submit they but not own had mad be do men some of sum be necessary horse such bestowed nothing they one it money of Brand not to sent engaged whole with a concern own money next prove money far then but some impossible first be be most to of heritors 20000 to up to do though there done case and yet number without hard appointed least 1200 like give will after necessary proposed as should have hard had number I peremptor I 6733 horse stood possibly those thought juncture I do mention this as as mean other I as neither give know offer have. Adieu.

The total some is ^{Gil.} 128 ^{ft.} 8, which will be paid to you
 by Mr B.

The

The Copy of the foregoing Letter, as it was given in by Mr Spence, according to the plain Sense thereof, without the Preface or Postscript, being set down already with the Cypher and Decypher.

I know not the grounds our friends have gone upon, which hath occasioned them to offer so little money as I hear; neither know I what assistance they intend to give: And, till I know both, I will neither refuse my service, nor do so much as object against any thing is resolved, till I first hear what Mr Red *, or any other you send * Carltares. shall say. Only, in the mean time, I resolve to let you know as much of the grounds I go on, as is possible at this distance, and in this way. I did truly, in my proposition, mention the very least sum I thought could do, our business effectually, not half of what I would have thought requisite in another juncture of affairs; and what I proposed I thought altogether so far within the power of those concerned, that, if a little less could possibly do the business, it would not be stood upon. I reckoned the assistance of the horse absolutely necessary for the first brush; and I do so still: I shall not be peremptor to urge the precise number named; but I do think there needs very near that number effectually; and I think 1000 as easy had as 8 or 600. And, it were hard that it stuck at the odds. I leave it to you to consider, if all should be hazarded upon so small a differ. As to the money, I confess, what was proposed is more by half than is absolutely necessary at the first week's work; but, soon after, all the sum was proposed, and more, will be necessary, if it please God to give success; and then arms cannot be sent like money by bills. There are now above 1200 horse and dragoons, and 2000 foot at least, of standing forces in † Brand, † Scotland. very well appointed, and tolerably well commanded. It is right hard to expect that country-people on foot, without horse, should beat them, the triple their number; and if multitudes can be got together, yet they will need more arms, more provision, and have more trouble with them. But the case is, if something considerable
be

be not suddenly done at the very first appearing, and that there be only a multitude gathered without action, though that may frighten a little, it will do no good. The standing forces will take up some station, probably at Stirling, and will, to their aid, not only have the militia of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, but all the heritors, &c. to the number, it may be, of 50,000. And, though many will be unwilling to fight for the standing forces; yet the most part will once join, and many will be as concerned for them as any can be against them. And, though we had at first the greatest success imaginable; yet it is impossible but some will keep together, and get some concurrence and assistance, not only in * Brand, but from † Birch and Ireland: It will not then be time to call for more arms, far less for money to buy them: No money nor credit could supply it: We should prove like the foolish virgins. Consider, in the next place, how ‡ Browne can employ so much money, and so many horse, better for their own interest, though the protestant interest were not concerned. Is it not a small sum, and a small force, to raise so many men with, and, by God's blessing, to repress the whole power of Brand, that some hope are engaged against us; besides, the horse to be sent need possibly stay but a little time to do a job, if future events do not bring the seat of the war to Brand, which is yet more to the advantage of Birch. As to the total of the money that was proposed, by the best husbanding, it cannot purchase arms, and absolute necessities for one time, for a militia of the number they are to deal with; and there is nothing out of the whole designed to be bestowed upon many things usual and necessary for such an undertaking, as tents, waggons, cloaths, shoes, horse, horse-shoes; all which are not only necessary to be once had, but daily to be recruited: Far less, out of the whole sum projected, was any thing proposed for provisions of meat or drink, intelligence, or incident charges. Some very honest, well-meaning, and very good men, may undertake on little, because they can do little, and know little what is to be done. All I shall add is, I made the reckoning as low as if I had been to pay it out of my own

* Scotland.

* England.

‡ Dissenting
Lords.

own purse ; and, whether I meddle or meddle not, I resolve never to touch the money, but to order the payment of necessaries as they shall be received ; and I shall freely submit myself to any knowing soldier for the lists, and any knowing merchant for the prices I have calculated. When there is an occasion to confer about it, it will be a great encouragement to persons that have estates to venture, and that consider what they do, that they know that there is a project, and prospect of the whole affair, and all necessaries provided for such an attempt. If, after I have spoke with Mr * Red, * Carstares, I see I can do you service, I will be very willing ; if I be not able, I pray God some other may : But, before it be given over, I wish I had such a conference as I writ of to you a week ago ; for I expect not all from † Browne. Some considerable part of the horse † Dissenting Lords, may, I hope, be made up by the help of your particular friends. I have yet something to add, to enforce all I have said, which I cannot at this distance ; and some things are to be done to prevent the designs of enemies, that I dare not now mention, lest it should put them on their guard. I have a considerable direction in my head ; but all is in God's hands.

N. B. That the foregoing marginal notes are so explained by the key of words.

Q

I know

The foregoing Letter in eight Columns, each Column consisting of 128 Words.

I	know	not	the	grounds	our	friends	have
gone	upon	which	hath	occasioned	them	to	offer
so	little	money	as	I	hear	neither	know
I	what	assistance	they	they	intend	to	give
and	till	I	know	both	I	will	neither
refuse	my	service	nor	do	so	much	as
object	against	any	thing	is	resolved	till	I
first	hear	what	Mr	Red	or	any	other
you	send	shall	say	only	in	the	mean
time	I	resolve	to	let	you	know	as
much	of	the	grounds	I	go	on	as
is	possible	at	this	distance	and	in	this
way	I	did	truly	in	my	proposition	mention
the	very	least	sum	I	thought	could	do
our	business	effectually	not	half	of	what	I
would	have	thought	requisite	in	an	other	junction
of	affairs	and	what	I	proposed	I	thought
altogether	so	far	within	the	power	of	those
concerned	that	if	a	little	less	could	possibly
do	the	business	it	would	not	be	stood
upon	I	reckoned	the	assistance	of	the	horse
absolutely	necessary	for	the	first	brush	and	I
do	so	still	I	shall	not	be	peremptor
to	urge	the	precise	number	named	but	I
do	think	there	needs	very	near	that	number
effectually	and	I	think	1000	as	easy	had
as	8	or	600	and	it	were	hard
that	it	stuck	at	the	odds	I	leave
it	to	you	to	consider	if	all	should
be	hazarded	upon	so	small	a	differ	as
to	the	money	I	confess	what	was	proposed
is	more	by	half	then	is	absolutely	necessar
at	the	first	week's	work	but	soon	after
all	the	sum	was	proposed	and	more	be
be	necessar	if	it	please	God	to	give
success	and	then	arms	cannot	be	sent	like
money	by	bills	there	are	now	above	1200
horse	and	dragoons	and	2000	foot	at	least
of	standing	forces	in	Brand	very	well	appointed
and	tolerably	well	commanded	it	is	right	hard
to	expect	that	country	people	on	foot	without
horse	should	beat	them	the	triple	their	number
							and

and if multitudes can be got together yet
 they will need more arms more provisions and
 have more trouble with them but the case
 is if something considerable be not suddenly done
 at the very first appearing and that there
 be only a multitude gathered without action tho'
 that may frighten a little it will do
 no good the standing forces will take up
 some station probably at Stirling and will to
 their aid not only have the militia of 20000
 foot and 2000 horse but all the heritors
 &c. to the number it may be of
 50000 and tho' many will be unwilling to
 fight for the standing forces yet the most
 part will once join and many will be
 as concerned for them as any can be
 against them and tho' we had at first
 the greatest success imaginable yet it is impossible
 but some will keep together and get some
 concurrence and assistance not only in Brand but
 from Birch and Ireland it will not then
 be time to call for more arms far
 less for money to buy them no money
 nor credit could supply it we should prove
 like the foolish virgins consider in the next
 place how Browne can employ so much money
 and so many horse better for their own
 interest tho' the protestant interest were not concerned
 is it not a small sum and a
 small force to raise so many men with
 and by God's blessing to repress the whole
 power of Brand that some hope are engaged
 against us besides the horse to be sent
 need possibly stay but a little while to
 do a job if future events do not
 bring the feat of more to the advantage of
 which is yet more the total of the money
 Birch as to the proposed by the best husbanding it
 that was arms and absolute necessities for one
 cannot purchase a militia of the number they
 time for to deal with and there is nothing
 are to of the whole designed to be bestowed
 out upon

upon many things usual and necessaries for such
 an undertaking as tents waggons cloaths shoes horse
 horse shoes all which are not only necessar
 to be once had but daily to be
 recruited far less out of the whole sum
 projected was any thing proposed for provisions of
 meat or drink intelligence or incident charges some
 very honest well-meaning and very good men
 may undertake on little because they can do
 little and know little what is to be
 done all I shall add is I made
 the reckoning as low as if I had
 been to pay it out of my own
 purse and whether I meddle or meddle not
 I resolve never to touch the money but
 to order the payments of necessaries as they
 shall be received and I shall freely submit
 my self to any knowing foldier for the
 lists and any knowing merchant for the prices
 I have calculate when there is an occasion
 to confer about it it will be a
 great encouragement to persons that have estates to
 venture and that consider what they do that
 they know that there is a project and
 prospect of the whole affair and all necessaries
 provided for such an attempt if after I
 have spoke with Mr Red I see I
 can do you service I will be very
 willing if I be not able I pray
 God some other may but before it be
 given over I wish I had such a
 conference as I writ of to you a
 week ago for I expect not all from
 Browne some considerable part of the horse may
 I hope be made up by the help
 of your particular friends I have yet some
 things to add to enforce all I have
 said which I cannot at this distance and
 some things are to be done to prevent
 the designs of enemies that I dare not
 now mention left it should put them on
 their guard I have a considerable direction in
 my head but all is in God's hands

EARL

EARL of CRAWFURD to MR CARSTARES.

Mr Carstares's Usefulness at Court.—Vindication of Mr Kennedy.—Great Repair of abolished Bishops to court.—Wishes Application of Adversaries about Church-Government were put off till the Convocation rise.—Of an Oath proposed to the Council by the Duke of Hamilton.

Rev. and kind SIR,

By every line I have from you I am still more confirmed in the belief of the singular obligations I owe you, and your great usefulness at court, in every thing where the happiness of church and state is concerned. It were an unspeakable loss, at this critical juncture, when there is such a need of friends about the King, and so many enemies setting face against our interest, that you were absent from him, even for a few days; for our adversaries watch for such opportunities, and frequently abuse our King with false representations, when there is no friend at hand to contradict them.

Edinburgh,
19th Decem-
ber 1689.

That story about Mr Kennedy's insinuation, "That he had little hopes our King would be better than his predecessors," is a mere forgery, and equally foolishly invented, as it is maliciously spoken; for his caution and prudence in discourse and actions, high esteem of his Majesty, and expectations from him in our church-matters, is even remarkable, beyond many of his brethren; and, upon enquiry at himself, and constant hearers, that report is this day flatly disowned, and all other expressions of that tendency.

By the goodness of God, my wife is safely brought to-bed of two daughters: To the eldest of which I have given the name of our Queen; and, if the other had been a boy, would have done the like for our King.

I am told there is a great repair to court of abolished bishops, and deprived inferior clergy, who are stretching their wits to have
this

this parliament dissolved; and, if that cannot be obtained, to lay the foundation for reviving their interest when it fits.

They are no less busy here since the Duke of Hamilton's return, and have several projects on foot: But am indeed ignorant what encouragement they get from him, and what countenance he will give them, when some of their projects, now concerting, shall be offered at the council-table. I am doing my utmost to season our members of parliament, and ministers of our way; so as they may be moderate in their behaviour; and that they entertain no more distrust of our King, whose purposes, either for our civil or church interest, are now so well understood, that there is now new life and cheerfulness in the countenance of all honest men. I have, by this occasion, written to his Majesty; which is the first time that, in a direct way, I ever addressed him; and should be satisfied you took your own method to be informed how far it is acceptable to him. If we can stave off all representations from our adversaries anent our church-government, and deprived ministers, until the convocation of the clergy are dismissed, I would expect that after-applications would have less weight. What is printed for the council's vindication here would be well digested, and couched in generals, rather than condescend to particulars: But in this I submit absolutely to the opinion of others, who are better judges than,

Reverend and kind Sir,

Your affectionate friend,

and humble servant,

CRAWFURD.

POSTSCRIPT.

The inclosed oath was this evening again pressed by the Duke of Hamilton, but not well entertained at the board. 1st, In respect of the manner of taking it, on our knee; and that we swear by the Bible, with it in our hand. Next, That, by the instrument of government, and confirmation in parliament, afterwards the oath
of

of allegiance, and the plain oath *de fideli*, are only to be taken; and all other oaths, tests, and declarations, are abrogated, so as we cannot legally meddle with them. The same reason that made it be urged by the Duke may make him misrepresent such as over-ruled him in the waving of it; which I hope you will so manage, as it have not a mistaken impression on the King, or any about him.

The O A T H proposed by the Duke of Hamilton in Council.

I swear, to be a true and faithful servant to the King's Majesty as one of his privy-council. I shall not know or understand of any manner of thing to be attempted, done, or spoken, against his Majesty's person, crown, or dignity-royal, but I shall let and withstand the same to the utmost of my power, and either cause it to be revealed to his Majesty himself, or to such of his Highness's privy-council as shall advertise his Highness of the same. I shall, in all things to be moved, craved, and debated in council, faithfully and truly declare my mind and opinion, according to my heart and conscience; and shall keep secret all matters committed and revealed to me, or that shall be treated of secretly in council; and, if any of the same treaties or councils shall touch any of the counselors, I shall not reveal it unto him, but shall keep the same until such time as, by the consent of his Majesty, or of the council, publication be made thereof. And generally, in all things, I shall do as a faithful and true servant and subject ought to do to his Majesty. So help me God, and by the holy contents of this book."

The

The following Letters contain secret Intelligence from Scotland, communicated to my Lord Melvil, Secretary of State for Scotland; and Lord Sydney, Secretary of State for England; and by them transmitted to Mr Carstares, who was then with King William. The writer was one Macky, who was employed by Lord Melvil, as a Spy upon the Jacobite Party in Scotland.

JOHN MACKY to LORD MELVIL.

Information received from the Bishop of Glasgow.

MY LORD,

March 6.
1691.

I have been here those fix days by past, and have endeavoured all in my power to satisfy your Lordship's expectations. The first I did after my arrival was, to wait upon the Bishop of Glasgow, to whom I sent, giving an account of my being come; and he met me at his elder brother's of St Andrew's. I told him, that one he used to write unto, under the name of Watfone, desired me, when I left St Germain's, that, if I went to Scotland, to wait on him, and give him accounts how affairs went: That I had certainlie got the King's commands to him, if it had been designed when I came from France that I should have come to Scotland; but, that Mr Macqueen, who was dispatched about that time for Scotland, and had particular instructions for him, I doubted not had been with him, and given a particular account of the preparations the King designed for them. He told me, he had a confused report of the arrival of those ships in the Highlands, but that Mr Macqueen had not yet been south: That he was afraid he had either been dead or sick, for he had been expecting him, with a great deal of impatience, those several weeks, and could not get word of him. I told him the projects laid down at St Germain's, as I told them your Lordship at London, with the rying designed in Staffordshyre; and that King James's friends were so impatient to know what were become of

of those ships, that they had sent me down on purpose to know what measures were designed in Scotland for this next summer, that they might order their business accordingly. He told me, That, if the French came some tyme next month or this, there were a great manie readie in all parts of the kingdome to joine; but, if not against that time, they would despair of them this summer; and that he had a letter lately from France, which intimate little less, than that the French King had so much to do at home, that he could not well spare men, till he knew the effects of this summer's campaign. As for an insurrection in the country, he had had several meetings with some about that; but fynds that it is what they cannot do, without running the hazard of certain ruine; and that they had lately sent King James word, that, without landing, they neither would nor could doe any thing for him. We concluded, to send ane expresse to the Isle of Sky, to know about Macqueen, and the measures they are to take in the Highlands. I urging the necessity of it for the satisfaction of the English, he desired me to see him every day, and went to visite the Duke of Queensberry, and give him account of what I told him. He gave me such solid and well weighed reasons to believe, that they could not make anie head without a foreign force, that I may almost assure your Lordship, that there is no danger to be apprehended that way; and, I believe, you knew so soon of the designed invasion, as to be in posture to prevent that to. I will very suddenly send to the Highlands, and get a full account of their affairs there; and shall not be idle in discovering any projects here, if designed. He told me Home was veriest fast; others not so much to be trusted; and that, of late, verie manie of the most foreward were turned luke-warme. Your Lordship shall find me verie faithful and diligent in performing what I have undertaken; and I hope your Lordship, when all danger is past, will, as you promised, provide me in an employment wherein I may more openly serve the King and your Lordship, to whose particular interests I shall always be a verie faithful servant.

I hope your Lordship hath ordered me money by my
Lord Raith.

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JOHN

JOHN MACKY to LORD MELVIL.

Viscount Tarbet's Correspondence with the Archbishop of Glasgow.

My Lord,

March 10.
1691.

I gave your Lordship a full account of what I have done by the last post. Yesterday the Bishop of Glasgow sent for me again, and told me, that the Viscount of Tarbet had been with him, and had confirmed every thing I told him anent the invasion, and that it had changed the measures of the confederates. Whether my Lord said this to him out of design, I leave to your Lordship to judge; but his relation agreeing so right with myne, hath brought me into entyre reputation with the partie. We sent Mr Andrew Cant to my Lord Freudraught, who is to furnish a man to go to the Isle of Sky; against whose return I hope to be able to give your Lordship a perfect account of their designs and strength. I find people's inclinations here, with whom I daily converse, to be so very cold towards King James, although friends to his interests, that, as I told your Lordship in my last, there is not the least apprehension of an insurrection. There are above thirty gentlemen gone over in these ships that carried over the forces, with a design, upon their arrival in Flanders, to go to France. Your Lordship shall have their names by the next.

JOHN MACKY to LORD MELVIL.

Further Information concerning Jacobite Projects.

My Lord,

March 13.
1691.

I have written three several packets to your Lordship, under my Lord Raith's cover, giving a full account of all projects laid down here; and have dispatched a man to the Isle of Sky, whose return I expect some tyme next week. One Dumbar, an Englishman, who came from

from thence within those ten days, told me that Burnet had been there with his packet, and that they had been expecting Macqueen with those other ships, with a great dale of impatience; but they concluded them, either kept by the Irish in Galloway, or lost. However, at the return of that man, I shall be able to give your Lordship a more particular account. The protestant partie here for King James are fully convinced that the French are at sea, and does expect their landing every day. But the Ladie Largoe, Kirconnoll, and the popish partie, are of opinion, that there will be no invasion till the summer's campagne in Flanders be over. I gave your Lordship account in my last of the place condescended upon for their landing. I have made it so much my business to know their designs, that I am sure they have no other then what your Lordship knows; wherefore, I beseech your Lordship would be thinking of some other way of disposing me, least, by my staying too long here, they may discover me; that, if I can do your Lordship more service, I may; if not, that your Lordship would provide a settlement for me.

I wrote to Mr Melvine, your Lordship's servant, by the last post, about a concern of myne, which I desired it might be communicat to your Lordship. I hope your Lordship will do me that justice as order that affair by the first convenience, seeing I am hopeful it was no design of your Lordship's, by that gift, to take away the interest of a man that makes it his whole studie to be your servant, and, while he lives, designs to imploy his time for your Lordship's interest.

JOHN MACKY to LORD MELVIL.

*Archbishop of Glasgow's Information concerning Earl of Arran,
Macqueen, Queensberry, &c.*

My Lord,

There hath nothing occurred here since my last worth your Lord-
ship's knowledge, onlie the Bishop of Glasgow sent for me on

March 19.
1691.

R 2

Tuesday

Tuesday last, and showed me a letter from some about Sir George Mackenzie, desiring King James's friends to beware of one James Hamilton, whome the letter gives account of to have been in Ireland, and hath promised to the government to come to Scotland, and do great things. Every one hath advertised another to beware of such a man. So that, if there be such a man coming, your Lordship may expect little service from him here. There came an express to my Lord Arran on Monday from St Germaines. What accounts he brought was only a confirmation of what your Lordship hath heard, that is, a descent designed in Scotland. The Bishop also told me that Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell told him, that M^cQueen was landed about six days ago in the Loch of Leus: The certainty of that your Lordship will know at the return of the man sent to the Isle of Sky. All the Jacobite Lords, to the number of eleven, met on Monday last at the Ship-Tavern, and next day went most of them to the country. Queensberry giveth out he is going to Sanchar; but the Bishop tells me he told him he was going for Londone; for he feared he would need a remission. As for Bal. and Lith. they are still privie to all business concerted for K. J. and although K. William hath their oaths, the other hath their hearts. Violent things do not generally last long, and I fear my staying here long may cool that entire confidence this party puts in me; seeing they expect that, when I have got full account of their affairs, I should return to those in England, by whome I pretended I had been sent. My Lord Arran especially, and the two Bishops, are soe affrayed of my being taken, that they beginn already to press my return. All the pretence I have now left of staying is, the return of the man from the Isle of Sky, against which time I proffer to receive their commands. I beg that your Lordship will let me know how further I may write you; and be assured your Lordship shall always find me your Lordship's very faithfull servant.

MACKY

MACKY to LORD MELVIL.

The Jacobites disappointed in their Expectation.—The Archbishop of Glasgow imprisoned.

My Lord,

I have been at Montrose, to effectuate what I informed your Lordship of in a former letter; and was at Dickson's father's house: But there is no word of him there. I went further up to the Braes of Angus, and was two days with several of those that are not yet reconciled to the government, who tells me, that, since the frigatt with Burnet came, they have had no intelligence from King James: That the letters that came with that frigatt assured them of ships with winter-subsistence, and that forces should be sent in the spring: That they have been dailie expecting them, but none yet arrived; which is also confirmed to me by the return of the man I sent to the isle of Sky, who hath brought me word, that these four months bypast they were expecting Macqueen with those ships; but his not being come makes them think that King James hath altered his measures, and persuades me, that the accounts my Lord Arran's servant brought, that the King of France could spare no forces till the success of the campaign of Flanders be known, is true. However, people's mynds are big here with the expectations of an invasion, but have no other grounds then what their own fancies dictate to them; seeing I can positively assure your Lordship, there are no instructions come to any persons of quality for that effect. Some confidently report, that the Duke of Gordon, Dunbarton, with some other Scotch, English, and Irish, are to embarque at Dunkirk, for the North of Scotland, and, with the Highlanders, to make some stirr here, till the French King can more conveniently spare more forces. The thing looks probable; but, having it from no persons of considerable note, I will not affirm it; only thinks it my duty to inform you of every little circumstance; seeing the least appearances of evil should be guarded against. I beseech your Lordship to cause strict enquiry to be made

April 11.
1691.

made after one Mr Alexander Hygens at Londone. He was once an advocate here, and now serves the Countess of Southesk, and came to Scotland from Paris, under pretence of uplifting the Countess of Southesk's rents; but I hear hath given very large accounts of King James's business here. If he seem obstinate, and pretends he knows no publick concern, you may tell him, you can prove, that he told here of Mr Macqueen's being dispatched to Nants in November; that, by an order, he was stopped at Nants till the first of March, with the reasons why he was stopped, and the measures designed by that court for this summer; that he was with the Bishop of Glasgow and Lord Arran, with whome it could not be supposed the Countess of Southesk had business. If your Lordship send for him after a friendly manner, and enquire things, I doubt not but you will get a more ingenuous account than by making him prisoner. He is to be enquired after at Mr Edward Calkendar merchant in Tower-street, Londone, his house. He stayed not here, otherwyse I had seen him; and, if he be not speedily found out, I fear, may be gone forward for France. There could have nothing fallen out more unlucklie then the apprehending the Bishop of Glasgow at this juncture, he being the person from whom I had my surest intelligence, and one whome I am sure cannot be active more then in contriving against the government; and which he can do in prison as well as out of it. It also renders me suspicious to him and the partie, I being the only person he used to communicate with about King James's business. And to goe visite him in the castle would render me more suspicious, seeing it would be accounted very rash in me, under the circumstances I pretended to be, to go thither. Besides, he hath sent me word not to venture to come to him, but send the night before I goe away. I wish that some of my letters to your Lordship, in the black box, may not have fallen into the hands of others (pardon my freedome) who may make use of them. To make the King believe their intelligence as good as your Lordship's, I design, in two or three days,

days, to set forward, and wait on you at Londone. Your Lordship shall find me your very faithfull servant.

MACKY to LORD MELVIL.

My Lord,

Be pleased to receive inclosed that paper your Lordship desired me to draw. Its ane account of the most material circumstances I mett with in Scotland; and I am sure my intelligence was so good, that, if there had been more to be known in that kingdom, I had heard of it. I have omitted the setting down the place named by the Jacobites as the fittest place for the French to land, as a thing needless; seeing, in all probability, there will be none this summer. Besides, I acquainted my Lord Raith with it in Scotland; and he advertised that countrie to put themselves in a defensive posture. When your Lordship hath perused it, I hope you will recommend it so to the government as I may be taken care of; and your Lordship shall always find me a verie faithfull servant to your interests.

———To Lord MELVIL's Secretary.

Lord Breadalbine's Transactions with the Highlanders.—His Complaint against the Duke of Hamilton.

Sir,

I have been several times with Mr Menzies since I saw you; but, till yesterday, could never have an occasion to be effectually serious with him about his present negotiation; which he gave me a full account of; and which you shall have, word by word, as he told it me.

First, That he was sent hither by the generals and other gentlemen in the Highlands, to know whither my Lord Bredalbine had a power to treat with them; and, if he had, why the said treaty was not observed by the council of Scotland: Seeing, instead of enjoying the freedom of living peaceable in their own houses,

Thursday
Sept. 11.
1691.

houses, conform to the articles of the cessation, they were more strictly enquired after, and as severely used as formerly.

That, till he got the King and Queen's determination, Buchan had secured himself at Glengarie and Carron in the island of Skie. What arms and other provisions they had, were secured at island Donen, (a place belonging to Seaforth), under the custody of Major Scot and some others, with Arnot the surgeon.

That upon the signing the cessation, which was about a fortnight after the arrival of their ship from France, Colonel Rattary was dispatched, with an account of what they had done, to King James; and, since his coming here, he is informed of his arrival there. Lieutenant Colonel William Charters, who was to come thorough the Low Countries, and to have gone this way over, with an account of the state of business there, was taken with a sudden fit of the palsy, when he should have begun his journey, with which he was struck dumb; and is, as he is informed, since dead.

That they had nothing under Bredalbine's hand but a double of the cessation; yet he managed his business so, as, which ever of the two governments stood, he would be great. That they expected, before the expiration of the treaty, to have an answer of Rattary's negotiation; which, if not very effectual, they would submit, and accept of the indemnity. That, since his coming here, he had entered a complaint, by my Lord Broadalbine, against the Duke of Hamiltone, as the onlie occasion of the not keeping of the cessation; and gives for instance his own usage at Edinburgh before he came away, there having been several searches made for him, and some gentlemen made prisoners for conversing with him, as if he had been the greatest out-law: That he had made several prisoners, notwithstanding of their having the secretaries passes, alledging, that the passes must be forged, for they could never be granted to such villains, as he terms them; concluding, that he does everything he pleases by an absolute power, without ever regarding the government. Upon this complaint, he says, he is promised a letter, by
way

way of reprimand to the council, commanding, that those gentlemen that were taken be set at liberty, without bail.

This is the sum of what passed worth my Lord's knowledge. I believe he expects to keep a correspondence here with Rattray, which I shall know from time to time. I believe I shall not have occasion to see my Lord till Langton go away, which will be very shortly, he having got letters, that the man that is to relieve him is upon the road; and he is now busy gathering up his instructions; so that I design to keep close with him while he stays. Let me know by a note, or some token, that this is come safe to you, because the porter is a stranger to me.

The following Paper contains Intelligence of King James and Lord Breadalbine's Negotiations with the Highland Clans.—A List of the disaffected Families in the several Counties of Scotland.

Peter Hay, formerly lieutenant in Dumbarton's regiment, was sent from St Germaines for England about the beginning of this present month of September, and came to Londone on the eleventh of the said month: His negociatione is to give account, *first*, of the money and promises sent by the Pope, with the indulgence to all that dies in the war in Ireland. *2dly*, That the French King had given orders for a small fleet under the command of Monsieur Chaternt, immediately to relieve Limrick; and that, before he came away, the orders were sent from Versailes to that effect. *3dly*, He brought a letter from King James to Colonel Canon, now in the Isle of Sky, to endeavour what in him lay to break this negociation betwixt the Highlanders and Braedalbane, till the latter end of Januarie, or beginning of Februarie, against which time they should be certainly supplied. This letter Lanton was to have sent down by an exprefs; but they resolved to acquaint Duncan Menzies (who is come here from the Highlands) first with it, who told them, that all the letters King James could wryte would take no

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effect

effect with the Highland clans, seeing he sent them very large promises, the year before, of supplies ; and, when they came, proved to be but a small ship with a little flower and wine : But, as for what officers were in the Highlands, they being, by the articles, upon their not taking the oaths, to get passes to goe abroad, he could pass his word, that my Lord Braedalbane should delay their being transported till after the time appointed by King James for their relief ; and, if they pleased, for their farther encouragement, they might send them word of King James's promise ; but he feared there was hardly subsistence for them this winter in the Highlands. To-morrow, being the 22d day of September, Mr Menzies departs for Scotland, and is entrusted with Mr Hay's message to the gentlemen in the Highlands himself, upon many solemn oaths and asseverations made to be faithful in it.

A friend of Mr Hay's, but not himself, told me, that he brought a letter to the Earl of Clarendon. Mr Hay says, that Rattray told, at his arrival at St Germaines, that the Lord Braedalbane told them in the Highlands, when he came first thither, to treat for a cessation, that what induced him to it, was the affection he bore to, and care he had of his friends the captains of the Highland clans ; that they were to be immediately attacked by Sir Thomas Livingston with fire and sword ; and there being no other appearances of relief, he thought they could not do better than sue for a cessation ; which would be a breathing to them, and give them time to represent their circumstances to King James ; which, if he could not relieve, he could not blame them to submit. (This, if not the very words, is the substance of what Hay told of Rattray.)

All affairs relating to England is still managed by Mr Browne, formerly one of the commissioners of the customs in England ; and all Scots business by Mr Innes, president to the Scot's college in Paris, and provincial of all papists be-north Tay in Scotland : That the Lord Maitland lives very miserable there ; and Duke Gordon was retired upon discontent. Colonel Porter was removed from
his

his office of resident at the French court, upon suspicion of correspondence with the English. A gentleman, who had been a considerable servant of the Queen Dowager's, and a bred papist, was taken up for a spy, and, upon some evidence against him, was privately made away in the Bastyle.

Captain Beach, sent over by the secretaries of state above a year ago, was broke upon the wheel for a spy, and, upon his confession, quartered. Mr Cox, lately come from Flanders, taken at Lysle, and sent in chains to Paris; and one Davidson, taken in the army, endeavouring to persuade some of the gens d'armes to goe over to the confederate army, was carried in chains to Paris, and there broke upon the wheel.

Mr Menzies, amongst other things, was giving account of some that were very affectionate to their party in Scotland. Some of which, as I can best remember, was as follows :

That the laird of Corhead, one of the members of the Earl of Melvill's session of parliament, sent them frequent accounts of all things passed there : That the whole shires of Angus and Mearns were their friends, except Arskyne of Dinn, Lees Burnett and his brother, with Sir David Carnagie ; very many in Fyfe, particularly, Balcarres, Sinclair, Lieutenant Colonel Balfour, Scotstarbett, Lathrish, Lochore, Synyre, Preston, James Carmichael, Kinnenment, &c. All Monteath and Stratherne, except very few. In the Lothians, the house of Hawthorndean, a great shelter in time of searches in Edinburgh ; there, and at Roslin, hard by it, all their expresses from France and the Highlands stayed : They have of friends, Gosford, Craigentinnie, Balgon, Clarkentone, Cockburn, Nunland, Sir John Ramsay, Dalmahoy elder and younger, Collington, Oxenford. In the southern shires, the Earls Home and Galloway, Lord William Douglass, Mr of Kenmure, Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell, Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, Sir Robert Lawrie of Maxleton, Gladstone, Mackerston, Hayning elder and younger, Murray of Stenhope, Chatto, Possa, Rowestone sberiff in the Merse, and several others of lower note, which would be tedious to rehearse.

TO LORD MELVIL.

Duncan Menzies and Sir George Barclay's Negotiations with King James in behalf of the Highlanders.—List of Scots Officers sent from St Germaines to Ireland, &c.

MY LORD,

I doubt not but your Lordship hath heard of Sir George Barclay and Duncan Menzies being come to town. I was with Mr Menzies this morning, and received the following account: That he left St Germaines on Saturday was se'ennight: That, before he came away, King James was gone to Brest, to take a review of the Irish landed there, which were computed to be ten thousand: That the Earl of Dumfermling had left St Germaines, with a designe to goe for Scotland; but had not left France when he came away: That he and Sir George Barclay, in answer to their negociatione, had an warrant, under King James's hand, to the Highlanders, to take such care of themselves as consisted most with their interest. This was all in general that I could get from him this morning, there was so many about him for news. I hope, in a day or two, when he is more at leisure, to get a more particular account of their instructions; for they resolve for Scotland some time this week.

An Account of such SCOTS OFFICERS as were sent over from St Germaines to Ireland in the last Fleet.

The Lord Drummond, aid de camp
Colonel Frederick Cunninghame
Colonel Wauchop
Sir Charles Murray
Sir Charles Cairnie, lately prisoner in Gant
Colonel Sutherland

Colonel

Colonel M'Kenzie, once of dragoons in England
 Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kenzie, his son
 Lieutenant-Colonel William Chartrefs, formerly of Douglas's regiment
 Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Chartrefs, formerly of Buchan's regiment
 Sir William Mowet, formerly Captain in Arran's regiment
 Captain James Dalziel, brother to Sir John, formerly Captain in Douglas's regiment
 Captain Erskine, brother to the Lyon, formerly Captain in Wauchop's regiment
 Captain Rutherford, formerly Captain in Dumbarton's regiment
 Captain Murray, brother to Lord Elibank, formerly Captain in Dumbarton's regiment
 Captain Isaac Thurckill, formerly Lieutenant in Dumbarton's regiment
 Captain Charles Forbes, formerly in Dumbarton's regiment
 Captain Johnston, brother to Annandale, formerly Captain in Dumbarton's regiment
 Captain Innes, formerly Ensign in Dumbarton's regiment
 Captain Sandilands, formerly of Wauchop's regiment
 Captain Arniel, formerly of Dumbarton's regiment
 Captain-Lieutenant Frazer of Fielding's Irish regiment
 Esquire Maxwell of Orchardtoun
 Thomas Wallace of Alderfly
 Nisbet, son to Craigentinnie
 Menzies, Captain to King James's carriages
 Captain James Inglis, son to late Inglis of Scots dragoons
 Boyd, late Ensign to the castle of Stirling, under their Majesties, sent over by the Earl of Perth
 Gawin Brown of Trostone, nephew to Colonel Maxwell
 Captain Cockburn, formerly quarter-master to Lord Drumlanrigg
 Captain Braedie, formerly Cornet of horse in England
 James Lowthian, son to late Colonel Lowthian
 William Menzies, son to Pitfodde

Lieu-

Lieutenant Skyne, formerly of Dumbarton's regiment
 Lieutenant Peter Cook, formerly of Dumbarton's regiment
 Lieutenant Wood, formerly of Wauchop's regiment
 Lieutenant Douglas, formerly of the Scots regiment of horse
 Lieutenant Hempstead, formerly of Colonel Gauge's English regiment
 Major M'Culloch, formerly of Gauge's Flemish regiment
 Lieutenant M'Culloch, of the same regiment
 Lieutenant George Maxwell, brother to Sir Thomas of New-wark, formerly in Dumbarton's regiment
 Lieutenant Tilloch, formerly of Dumbarton's regiment
 Lieutenant Peter Robifone, formerly of Dumbarton's regiment
 Lieutenant Smith, formerly of Sir David Colyier's regiment
 Lieutenant Ruthven, served always among the French
 Twelve, who had been troopers in the Scots regiment of horse, also sent over Lieutenants and Ensigns
 Captain William Hay, Captain Davidson, Clerk, Carnagie, and the rest of those officers that deserted from Flanders, after they had rested three days at St Germaines, were also sent foreward
 Thirty-five Scots serjeants, made of the ablest of those soldiers deserted from Flanders, also sent.

An Account of the Recruits from France to Ireland.

One Lieutenant-General
 One Major-General
 Two Brigadier-Generals
 One Adjutant-General
 106 officers
 150 French cadets
 300 Scots, Irish, and English volunteers
 24 chirurgeons
 118 bricklayers and masons

26 carpenters
 2 bumbardeers
 18 gunners
 3 engineers
 80 horfe
 19 brafs and iron cannon
 12,000 fet of horfe-fhoes
 6,000 fadles, bridles, and holsters
 16,000 fire-arms
 26,000 cloaths for the foot
 12,000 barrels of powder
 1,100 the nouz de spiez, and many other neceffaries
 27 fhips from Burdeaux with wine and brandy
 300,000 piftolls in gold
 A great quantity of oats and wheat, with all manner of amunition.

LORD CRAWFURD to MR CARSTARES.

Arguments in Council for and againft a Militia in Scotland.

Reverend and worthy SIR,

I am glad to hear by a friend, that my letters go fafe to your hand, and that you ufe them as is defigned. The calling out of the militia did take up the council, about a fortnight ago, for feveral days together; and, when the proclamation went to the vote, the members were five and five. Thofe for it were, the Earls of Morton and Forfar, Vifcount of Stairs, Lords Belhaven and Stevenfon. Thofe againft it were, the Earl of Crawford, Lords Cardrofs, Ruthven, the Juftice-Clerk, and Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall. The Earl of Leven, that day chofen prefident, demurring, in a matter of that import, to give his cafting vote either way. The Vifcount Stairs, who was the firft projector of that matter, and all along

Edinburgh,
 June 16.
 1691.

long carried it on with a great solicitude, practised thus with the dissenting members :

My Lord Cardross, says he, I know where your scruple lies. By the privilege of the mint, you are exempted from attending the King's host, and cannot be forced to it but by consent ; and are unwilling to wrong your successors in their rights : Besides, your modesty prompts you to decline being colonel to the regiment of militia in Edinburgh, which a provost, if he were once chosen, may probably claim. Therefore, you may cause mark it in the minute, that your signing the proclamation is no homologation of your acceptance of that trust, nor yet a parting with your privilege in the mint. Upon which my Lord was prevailed on to sign the proclamation. The same wise man then addressed my Lord Ruthven in thir terms : By your temper, your Lordship is not willful, nor are you commonly wedded to your own opinion ; and, as Abraham, by his pleading for Sodom, would have prevailed, if there had been ten righteous in the city ; so, it was hoped, that, for a few ill men that came out of the northern shires, he would not reject the western, southern, and inland counties, who would be such a defence to the nation in case of an invasion. Upon which, that honest nobleman concurred.

The discourse was then to the Lord Justice-Clerk : That his Lordship had been long sick ; and it would be understood peevishness if he were further dissentient. Upon which, his Lordship likewise complied. My Lord Fountainhall was then told, that, being no foldier, it was expected he would not be tenacious ; and that, as he was a notable countryman, and tender of putting the country to any unnecessary charge, his Lordship should be gratified ; and, whatever money was saved of the forty days loan, should go in to the payment of the current cess. Upon which his Lordship was likewise profelyted.

The Earl of Crawford proved stiffer than the rest, and freely told that board, that his hand could not contradict his head and heart ; and, unless his arguments were fairly answered, he could
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not subject his reason and conscience to the practice or will of others; and gave the following reasons for his dissent: 1st, That the legality of some things in the proclamation was much questioned by him; as is contained in the inclosed paper, to which I refer you. 2^{dly}, That it appeared, at this juncture, ill policy, except there were more probable grounds of an invasion, to impress the country by fears, and put them to so vast a charge, which would amount to full five months cess; and that men without principle would be for or against a government as they found themselves easy under it. 3^{dly}, That it appeared dangerous to call out the militia in those shires be-north Tay, who were so generally disaffected to the present establishment, that we could not have four or five in a whole county in whom we could repose the least trust; and, for proof of this, desired the accepting commissioners for uplifting the supply might be counted: And how arms should be put in those mens hands, who last year were disarmed, appeared strange. It was answered to this by the wise man at that board, That it was no ways fit our friends should be burdened, and our adversaries escape free; nor could, legally, a burden be laid on a part of the nation, and not on the whole.

To this it was objected, That it was commonly practised other-ways in the late times; and, if there was difficulty in law, there was at least no scruple in this, to appoint the rendezvous of those ill affected shires about Michaelmas next, when the danger of an invasion might be over; and that there was no such ready access to run into the enemy, as there might be at this critical juncture; and especially if we were trysted with a landing; and that the western, and other well-affected shires, may be ordered to be ready upon a call. 4^{thly}, That as the western shires would like to be under the conduct of such as were favourable to them, so they would look upon the northern shires as a designed dead weight on them, and would not willingly join issues with them; though under commanders of their own choice, in whom they confided, they would pleasantly venture their lives, and all that is dear to them,

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for King William's interest ; and take directions from Sir Thomas Livingston, with an entire trust in him. 5thly, It was urged, that, in the meeting of estates, when the friends for the government were more zealous than now, and the appearing enemies far fewer, and under great discouragement for the time, the project of the militia, though moved by the Duke of Hamilton, was not seconded in that great assembly.

When the council became more numerous, and many representations were made from the country, and the discourses of an invasion had less belief, a proclamation was issued out, discharging the militia, until further orders, which, by some days, prevented the Queen's letter to the same effect.

The affair of Aberdeen is found very dirty, and the probation distinct. It is warrantably suspected, that some of high quality, and in the government, had a deep share in the contrivance of that foul affair. There is likewise a sort of bond of association, subscribed by all the disaffected in the place, not only undertaking to stand by their ministers, but protesting against any thing the commission should do. I presume his Majesty will not approve them in such a procedure to a commission of the assembly, delegated by that venerable meeting, consented to by his commissioner, and carrying the authority of parliament with it. Some wise men are like to put a fair face on it, as only a protestation for remede of law, which is still lame, and ought to refer to the parliament as well as King. It does not sound well, that, presbyterian government being the legal establishment, their judicatories should be appealed from ; which is a consequential, if not a direct, disclaiming the authority both of King and parliament. But I will not enlarge on this theme.

The deprived episcopal-men are every where transgressing the law ; preaching without qualifying themselves before the council ; and, cross to the act of deprivation, preaching in their own parishes ; yea, many of them setting up for calls, and mustering all the disaffected in the country for hearers to them. His Majesty's former letter to the commission is the pretext for this behaviour. If some
speedy

speedy course be not taken to remedy this, I am much afraid it will shake both church and state.

It is of no little prejudice to the government, that deputes of sheriffs, stewards, and baillies of regality, officiate without their constituents being qualified by taking of the oaths; for, besides that, by law, there can be no dispute when the principal has forfeited his right; so they are still men of freedom who are placed in those trusts, and only swallow oaths that more effectually they may prejudge the state; and the most necessary dispatches in the nation commonly miscarry in their hands. There is still an opposition, by some in this place, to the sequestrating the estates of such as were out in the rebellion in harvest last, upon this critical pretence, that in law they ought to be cited before sequestration. It is the wish of others, that there were nothing other at the bottom of this than a real scruple in point of law. Many find a want in that. Such as have been notourly in arms are not intercommuned, which would involve in guilt all such as corresponded with them, though they themselves did not fly to arms. It were well the King's mind were known anent the bailing of such as have been in rebellion, for his name has been used by some as inclining to it, which others do presume is a great mistake; the law making such unbailable, and our present circumstances evincing it to be ruining to the state. It is no less urged, that the Earl of Perth be enlarged upon bail, though he be under a process of treason before the parliament, was imprisoned in the late government for stretches while in the management of affairs, and guilty of three or four of those articles in the claim of right for which the late King forfeited his right to the crown; though he will not own the government; names our King still Prince of Orange; and hectors such as do not still term him Lord Chancellor of Scotland. Now, at such a juncture, to address for a liberation, in the season of action, when the Highlanders are likely to move, and the Duke of Berwick said to be amongst them, hath not the appearance of good. The same addresses are for the Bishop of Glasgow, and too much entertained. It were a great relief to the council of Scotland, if his

Majesty would give warrant to seize the horses and arms of papists and others disaffected to the present government; for, though it be represented to be law, and necessary for our present circumstances, it sometimes meets with this answer, That these methods are not suited to our King's inclinations.

The following Letter is without Date or Subscription.

Information for my Lord Sidney, Secretary of State for the kingdom of England. Sent to Mr Carstares, to be laid before the King.

MY LORD,

Being ambitious, ever since his Majesty's accession to the crown, of doing something might deserve his Majesty's favour, and contribute to his interests, I thought I could not effectuate my designs better, than by shuffling myself so amongst his Majesty's enemies, as to learn their designs, and, by informing his Majesty's ministers of state, be a means to prevent them; and accordingly went over to St Germaines in France, much about the time of King James's retreat thither from Ireland. The first thing that occurred there considerable, was the arrival of Mr John M^cQueen, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, with letters from Colonel Buchan and the Highland clans, giving account of the miserable condition they were reduced unto; withall, assuring King James, that, if he did not immediately send them relief, they would be obliged to submit. King James and the French King met upon this message: The result was, that a frigate should be immediately fitted out from Dunkirk, with some money and letters, giving account, that they had received their packet, and that the French King would, with all speed, take it into his consideration to their satisfaction. John Hay (brother to George Hay, who used to come to England with letters) was sent with the letters; but the frigate meeting a Brandenburg vessel off the coast of England, who engaged her, killed above sixty of their

their men; and Hay, who carried the letters, being wounded, was forced to return to Dunkirk. Burnet, a priest, was sent with the same packet in October; and no word of him when I came away. About this time, one Maclevain, who had been sent with letters to my Lord Arran, returned to St Germain, with a positive account, that that Lord would not accept the commission of lieutenant-general till forces were landed; and then he would rise with all his friends.

Major Jones and Roberts, two anabaptists, came also over about this time from England, with instructions for King James's friends. They were almost every night private with King James in his closet: They told me, they were not to return till Februarie. David Lindsay, once secretary to my Lord Melfort, came over some time after that with letters from London; as also, Sir Edward Hailes, who positively advised King James to supply Scotland, as the only way for him to get to England; seeing the English would suffer an invasion easier from that nation than from France. There was one Mrs Ogilvie sent to Scotland with the answers of some letters she had brought the late Queen from that country. She is to be found at the Countess of Carnwath's lodgings in Edinburgh. Burnet, the priest, will be found at one Whiteford's at the Canne crofs of Edinburgh, if he be arrived in Scotland. Mr M'Queen, who came with the Highland packet, after having pressed extremely to be dispatched, and King James having often solicited the French King, at last it was concluded, that two ships loaded with flour and wine should be immediately sent for their subsistence this winter, with a gentleman, who should return with the same ships, with a faithful account of their strength and number, and an assurance, that what horse, foot, and amunition they want to make that kingdom theirs, upon his return, they shall certainly be sent. Accordingly, Captain Scott, once an officer in Dumbarton's regiment, is appointed to carry the letters, and return with the answers. Mr M'Queen carries a compliment to the Highland clans, and instructions to go to the Low Countries, and give King James's

James's friends in those parts an account of their King's designs against spring: And one Arnot, a surgeon, was furnished with all sorts of drugs, and other necessaries belonging to his trade, to go alongst. They parted from St Germain's on the twenty-sixth of November, French stile, in order to their embarking at Nantz, under the convoy of my Lord Tirconnell, for Galloway in Ireland; and from thence, by the north of Ireland, to the Highlands of Scotland. Tirconnell was to carry over all the English and Irish officers with him, with cloaths, and other necessaries for an army; provisions for the towns of Limrick and Galloway, with ten thousand stand of arms, and amunition conforme. He was not to be dispatched till King James returned from Roan, whether he has gone to see the gallies that were fitting out there. I took post from Paris the same day that the Scots gentlemen went for Nantes. They were to be ten days by the way, besides the time they were to wait upon Tirconnell, or the clearing of their ship. And, on the ninth day from my setting out at Paris, I was at Londone, and delivered to the Earl of Melvill this information, to be communicated to the King, who desired me, from his Majesty, to continue in doing what service I could about Londone; and that the King would give orders about me before he went for Holland. After that, I made it my study to know all designs here to the prejudice of the government. At the Savoy, I met with one Mr Cook, one of the officers of Dumbarton's regiment that revolted at Ipswich, who told me, he was to be sent over, in company of a friend of Sir Robert Hamilton's, in a ship belonging to Mr Delavil, a merchant in the city, that used to go over to France with exchange of prisoners. I kept always with him till the night before his going away; at which time I acquainted the Earl of Melvill with it; gave him his marks, with a particular account of the ship, which lay ten days in the Downs after she went out of the river. I hear since by Lanton, that he is come to St Germain's, and was well received by King James, upon the account of the intelligence he brought him.

I was informed, that there was a ship at Colchester that frequently used to transport people for France; and, being suspicious of some people I heard in the post-house when I came that way, I wrote to the post-master, which occasioned the apprehending of some gentlemen that were just going over; three of them being on board when taken, but, upon very simple bail, liberate next day by the justice under borrowed names. The persons were, the Countess of Arrol, Sir William Wallace, with some other persons that had been with Sir William in the Highlands. They are all returned to this city. The men are lodged, as also Sir Adam Blair, in Bloomsberry; but the Countess of Arrol, I can get no notice of her. I was in company with Mr Arnolds, Mr Haywood, and another, who told me of their going over, and the way how; which I discovered to my Lord Melvill: But Captain Monk, captain of the ship, hid them while the messenger searched, and next day set them ashore. They are now in Londone. About the middle of December, I had certain notice, that Alexander Frazer, servant to Sir Roger Strickland, whom I had seen both at St Germaines and Dunkirk, was landed in Yorkshire, and gone from thence to Cumberland. I immediately acquainted my Lord Melvill with it; and, after his coming to London, was every day with him, till the night before his going away; at which time I gave information; upon which he was taken up, and now in custody.

This, my Lord, is what I have done to serve the King and government, which I did with a great deal of expence, both at St Germaines and here. Neither do I think there hath been any design of going over to France since I came here, (except that of my Lord Preston's which I was not privy to), but is set down here. If there had happened any thing of more consequence, I believe I should have known it, and certainly discovered it. This I can assure your Lordship, that, by what I find in all companies, there is not the least inclination in the English to an insurrection; but all their hopes depend upon a foreign force: Neither does any, except the most desperate, wish, that the invasion be made by
French;

French ; but all desire that such a French force should be sent to Scotland, as they might be invaded by a Scots army. And this is the frequent advice sent over to King James. The King, my Lord, was pleased to tell my Lord Melvill at his going away, that he had recommended me to your Lordship's care ; which obliges me to trouble your Lordship, humbly desiring to know what your Lordship is pleased to do with me.

Lift of King James's Household at St Germaines.

Duke of Powis, Lord Chamberlain
 Mr Stricklan, Vice-Chamberlain
 Mr Skelton, Comptroller
 Colonel Porter, resident at Versailles
 Lord Dumbarton, Duke Gordon, and Earl of Abercorn, Lords of
 the bed-chamber
 Captains M'Donald, Staffurd, ———, and Badell, gentlemen of
 the bed-chamber
 Mr Brown, secretary for England
 Mr Innes, a priest, secretary for Scotland
 Sir Richard Negill, secretary for Ireland
 Captain Fergus Graham, privy purse
 Two Skeldons, gentlemen of the stables

Of English and Scots attending on the Court at St Germaines.

Colonel Fielding, Colonel Parker, Colonel Sutherland, Lord Langdale, Sir Roger Strickland, Doctor Constable, Sir William Walgrave, Mr Sachill, Chief Justice Herbert, Dr Brumfield, quaker, Sir Edward Hailes, two anabaptists within named, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Councillor Brent, Dean of Durham, Baron Ryne, Colonel Chittim, Sir Thomas Strickland, Sir Thomas Caskie, Sir George Ethridge.

Scots.

Scots.

Earl of Kinoul, Earl Wigtoun, Lord Maitland, Lord Drumond, Sir William Sharp, Sir Charles Murray, Sir Alexander M'Lean, David Lindsay, Bishop of Galloway. This, besides a great many inferior officers, and others, gone to Ireland.

Secretary Johnston's Letters to Mr Carstares during the sitting of the Scottish Parliament in the Year 1693, when the Duke of Hamilton was Commissioner.

Secretary JOHNSTON to MR CARSTARES.

Of the temper of the Parliament.—The difficulty of keeping from falling on Lord Stairs and his Son.—Arts used to embroil matters with respect to the Affair of Glenco.

I had your's on Sunday, and had your's this day, without any confirmation of my Lord Middleton's going. I have got a fluxion on my eyes with ryding, which is so violent, that I can neither read nor write. I have just now let blood for it, and am otherwise well. I send you the inclosed originals, which it will be ridiculous to send to the persons concerned. Since I have taken copies, and will examine them here, I know no reason why those with you should desire the originals back again. The information you have sent is of such moment, that you should have obliged the informer to write how he knowes it.

Edinburgh,
April 18.
1693.

Write beyond sea from me, and tell P. if he be still with you, what hinders me to write; and that all begins well: That good men are glade, and bad men affraid: That both number and inclination are right in the parliament; and that others, and I myself, the managers, must have either bad luck or bad skill if matters don't succeed well: That the hardest point will be to keep the parliament from falling on my Lord Stairs, for his actings as a judge, and on his son, for

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illegal orders : That those you write to beyond the sea are to give notice that I have made use of my order to officiate as officer of state, having told the Master of Stairs at London that I had such an order, but that I would not make use of it, in case he would come down, and, having received his answer, that he would not come. Write too, that all arts have been used, and will be used, to imbroyle matters. Commissary Smollet, a known dependant, proposed, two weeks agoe, in a meeting of the burrows, that they should petition the parliament that no new supply be granted till an account be given of the misapplications of the hearth-money, &c. The man of war is not yet come.

Tell Monsieur Dallen what's here, and that I'll write to him so soon as there is matter, which will be with the Saturday's post. Write abroad, that D. Hamilton, at my desire, has communicated the instructions of the Chancellor and D. Queensberry, and my Lord Stairs. Write, that its plain the Jacobits here have got new hopes.

Secretary J O H N S T O N to Mr C A R S T A R E S.

Proceedings in Parliament.

Edinburgh,
April 25,
1693.

I can only tell you, (having no time), that the parliament hath this day cited all the heritors of Angus to come before them for not electing, and have fined the absents, &c. The committee hath voted L. 114000 sterling for raising and paying four new regiments of foot and two new regiments of dragoons 18 months, against which time they hope the war will be over. To convince them of their danger, I offered to lay proofs fully before any three of their number whom they should name ; which I did ; and, upon their report, we concluded as I have told you. But the particular of King James's being required to write in the town of Edinburgh affair happening to be in one of the letters shewn, it was reported too, and has made a great noise. I expected this day I should have been
complained

complained of in parliament; for they fancied it was a forged letter. But they are grown wiser. I wish they may do it; for that will produce the reading of it in parliament, which will do much good. I hope the King shall have reason to be well satisfied with his parliament. We keep off church-affairs till those of the state are done; but there is room enough even for them. I have not yet got decyphered what you writ about P. but I guess it. The thing will be easily done; but know his express mind, least we do him hurt instead of good. Possibly it would furnish matter to bad men in England to clamour against him. That is my opinion. Pray keep the macer's place unfilled. I am engaged to one, Asly I think is his name, a friend of Mr Oughton's. Adieu.

Secretary JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Gift procured from the King.—Ormiston.—Edinburgh Elections.—Major Buntyn.

S I R,

If that tack I sent up were worth L. 1000 sterling, when I say it is not worth L. 400, I were the basest man living. I shall make it appear what it is before I desire it to be offered to the King again; and if it be worth L. 400, I may say it is worth L. 4000 sterling: And therefore I say it is a malicious information. The King hath a third of it in his own possession. Most of the rents of the abbacy were dilapidat before Dumfermling had his tack; and some part of it that is Dumfermling's tack is dispoised by King Charles II. after the expiring thereof, which I cannot have by the new one. My son has it of me, with the baillie, constable, and major-fees, and L. 200 sterling more of property that I have in Fife. Only be pleased to look upon the person that hath informed you as a great ignorant, and my malicious enemy. But, if it be Mr Hog, it is *gratis dictum*. Let him see what I shall send up, and he shall have a disposition

April 27.
1693.

from me to all the rest that he can find more than I do say. I would not take L. 1000 from the King in Scotland, though he would give it me, he not having L. 4000 himself, the customs, excise, supply, and other casualities, excepted.

Ormiston is not only the man you spoke him to be, but of a near relation to my family, being thirds of kin to my son by my wife; and I doubt not to make him of a better temper than he has been.

As to the business of Edinburgh; I never thought it of so great moment as some at first would have made it appear; nor did I suffer any precipitation in it; nor will it import so much as the loss of time taken about it. I am of no faction, but stand singly by myself; and make not an easy life among them; but will stand clear against the reflection both of sloth and too much haste. And it is to be supposed there was some law in the council where four judges were members, and present.

I cannot be much in the dark as to the measures at present, being the same I myself was into when you and I parted; and I shall be as far from trusting enemies as forsaking friends; only I see not that deep reach of the Edinburgh election, which I hope shall never serve to other ends than the former, nor bring up the design of a clerk; which I think is sufficiently provided against.

I must tell you, that Major Buntyn, perceiving there will need an advance for payment of the forces, at least of a month, for I have persuaded the tacksmen of the inland-excise to advance one month, he begins to fall of; and, having got the wind of the employment you intend for him, by somewhat in the advocate's letter you wrote about him, I find he inclines much more to that. And, if the A. Bishop be quitted of the design of Mr Lockhart for that castle, you cannot do better than with the Major. But pray you see the bishop be once clear to fall of his design for Lockhart. And now I know not what course to take for that pay-master and commissar. If it were not so great a trust, it might be roused; and I begin to smell out, that the farmers of the excise would be at it: These are, Sir James Dick, and Sir Thomas Kennedy, and Fingleton, that is, James Oswald,

Oswald, and Charles Murray; and, I apprehend, my colleagues in the treasury, particularly he who is now with you, have a great mind they should have it; and they will possibly take in Barntoun and Wrae; whereby I am a little discouraged to medle any more in it. But, if the King sends therewith Barntoun, it will be the worst course of all, and most prejudiciall, espouse it who will. If Barntoun be sent down, the commissioners will make a better bargain with him, or any other that will offer for it. But I am for men of integrity, and firm to the government. This affair is of more importance than the election of the magistrates of Edinburgh and St Andrew's both, and if Glasgow were added. So, without ceremony, farewell.

Secretary JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Two Regiments of Dragoons and four of Foot voted by Parliament; and by what Means this was obtained.

S I R,

All that I have to add is, that the parliament this day voted the necessity of funds for two new regiments of dragoons and four regiments of foot, which, with the forces already on foot, will make 6000 men, to be payed for a year and a half. We brought them to that number, by telling them, that, by all sortes of discoveries of any design that was or had been of an invasion in Scotland, 6000 men seemed to be the fixed intended number of invaders. My letters, I think I told you, did great service. Now Hugh Dalrymple has been so foolish as to press the shewing of them in parliament, thinking that all is a sham. This, since they will have it so, it cannot be shunned. If they doe themselves hurt, I cannot help it: I took the discreetest way, not to neglect the King's service; and I kepted the committee from making any report of that matter. Melfort's page tells very much. If all be true, he speaks positively of a descent here in May. I hope the French would only amuse us; however,

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one offered yesterday to wager 100 guineas that King James should raise this parliament. I am not deceived of some men. Sir John Maxwell and Craighs were this day the wrongest men in the house. Farewell.

Secretary JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Supplies granted by Parliament.—Complaint of some who are now in the Government.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
29th April
1693.

I wrote to the King last post. You will make known that yesterday the parliament fined the absent noblemen, and voted L. 45,000 sterl. to be raised by excise on malt-liquor, payable quarterly, in a year and an half. They voted too ten months cefs and an half, to be paid in a year, that is, L. 63,000 sterl. payable at three terms, Whitfunday next, and Martinmas, and Whitfunday thereafter. There are owing of the present cefs seven months and an half, payable at Lambas next, and Candlemas and Lambas thereafter. So that there are now 18 months cefs, payable in 15 months; which is more than Scotland ever gave. All this, with the poll-money which is to be added, will pay 6,300 men to Martinmas 1694, and fill the magazines with arms and provisions, and satisfy the country for their arrears. Now those who, at first, were only for one regiment and three months cefs in all, and ridiculed all danger; now, I say, that they see that they have strugled in vain to hinder things, they begin to outrun others, by talking of 8 months cefs during life, though they know that ten men in parliament will not be for it, if not for a pinch. They may know too, that, as long as they are in the government, the nation will never grant any cefs during life. If they were out of it, I believe 5 might be got; and the King would neither take nor ask more, knew he the truth. Adieu.

I hope my Lord P. is very well over.

Secretary

Secretary JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Complains that the Parliament were not to be gratified by an Inquiry into the Massacre at Glenco.—Of the intended Invasion.—How the new Regiments ought to be commanded.

I have your's the 24th Aprile, and shall do what is desired as well May 4^m
as I can ; but I wonder how any thing can be expected of a parliament which is not to be gratified in any one thing that they reckon a gratification ; and the thing now retracted is that which would have pleased them, and yet, in the event, wronged no body : Whereas now, any that have suffered them to hope that, being necessary to get the King's business smoothly done, I say, such persons must at last lose their credit with them, as having suffered them to hope in vain. I am concerned that those who manage them now should be any way lessened in their opinion, since that will not be found to be for the King's service. That, for my own part, I told them from the beginning, that to address against particular men was the way to establish them. Besides, credit or no credit, I have often told you that I shall never be a Scotchman. I hope to get well thorow this session; and, for the next, *Deus providebit*. You may be sure I shall be cautious in communicating ; for, were what you writ known, they must be immediately dissolved. As to the prosecutions you mention, he to whom such business belongs acts plainly, in the sense of all men, as if he were to justify the truth of all that was objected to his incoming. But let not all this trouble you ; for assure yourself, that I'll rather be ten times more a slave than I am, than fail to bring this session to a happy conclusion, in spite of the failing of friends, as well as the opposition of enemies. Since nothing is to be done to gratify the parliament, I mean, nothing that they reckon a gratification, there remained no handle by which to work upon them, but to begett in them a conviction of the danger they are in ; which I have done so fully, that, whatever others think, I do
not

not believe that I shall ever be able to do the King so considerable a service again. It will be written, that I have raised heats; but that is a calumny: For, whatever heats I may have raised within, there is so much fear does accompany them, that they dare not show them. Bad men see they are discovered; and were so overcome by the evidence of proofs, and their own consciences, that even the worst of them, rather than contravert the proofs of a designe of an invasion, they themselves openly owned the evidence of them. They chican'd indeed about the paragraph of Edinburgh, but very modestly. I except the commissary, who, without shame, said, That Payn knew that King James was coming; and therefore would be-speak the clerks place for his friends. The parliament must address to the King for an assembly. I have not yet spoke thorowly to the ministers; but I have in my own head a scheme of an act, which I am sure would please the King, and save them too. I doubt not but to bring them to it, either less or more. The great concern of all honest men is, that they be secured; which they will never reckon themselves to be, unless the new regiments be put in honest mens hands. My advice is, since these regiments are to ly in the country, to make the nobility colonels, and to give them men of experience to be lieutenant-colonels and majors out of the troops of Flanders, or here. The Duke, and Sir Thomas Livingston, and I, are for a foot-regiment to my Lord Lindsay. I have written so much to my Lord Portland, and desired that Captain Hume might be the Lieutenant-colonel. His father has behaved himself hitherto extremely well in parliament; and indeed his talent lyes there. Such a choise would generally please. I have too, with the Duke and Sir Thomas, named Glencairn for a regiment of foot. You know its a considerable family, and he goes right. My Lord Carmichael will not take a regiment of dragoons. I have wrote, too, that he and the Duke, and Sir Thomas, and others, think my Lord Ross the fittest man for a regiment of dragoons. It is not fit all the colonels be named on the sudden, because of the many disappointments that will be given; but it's fit the King signify his pleasure

sure concerning the levies that he intends to have made ; and that he empower Sir Thomas, and whom else his Majesty pleases, to name the captains and other subalterns, who may be getting the men. Pray mind this. It's evident enough here that the party hath signified, by my Lord Middleton, their inclinations, and strength, and opinions, to the court of France, and are full of expectations. They do not dissemble, that, if May passe over without having a venture for it, they'll lose hopes. M'Gill, my Lord Melfort's page's declarations, are very full ; but, how far to be credited, I know not. Farewell.

Secretary JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARRES.

An Excise voted by Parliament for Twenty-three Months.—Complaint against Lord Stairs and Commissary Dalrymple.—Lord Carmichael.—Treasury-business.—Earl of Arran.—Duke of Gordon and Lord Seaforth to be prosecuted.—Sir Patrick Murray turned out.—Nevil Payn.

I shall only add to my last long letter, that the act for the excise May 6. was past yesterday. You know the excise of two merk upon the boll, which is annexed to the crown, is farmed at L. 30,000 *per annum*. The excise now granted is of three pennies on the pint ; that is, two pence, English money, upon the gallon : So that, suppose fifteen gallons of ale brewed out of a boll of malt, as they ordinarily do, this excise will amount to half a crown upon the boll ; and therefore should rise higher in the year than the annexed excise. Thus, three pennies on the pint for a year and a half, which was the time resolved on by the committee, should amount at least to the sum of L. 45,000 English, which was the sum intended by the parliament to be given out of the excise. But the annexed excise being upon the malt, and the new excise upon the liquors, it was feared the one would interfere with the other ; therefore, the gene-

ral opinion was, to dissolve from the crown the two merk upon the boll, and to annex an equivalent to it upon the ale, and to add to this equivalent an additional excise. This certainly would have been better both for King and country, since it is the equaler and more uniform way ; for a boll of malt, in one place of the country, makes but twelve gallons of ale, and, in another, it makes fifteen ; and yet the ale is of equal goodness ; and the charges and trouble of collection would have been the same ; whereas now, it is double. But Duke Hamilton would not venture on this without a positive order. The next expedient was, to lay the new excise upon the malt too ; but this could not have been carried in parliament, because the gentry have a wrong notion of the thing, and which it was impossible, without a great deal of time, to rectify. They think all that is laid upon the malt is laid upon the beir, of which the malt is made ; and, consequently, that its paid by the landed men ; but that excise upon drink is paid by the drinker. In effect, the drinkers pay the excise in both cases ; but, as I have said, they could not be convinced of this : Therefore, to make the fund effectual, it was proposed, that the new excise should continue longer than a year and a half ; and it was carried in the committee, that it should continue twenty-three months, by my Lord Crawford's casting vote as president ; for, otherwise, the votes were equal. And thus it has past in parliament ; so that I hope, instead of L. 45,000 Sterling, the King shall have near L. 60,000. It's payable for the months of June and July on the first of August next, and thereafter quarterly, to the first of May 1695. By the act, any brewer that gives over brewing, is to lose the privilege of brewing for five years. And, because the ale that private men brew for their own use pays no excise, and that the price of ale rising upon this act, every man will brew for himself, and so enervate the act ; therefore, it is declared, that, whoever begins now to brew for his own use, who has not been accustomed to do it, what he brews shall pay excise. Thus, this fund cannot fail ; and the cefs,

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you know, is certain, and the third part of it payable now at Whitsunday.

I forgot to tell you in my last, that it was my Lord Stairs and the commissary who would have those letters of Payn's, &c. brought in to the parliament. They were so foolish to believe the Jacobites, who told them that all was a forgery.

Pray forget not that which I wrote to my Lord Portland, that the parliament be allowed to sit two or three weeks longer than the time appointed by the instructions ; because, the business falling all to the share of two or three, its impossible for them to overtake it without more time.

I wish the King would signify his inclination that my Lord Carmichael take one of these regiments of dragoons : He inclines not to do it ; but he will not decline it, if the King desire it : And this will satisfy the country mightily, who have an entire confidence in him ; and, if Major Wisheart be made his Lieutenant-colonel, he may in time have the regiment given him. If my Lord Carmichael be Colonel, he'll chuse Wisheart himself, as he says to me. Indeed, all men agree, that Wisheart is both one of the honestest men, and one of the best officers, in the troops here : But Wisheart would rather continue Major where he is ; and therefore he must be ordered to be Lieutenant-colonel. As to the naming of Captains, &c. its fit the King join to Sir Thomas Livingston the Duke, and some others, who know mens interest in the country.

It is impossible to put the treasury-business right, as that commission stands. Generally speaking, they do nothing, or act in such a manner, that they had better do nothing. I do not believe that Cesswick will get a farthing, notwithstanding of the King's letters, and of their extravagant allowances to Sir William Lockhart ; and notwithstanding all the orders that were sent down, four or five months ago, for repairing the castle of Dumbarton ; and that 2 or L. 300 will do it ; yet still not one farthing ordered for it ; though Major Buntein declares, he'll give up his commission if they do it not ;

for there are no carriages, nor indeed arms, even for the garrison; and that the walls are fallen; but many such instances might be given.

I have an original letter in my hand, written by Gray the minister, that lives with my Lady Cassels at London, justifying Langton's accusing my Lord Melfort to King James at Paris, for this reason, that he was obliged to do it by the commission which he carried over with him from great persons.

All those upon bail are to be called for. I have been plain with my Lord Arran, who shall do what is asked of him, or go to prison. He is under bail. Captain Mair and Mrs Smith do abscond; they shall be cited and outlawed. There are letters of intercommuning past against those in the Bais. You'll say, Why was not this done sooner? Those in France have been denounced for not appearing before the council. They must now be cited on sixty days, in order to their trial. You'll say, Why was not this done sooner, since thus they cannot be tried before the parliament? The Duke of Gordon and my Lord Seaforth being in hands, will be tried. It fits the King have them at mercy; but they'll be tried only before the justice-court. The Duke would save the Duke of Gordon; and therefore pretends, he must have an order to any trial in parliament, as if it were not a thing of course; and that the King's letter to the council is express, to proceed against all those that were in France. It's more for the King's honour and exoneration to the foreign courts, that they be tried in parliament. The King's pleasure to the commissioner may come time enough for that. There are two men that were condemned to die for the business of the Bais, who have now had reprieves near a twelvemonth from the council. They ought to be examples; but the objection is, that men so long reprieved never use to be executed. The truth is, the crimes of all those in hand are so old, and there have been such hopes of pardons given them, and bargains of money entered into for obtaining these pardons, part of which has been paid, and pardons have been said to have been granted, and lost, &c. that, to take away any of such
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mens lives, I find, would be censured and disapproved even by indifferent men. But I believe, with a little diligence, men may be caught tampering at present; and, whoever he be, he'll be very unlucky, if his fate depend on me; for I am fully convinced, and so are all men that I speak to, that examples are absolutely necessary; and that the lenity of the government encourages men to go on from plot to plot, which at last must end in a rebellion, which may cost multitudes their lives, whom the execution of one or two might have made wise.

The commissioner inclines to have Oswald of Fingleton in Sir Patrick Murray's place. Therefore, remember your friend and mine. As for Sir Patrick himself, he manages the Marquis of Douglas now, who, with much difficulty, came to the parliament, and has refused his commission for being sheriff of the shire of Forfar.

I told my Lord Lothian, that he was turned out for tattling every thing that he or the chancellor said, to some men that were enemies to government, and who made a very bad use of it. My Lord Lothian frankly owned, that he did not doubt of the truth of that; and had often challenged him for it.

Its now well known, that Sir Thomas Kennedy was the man intended to be provost of Edinburgh. Thus, Payn might well write to King James, that a letter from him would get his friend the clerk's place. The contract with Wrae about corn and straw was for three years, though the fund continues but for a year; and there were other gross nullities in it. They past from it immediately, and were ashamed of it; and pretend, they can get others to do it cheaper than he, though the King expressly orders it to him. The month of April too is not yet ordered for the army, though it be already in Wrae's hands, and that, by the contract, Wrae should advance it. Trial will be now made, but, I believe, to no purpose, for prolonging the old five months cess. Farewell.

The members say all expressly, that they will never give money further than necessity obliges them, to be put in the hands of a treasury,

treasury, composed of men, for the most part, who they in their consciences believe are not for the government.

They add, that they cannot, at the same time, grant a cess during life, and such extraordinary taxes : That this would turn the spirit of the nation against him, which otherwise will impute what they do to the necessity of things.

Secretary JOHNSTON to the EARL of PORTLAND.

Of trying Nevil Payne.——Continuation of the Session.——Difficulty in hindering the Parliament from accusing Lord Stairs.——New Levies.——Vindication of his own Conduct in Parliament.

My LORD,

Edinburgh,
May 11.
1693.

You'll pardon my using another hand : I cannot well use my own, for my eyes. I hope your Lordship has received mine of the 2d and 4th of May, and that my friend has given you an account of mine of the 6th. The papers produced in parliament are not yet published ; because, in all appearance, we shall try Navil Payn for his letter. Its plain that its his hand-writing ; and other letters of his are now taken, in which he uses the very same borrowed names, and spells in the same manner ; for instance, *Wright* instead of *Writ*. The difficulty will be to prove, that the borrowed names, *Brother and Sister*, are instead of King James and his Queen. The sense convinces any man of this in his conscience ; and so the parliament was to a man convinced of this upon the first reading of the letter ; yet, in courts of justice, no judge would, notwithstanding this conviction, find a man guilty : But parliaments proceed not by such strict rules ; and, I believe, the parliament is fully enough disposed to find him guilty. I am to meet with the lawyers this night. On the one hand, examples are absolutely necessary ; and, if he be found guilty, he'll be the example, unless he make a discovery worth his life ; and then examples will not be wanting.

wanting. He knows the bottom of all. On the other hand, it is not fit that even the parliament should do any thing of that nature in their zeal, which will not bear the judgement and censure of mankind. If he dye, the manifesto-maker will be sent after him.

I wrote already to your Lordship, that the commissioner must have leave to continue the session longer than was intended. There is a new reason for it: There was, by a former act, fines and forfaultures in the late times ordered to be restored; and a committee then appointed to enquire into them, and to report to the next session. My Lord Melvill, and a great many other members that are men of quality, are concerned in this matter. They desire that the committy may be continued, and have power, not only to report, but to determine, even when the parliament is up. If this were put to a vote, they would carry it by far. To gain time, the commissioner has told them, that he'll write to the King; and desires them in the mean time to be reporting. But now, to allow a committy to determine, were a thing of great and uncertain consequence: The only remedy is, that the King allow ten, or twelve, or fifteen days longer than the time appointed by the instructions; in which time, most of these reports may be taken in and determined by the parliament itself; and so all heat prevented on that subject, which otherwise, because of the multitude of those concerned, cannot be prevented.

As to my Lord Stairs, much pains have been taken to keep them from accusing him. I shall do all I can to keep off representations either concerning him or any other man. Possibly that may be got done; but then they will stick to the point of representing things. They may be prevailed on to do this in the discreetest manner imaginable; but I do not think it possible to keep them from doing it: And therefore his Majesty would signify his express pleasure to Duke Hamilton on this subject. Its certain all they do is in expectation that they shall be allowed to do this; and there was a necessity for allowing them to expect it. Thus, if they be sent home by suddain adjournment, they'll reckon themselves
deceived,

deceived, which will have two bad effects: 1st, That they will not again, in another session, begin with the King's business, as they have done in this. 2^{dly}, Those that have managed them now will have no more credit with them hereafter; and I wish it may always be remembered, that, whatever be the humours of this parliament, the King can never expect to have a parliament in Scotland that will have fewer humours. I should hope that they may be prevailed on to be satisfied with some gentle and generall representation of things, to be made in a letter to the King at the end of the session. Representations in England do reflect upon the administration; because Kings there are so near, that they may be supposed to know the grievances of the people, and that they of their own accord should redress them; but Scotland lying at a distance, the cases differ. Nor is there here any bargain, the parliament having done all that is asked of them before they ask any thing.

As to the new levies, I wrote already about my Lord Lindsay, and my Lord Glencairn, and my Lord Ross. All people have prest my Lord Carmichael so much in the matter, that now he consents to take a regiment of dragoons, if it be the King's mind that he should have it. If he and my Lord Ross get the dragoons, the gentry and commonality of the west will, of their own accord, join with these regiments upon any occasion. My Lord Carmichael begs, that, if the King name him to be Colonel, that he'll give him Wisheart to be his Lieutenant-colonel; because, since he says he understands not the matter himself, he would have Wisheart, on whose understanding and integrity he can rely, for the management of the regiment. The King knows best if there be any present danger from the French or not; and accordingly will hasten or delay his orders about the levies. But his Majesty allowed me to tell them, that he would raise troops; and it is fit at least to begin immediately to raise some of them, both to quiet mens mind here, and least they should say that they gave money for troops which, since not raised, were not necessary; and that they have been imposed on by the noise of imaginary danger.

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The King allowed me to give Sir William Hamilton hopes of marks of his favour; he behaves himself as well as I can desire. However, there were no necessity for haste; but I believe, that, if his Majesty would give him the vacancy in the session with the first post, this might contribute much to calm those people that are so eager against my Lord Stairs; for this would make a sort of ballance upon the bench.

My Lord, some men have only impudence and calumny left them, and so must be allowed to make the best on't they can; and the truth is, I have not leisure to refute their forgeries; time and things will do that. However, I affirm, that it was never so much as motioned, either in committy or parliament, that the King should not name the officers, as has been averred at London, and a great dale more of that stuff; for instance, that it is an empty parliament, though they were the other day 150 upon a division, which is more than ever I knew at once in a Scotch parliament. I have seen your's to Sir Thomas Livingston. Mr Carstares has a paper in his hands which gives a full account of Sir William Lockhart, which I never troubled the King with; but that account shall be owned to his face, and much more. Pray, order an answer to this letter to be sent down from England by a flying packet.

I had almost forgot, there will be an act past, by which the four regiments of foot may, whenever the King pleases, be levied in less than a month; for the counties must furnish them when called for. Wee shall make all correspondence with France, all going to it, or staying in it during the war, and without leave from the King and councell, high treason. I have good hopes too of the church-business; but such matters cannot be done in a hurry, but must have more time, as I have said. I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble,

and obedient servant,

(Signed) J. JOHNSTOUN.

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Secretary

Secretary JOHNSTON to MR CARSTARES.

Of Nevil Payne.—The Oath of Allegiance and Assurance, to whom to be put.—Laird of Grant, and other Pretenders to Regiments.—Tarbat falsifies the Minutes of Parliament.—Of the Advocate and Solicitor's taking Money in Parliament-business.—Proofs of Danger.—Reputation, and Recruits, the only two Things Scotland can give to a King of England.—Gift to the Chancellor.—Of Annandale.—The Oath.—Duke of Hamilton, Earl of Melvil, and his Sons.

Edinburgh,
May 16. 1699

I wrote to you on the 6th, and on the 11th to my Lord Portland. I saw your last to my brother, bearing, that the King had got the parliament's letter. The Master of Stairs's brother is one of the clerks to the parliament under Tarbat. He had orders to send the Mr copies of every thing that passes. And, no doubt, the Mr had a copy of the parliament's letter, since Halfide made print it at London, even before the King had it. However, I wrote to my brother, with the same post, to show my copie to the Mr, in case he had none. We will, in all appearance, try Payn. The proofs are full and evident that the letter is his. It's plain too that *brother and sister* are *King James and the Queen*. The point is, if the parliament, upon the conviction of this, will condemn a man, since the paper is not signed, nor any witnesses to swear to the matter of it. We have been interrupted of late with private business. Fifteen of the Angus heritors have taken the oaths this day; by which you see the government was not in earnest the last summer. My Lord Perth asks leave to go out of the kingdom, and shall have it. My Lord Athol and my Lord Arran will give their word of honour in writing not to act against the government. My Lord Murray has only delayed to take the oaths till he got his father's consent; which is now done. And Balhouffie, my nephew, the most considerable gentleman in that shyre, is to follow my Lord Murray's

Murray's example, and will be chosen for that shyre. *Courtney, Mowet, and Balfour*, in Payn's letters, are, the *Earls of Seaforth, Arran, and Hume*. The act about the oaths is ready. Besides those to whom it was put formerly, it will be now put to all Lords, and their eldest sons; (thus the hedging politick will be spoiled): To all ministers and preachers whatsoever; and to those who call them to churches: To all the electors of magistrates in burrows: To all fermers or collectors of cefs or excise, or other mony belonging to the King: To all masters of ships, keepers of prisons; and several others. It is not put to the heritors; but the counsell has a power to put it to whom they shall think fit. And to the former pains are added, fineing, confining, or banishment; the fines not exceeding a year's valued rent. There is a general clause as to all persons whatsoever who shall not take the oaths, whether they be put to them or not, that they may keep no arms but a walking-sword, and no horses above five pound value. It's declared, that the allegiance and assurance are not to be separated; and that whoever refuses the one is to be held to refuse both. The words, *as well de jure as de facto, and in the exercise of the government*, are made clear thus; *as well de jure*, (that is) *of right King and Queen*; *as de facto*, (that is) *in the possession and exercise of the government*. It would have argued a levity in the parliament to have taken out the Latin; and, without explaining it, how could illiterate men have taken it? Besides, the Queen is only in the possession of the government. I know of no presbyterian minister who will not take the oaths. Many of the episcopal clergy too will do it, now that they see the government in earnest, unless it should happen before the 20th of June, which is the last day that the King of France have some luckie hitt one where or other. I wrote of Ross for a regiment of dragoons. I wrote since, that Carmichael is now willing to have the other, if the King thinks fitt; but desires to have Withart for his lieutenant-colonel. In case of danger, the West will all join with these regiments so commanded. I wrote of my Lord Lindsay for a regiment of foot. All agree in this. They are

not so unanimous about my Lord Glencairn ; but those that are most reasonable are for him ; and he is told not to expect even to recommend either his lieutenant-colonel or major. As to the other two regiments ; Grant had a regiment, as there are 11000 pound owing him ; and his regiment, for the most part, payed all to the country : Besides, he is undoubtedly the gentleman in Scotland who has the best interest both in the country and in the parliament. He is, indeed, sudden, and warm in his motions ; but he is honest and sincere, and always brought right again with a little pains. He is not fond of a regiment ; but it's the King's interest that he have it ; for he can always in the North join as many of his own men to it ; and those of that country that are affectionate to the government will join and concur with him. The commander and others are of this opinion. One other argument too weighs with me, that I can get him to quitt the regiment to a military-man whenever the King pleases. As to the other regiment ; the Duke is for giving it to my Lord Murray. I think it cannot be better bestowed : My Lord Murray's known character is, that he may be absolutely relyed on in any thing in which he engages. This will reconcile his Highlanders to the government, who are the best men in the Highlands : And he and Argyle being right, neither Inverlochy nor Broadalbine will be so necessary as they are ; and that Highland interest will cease to be a bugbear. The other pretenders to regiments are, my Lord Forfar, my Lord Blantyre, my Lord Morton, my Lord Balhaven, my Lord Eglinton, and several others ; of whom some indeed should be gratified : But it's like the King will think it for his service to do it some other way than by giving them the regiments. I have not time to refute stories ; but I assure you it was never moved, that the King should not name the officers. I would have had Queenferry and some others upon the comitty for securing the nation ; but others said, that it would be impossible to prevent heat and reflections : So I yielded. I can assure you, hitherto there has been no reflections in parliament, except that Tarbat hath been taxed, and catched grossly malverfing in his office as clerk, both in publick and private business

ness in parliament; and it was only to prevent noise that he was not suspended from his office. His falsifying the minutes over and over again was made so plainly appear in parliament, that neither he, nor any man for him, had so much as one word to say in his defence. And my Lord Collington, one of the non-jurants, will to-morrow petition the parliament, and decline him as clerk, for emitting the other day an order, in the name of the parliament, (which order they never gave), in a private process now depending before the parliament, betwixt my Lord Tarbat's mother and my Lord Collington. This is the third tyme my Lord Tarbat has been caught, and the thing always so gross, that he lost countenance, and gave over defending himself; yet still he relapses. The truth is, all men were so ashamed of him, that they spared him. I have been tryed by one from him, if he might be allowed to sell his place. He has made try Grant, if he would buy it; and he offers to sell it for 50,000 merks. Now, consider that he'll make this money by it in less than a year and a half, and imagine what can be his reason to sell it. For my own part, I am fully satisfied, that, whatever my Lord Middleton is a-doing, he is at the bottom of it; and, if he be in earnest to sell his place, and to sell it so cheap, it is because he trusts to the success of the designs now in my Lord Middleton's hands. I must add to this, that several intercepted letters from France and London bear, that matters will go as those they write to wish; and that remedies are at hand. We find M'Gill's informations true, in so far as we have enquired into them, by examining some persons whom he names; but there are other things that have not the appearance of truth. Queensberry says, that his pardon was taken in the packet intercepted in the North; the same packet, I suppose, in which Ballantyne's pardon (that was never granted) was taken; as my colleague, it seems, to please his lady, wrote down. The other remissions are at, or past the seals. I hope my Lord Portland got my long letter of the 11th. Tell him that I wrote to you, because you'll mind him to get my answers; and I cannot write with my own hand to the King. The Duke is willing that Jervis-
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wood be receiver. It's plain enough that the business of Edinburgh was calculat for a descent in the spring, which then the disaffected party reckoned themselves sure of. The Duke and I have been plain with the advocate for taking money in parliament-business. He makes a jest of every thing, and sticks at nothing. I told him, that I would not have, for any money, had I been in his place, given my enemies so just a handle against me. Even Sir George M'Kenzie did not this. Sir James Ogilvie was firm for a while; but the advocate, to cover himself, brought him to it at last. The advocate could not deny the matter of fact; but he has now promised, and has declared publickly enough, that he'll do it no more. This occasioned no heat; he was indeed ashamed of it. I thought to let this alone till the parliament had been over, as I am resolved to do many other things, about which I will be plain with him at parting: But I found this absolutely necessary, for the King's business was at a stand; he and the solicitor being wholly taken up with consultations. Besides, how can they judge and consult in the same cause? Or, how can the Duke and I relye upon their advice, in point of law or policy, as to the King's interests, when they are already tyed to the interests of private parties, having given them their advice, and taken their money? There are two acts ready; one for poll-money, and another for hearth-money. I know not which of the two will carry. There is an act ready for levying such men upon the country as the King shall think fitt to raise. I have wrote, that the King knows the dangers best; and, accordingly, will hasten or delay the levies; but that at least it's fit to begin to raise some of the regiments, both to quyet mens minds, and otherwise, they'll say they have been imposed on, and made grant money for troops which are found not necessary, since they are not raised. It's said at London, that great discoveries are made, and yet no body punished. You know my answer in part; then borrowed names, however plain the meaning may be, are certainly no proof in courts of justice; but you know too, that, by the instructions, this parliament is not to be gratified in any thing which they reckon a gratification: And

And therefore, the only handle by which to move them was, to convince them of their danger; of which the proofs appear so plain, that, even Fountainhall and Tarbat, and all others, owned that they were full and convincing; and indeed you'll find them so when they are laid together. In a word, affairs will be put in such a state as, unless the French make haste, will not only deliver this nation from danger during the war, and put an end to plots and conspiracies here, but which, provided the King puts the administration in the hands of men that are men of sense, and are honest, and reputed to be honest, whether they be episcopal or presbyterian, or rather, men that have never concerned themselves much in such matters; a state, I say, which will, in a little time, make the King as sure of this nation, to all intents and purposes, as he is of his Dutch guards. And I am sure the reputation of this will be of more use to him in his English affairs, than we can be ever in any other way. I shall particularly mind this point of reputation in all our proceedings, for I have always been of opinion, that reputation and recruits are the only two things which Scotland can give to a King of England. I am going to the comitty. Communicate to Mr Stevenson, if I have not time to write to him, if any have informed that the gift which I procured to the chancellor is worth more than L. 450 a year, as I informed the King. I can assure you they are mistaken, and confound different things: He has indeed claims there worth more; but they are not in his gift. I do not think that what he has got is worth more than L. 300; its certainly not worth four; but, to make all sure, I called it to the King worth L. 450. I have as little reason, and have ever had; to be satisfied as any man; but there was an equity at bottom; he being at the head of the government, how could it be refused him? Its censured, that Annandale should have been named one of the sub-comitty to hear me upon the proofs of danger; but it was not my business to oppose whom they pleased to name: Besides, Annandale is as much trusted as any man; for they of the club-plot, imputing the whole discovery of that business to him, he and they are known to be irreconcilable,

Pray,

Pray, do not mistake in thinking, that any money is hitherto appropriated, or that the King is tyed to raise men ; for there is no such thing. The poll-money, or hearth-money, will be indeed appropriated for paying the arrears, and in a feverer and stricker manner than in the former appropriating act; since that act was not observed. We will be at church-matters the next week. Mr John Law, and some such other men, seem to be convinced, and of my mind. I make all parties eat and drink together ; that is, my Lord Stairs and my Lord Privy Seal, Queensberry and Crawford, Tarbat and Argyle, &c. My Lord Murray would have his brother Lord James (who has already qualified himself) to be a lieutenant-colonel ; he was long a captain in the Dumbarton regiment ; but whether fit to be a lieutenant-colonel or not, I know not. My Lord Rollo too, and the Laird of Dunn would be preferred ; you know they have done services. My Lord Argyle would have Jackson made a lieutenant-colonel in the new dragoons, and his own brother put in Jackson's place ; because, though he himself will make the campaign this summer, he seems not to incline to do it any longer. My Lord Forrester too would be a lieutenant-colonel. The Master of Forbes too asks a regiment. Pray, let all be represented as I have promised ; but I advise nothing in such cases : I understand not military matters ; but I have done it upon prudential considerations, of tying to the establishment, both in church and state, men of quality and interest, and of such known characters as shall give the body of honest men in the nation a confidence in them, and consequently in the administration, which, in a word, is the thing that is wanting ; for, ever since the changes made in spring was a year, all thinking indifferent men here believe it possible for the King to be imposed on, to a degree that may prove fatal to the present settlement in the three kingdoms. This impression must be wrought off ; and, when that is done, the King's business is done here : The right naming of the officers will no doubt do it to a great degree. The employing of D. Hamilton has done much to it. Whatever people may clamour against the
Duke's

Duke's way, which indeed must be born with; yet still it must be owned, that he yields to reason, and corrects his errors as frankly as any man can do; and, which is a great advantage, whether he be right or wrong, one knows always what he is; for he is square and plain; and, even when he is in the wrong, his intentions are good. It has cost me much pains to bring the ministers, and others, not to oppose the putting of the oaths to them: However, at last, they understood it to be their interest, and were content. But now I find, at the committy, great endeavours have been used to oppose it, and ministers and others instigated to hinder it; even so far, that the Duke, notwithstanding his positive instructions, has been shaken in the matter; and so was the Advocate, though Mr Law, Mr Crichton, and all that I could speak to, are convinced and satisfied; and that Mr Blair assures me, that he knows not one minister that will refuse them: And accordingly, the thing was voted yesterday unanimously in the committy; at least I do not remember that any opposed it. My Lord Crawford voted positively for it, and is still of that opinion. I now find the bottom of all. The episcopal party, knowing that the assurances the Mr of Stairs gave in their name, that they would take the oaths, had no other ground, but the supposition, that the presbyterians would never consent to such an act; and now, apprehending the contrary, they had, by artifice, wrought the Duke from it. At the same time, my Lord Privy Seal, with the little strength he hath, has, underhand, been busy to hinder any such act; and has been so imprudent, as to deal with members of the committy to be against it, who had already voted for it. The truth is, he has neither interest with the barrons nor burrows; but rather than have no interest, he courts the favour of the ministry, by joining in every foolish humour among them. Thus, you must know, since I know it, that it was his family that spoiled the assembly, by encouraging the ministers in their humours. And thus I see, he and his sons will spoil all the business now, if they have strength enough to do it. As for the Duke, he is right again; and, as to the Privy Seal, I have told him, that it is the

King's exprefs pleasure and order, that the oaths be put to all ministers. He said, that he must act according to his opinion. His opinion may indeed oblige him to vote against the King's mind; but I am sure it does not oblige him to solicit against the King's mind. I desire you to communicate this expressly to my Lord Portland; for, if the King's officers of state be allowed to make factions and solicit against the King, I am functus, whatever be the event. I hope I have frightened him, and that he'll grow wiser. We'll see how he votes to-morrow. You may write to him. I know he will deny all. I ask no better. Farewell.

Secretary JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Of putting the Oaths to Ministers, Heritors, &c.—Of Payne's Trial.—Tarbat's Malversation in his office of Register.

Edinburgh,
May 19.
1693.

I received this day in parliament the King's letter to the Duke, which was instantly communicated. I and he have your's. Nothing is done to tie the King; he may raise only horse, or only foot, or only dragoons, or no troops at all, if he pleases. I mean, there is no tie upon him to do otherwise by the new acts. His Majesty indeed did allow me to tell them, that he was resolved to raise more forces, if they gave him money, which I did occasionally to some in private; and, if the King should raise no troops at all, they would think themselves imposed on, as if there had been no danger: But the number of troops was condescended on in discourse, and in votes, as the only effectual way to bring them to give such considerable sums. I need add little to my long letter of the 16th. The next day we were upon the oaths, but concluded not. Thursday was the fast-day. This day we voted the act about the oaths, such as I told you in my last; only I forgot to tell you, that its put to the whole college of justice, advocates, clerks, writers, agents, nottars, &c. The certification against ministers is
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the loss of their benefices ; and against preachers, its banishment, or otherways, as the council shall think fit. The Privy Seal and his sons went out on Wednesday, when it was like to come to the vote. This day, he was non-liquid to the whole act. My Lord Crawford spoke well to the point, that it should be put to ministers. Only one presbyterian spoke against it, and he did it but faintly. The great debate this day was, If it should be put to all heritors, under the penalty of double cess, as it is in England, or not? My Lord Linlithgow, &c. were for that. I was for lodging a power in the council, to put it to all heritors whatsoever, or to any particular heritor, not only under the pains of double cess, but of a fine, even to a year's valued rent, and of imprisonment or banishment. I used but one plain reason, which no man answered, and which determined the point ; to wit, That, if the parliament put the oaths to all heritors, and that the heritors should refuse them, it would bring a disreputation upon the government ; whereas, this inconvenience might be prevented, if the parliament should lodge their power in the council ; for the council could proceed by degrees ; and, by making examples of the leading men in the several counties, bring the heritors more effectually to their duty than a positive act, with so small a certification, could do : Besides, in England, its only the bare alledgeance that is put to people, which every man puts his own sense upon as he thinks fit ; and the government knew well that the body of the nation would take it, and so apprehended not the disreputation of a refusal : But here we have had a rebellion, which made the assurance necessary ; and so room is not left for men to put their private senses upon the alledgeance : Then we have the experience, that the body of the heritors refused the oaths last summer ; and we have no ground to believe that they'll be more forward to take them this summer. The truth is, I know that, within these two days, there has been meetings among them ; and they have resolved not to take them at present. They have got encouragement from abroad, and will see the beginning of this campaign before they do any thing. Thus, if by the act they were required to

take them, within a certain time, according to the nature of such acts, the government would infallibly receive an affront ; whereas, as it is, the council can proceed or abstain as they see cause : And my advice in council will be, to proceed against a few men in each county, that are known to be active pragmatick men, and the heads of the faction ; and to proceed against them, not by the penalty of a double cess, but by fining them in a year's valued rent, or confining or banishing them. And I wish the King may signify his pleasure, that we put not the oaths to the heritors in general, without express order ; otherwise, we shall be apt enough, by a foolish zeal, to split the authority and reputation of his government upon a multitude, by making it known to the world, that the body of the heritors of this kingdom will not own him. This is the downright truth ; but I know it will be written, that the presbyterians were against putting the oaths to heritors, because they are afraid of a new parliament ; whereas, the question was only, Which was the most prudent way of doing it, by the parliament or the council ? But, if such glosses are to be allowed, I may observe, on the other hand, that these members of parliament who are known to be disaffected to this government, and who never vote for the King, were this day zealous and violent for putting the oaths to all heritors, though at other times they used to be against all oaths : But you know acts of parliament are spoiled two ways, that is, by being too strong, as well as by being too weak. Payn has got his indytmment ; he denies not his letter in private, but he'll deny it in judgement. It will be an easy matter to prove both that it is his, and that it is treason : But men are much divided in their opinion, whether the taking his life will be worth the while to balance the consequence of the precedent of condemning a man for a paper unsigned, and which the matter is not otherwise proved by witnesses : However, they agreed to give him his indictment, to try if that will fright him into a confession. Tarbat sent to my Lord Collington word, that he would not be clerk in his concern ; and so prevented the cloud ready to break upon him. Now, he says he'll
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complain to the King of me; but, God be thanked, he can accuse me neither of perjury nor murder; as Shaftbury said, the Duke would neither call him fool nor papist. The matter is this, we have taken letters of my Lady Largoe's, sufficient to make torture her, if she were a man. We found inclosed the minutes of parliament going to London; and this, before they were revised and allowed here. I did, at the Duke's desire, produce these minutes in parliament, and challenged the clerks. I had at the same time the parliament's letter to the King, printed at London, before the King got it, though the orders were, that no copy should be given but one by me to be sent to the Queen. The truth is, we lose an hour or two every day by the minutes. The design is plain, to ridicule the parliament by ridiculous minutes. Minutes were produced in parliament, printed by my Lord Tarbat's order, in which, after it is declared that the chancellor, by the commissioner's order, had adjourned the parliament, the parliament is made to act on as if they were still sitting. Pray, communicate with Mr Stevenson. I have no more time. I shall write to him fully the next post. I think that he should counter-sign, and that the thing should be represented to the King. Farewell.

I had forgot that the point of the countrie's furnishing the foot, in case the King raise the four regiments, was carried this day.

Secretary JOHNSTON to MR CARSTARES.

Lord Tarbat's Negotiations with the Clergy, to prevent their taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Assurance.

I had your's with my Lord Portland's; and I have written a full May 1693, answer to him, which you'll see. As to the captain he recommends, I can do nothing in it at present, the captains of my Lord Carmichael's regiment being not only named, but having laid out money in order to the levies. I send you a copy of my letters to Mr Stevenson and you of the 1st instant, apprehending they have miscarried.

miscarried. I fend you also, since it is church-business, a memorial, sent to me by the Laird of Nynwalls, who lives in the Mearns; you would communicate it to my Lord Portland, for I refer to it in my letter to him. Nynwalls has the original letter from Simpson to him, which I saw. Simpson is one of the episcopal clergy. The dialogue was between him and Mr Bernard M'Kenzie. The Marquis of Athol has told me the same thing in general. My Lord Murray told me the business of Cravie, before ever I knew it from Nynwalls; he told the same to the Duke, from whom Tarbat and others have known it.

Remember that I was advertised of this before ever we entered upon the business of the comprehension-act, and that those men were sent, and the resolution taken, before we knew ourselves what the comprehension-act would be; and therefore their obstinacy in refusing the oaths cannot be imputed to the comprehension-act, as they now foolishly pretend. I, to try Tarbat's modesty, askt him, before the chancellor and others, what his friend Mr Bernard M'Kenzie had been doing in the north? He, like himself, answered, That he believed he had been persuading the episcopal clergy to take the oaths. I said, No doubt he knew what he had been doing; he said, Mr Bernard had always been himself for taking the oaths, and would take them; and that those of Ross would do it. The truth is, their resolution to keep the clergy from taking the oaths was the effect of an advice from London. They were in doubt themselves what advice to give. Now they apprehend they are discovered, and I believe would gladly have them to take the oaths, that they themselves might deny all. This I know, that they are mightily perplexed what to do. Tarbat says, he'll meddle no more with churchmen, hoping thus to cover himself. This he said to some of the episcopal clergy too; and this is the meaning of what Cravie says; for Tarbat trusts Mr Bernard; but Cravie went too with his concurrence, though Tarbat after would have disengaged himself. I fancy they have, one of these last two posts, got some advertisement from London that is discouraging. Pray remember, that Mr Bridgman, who at London is Tarbat's correspondent, told
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publickly, that Payn would not be tried, and that the parliament would rise in confusion. His friends indeed succeeded in the one; and, if they succeeded not in the other, it was not their fault. They hoped representations would make all end in heat, and were surpris'd with the letter to the King that prevented them.

I only add, that the impressions which the recalling the orders about the new levies give, grow deeper and worse: It were enough at present only to signify, that the King is resolved to raise them. Pray, tell my Lord P. which I forgot in his letter, that my Lord Argyle behaved himself very well in parliament, and did good service, and that I seeing that, kept him till the end, against his inclinations, which were for Flanders. Farewell.

If you think there will be room for my doing any good in Flanders, I am willing to come; if not, let me alone in England.

Secretary J O H N S T O N to M R C A R S T A R E S.

Of the Duke of Hamilton's Conduct with respect to the Earl Arran.

S I R,

My letter to Mr Stevenson is full. The inclosed papers are copies of what I have sent to the Queen. Show them to my Lord Portland. I had not hitherto wrote to her, which was complained of. I am told the Advocate hindred the Duke from siezing on Arran. Both he and the Dutcheſs assured the Duke that Arran would not withdraw. The Advocate will loose himself with all honest men. I took Arran to the sands, in my coach, 10 days agoe, and challenged him of every thing. I told him positively, that hereafter no man would trust him. He seemed then resolved to ask his pardon for by-gones, and to offer his service to the King: But now faith and honour will hardly ever be recovered. I can assure you, there is no juggle betwixt him and the Duke: Its rather the difference betwixt them that hindred the Duke from committing; least others should have said it had been pique. Farewell.

Arran rails at me and the Justice-clerk; the truth is, the whole rails at us both; and they have reason.

Secretary

May 24.
1693.

Secretary JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Lord John Hamilton.——Lord Murray.——The Perversion of Justice in the Court of Session.——Sir William Lockhart taken from both sides.

Edinburgh,
May 27.

I thank you for your's of the 18th. Mr Stevenson will tell you what is done. There is no getting the Duke to try these Lords. My Lord John Hamiltone desires Cardnefs's place; but all honest men that I know are for the present Lord. Its fit to delay the matter. Forfar too would have it. I have written fully to my Lord Portland about Linlithgow and his act. I wish you may see that letter; I cannot repeat. In a word, I never saw any thing so gross; his own party disowns him. The Chancellor, who hath hitherto supported him, has honestly declared, that he'll own him no more; and says positively, that, to grant a cess during life, now that such other extraordinary burdens are granted, were to alienate the nation irrecoverably from the government. Pray, speak to my Lord Portland for a letter to put my Lord Murray on the council. He is a man who may be trusted, which is a rare thing here. Mr Stevenson will tell you the instance of the nation's aversion to the session. That all parties agree in that; some said openly, that November was too soon for them to meet. Pray, tell my Lord Portland, that an honest man knows not what colours to give to the concerne that appears for supporting an established perversion of justice. Tell him, that I shall sleep sound, were I assured that the King would defeat the French; as its evident that, whoever payes well, some lawyers do infallibly carry their cause. Some base men will be examples. I have first a letter from my Lord Fraser, in which he tells how Sir William Lockhart took 17 guineas from him. He has since been with me, and told me, that Sir William, for these guineas, was ingaged to him to pursue, instead of him, one of the witnesses against him; but that he took 10 guineas from that witness too, and so cheated him. He also told me, that he took money from my Lord Boyn to befriend his son. Farewell.

ALEX.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, the Secretary's Brother, to Mr CAR-
STARES.

*Invidious Interpretations put upon the Church-act passed in the Scottish
Parliament 1693.—Of Sir John M'Lean's Negotiations at St
Germain's.*

S I R,

Your's of the 3d instant was the more welcome, that we had lost July 7.
1693.
the former packet-boat by the French privateers; though, in truth,
the contents of your's hath a strange relish at first taste, I wish they
prove wholesome. In truth, I have nothing to write to you, only
submission, &c. till God affords better faire. I am just now sending
off a flying packet to my friend, to hasten hither with all expedition.
I hope he will allay the humours and noise of some here; for I parti-
cularly know some are imposed upon by the artifice of others. I will
give you one instance: When the church-act past the committee of
parliament, my neighbour showed a copy of it (as he pretended) to a
very eminent peer (in every respect) thus, '*The only church-govern-
ment without the limitation of this nation, or of this church.*' Where-
upon that person of quality said to my neighbour, That act would not
pass here, but the commissioner or secretary would stop the royal
sanction. To which it was answered, That it had past the commit-
tee already, and would pass the other house, and be touched by the
scepter. The person of quality replied, That could not be so, for it
would be rather an act of exclusion than of comprehension. How-
ever, this about exclusion and comprehension was writ down to 39
and 69, as the censure of that person of quality on the church-act.
I being advertised of this, I brought the printed act to that person
of quality. So soon as he read it, he told me all the above passage;
and observed, *of this church*, is in the act, and that it refers to a
former act of parliament too. Its obvious to observe the vast dif-
ference 'twixt, *the only church-government*, and *the only government
of this church*, as its in the act. Its your province to argue upon
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this head at present. I only instance this act of disingenuity and artifices of some men to impose on others, if they can. That deference I owe that person of quality, with the plainness and ingenuity he freely told me the story, oblige me not to name him. Besides, this person, and this passage, may be of use when things are truly looked unto; so be pleased to stop your very conjectures to any other person. I have no news here. They are just examining the secretary of the admiralty. Its thought he will be committed to prison. I eagerly desire that my friend may be sent to Flanders. On Wednesday morning last, one of my tools assured me, that Sir John M'Lean by this time is at St Germain with the late King; and that he had bills of exchange for L. 1000 sterling along with him; and that he was sent hither by others; some of whose names he hath promised to discover to me this week or the next. He says also, that two persons are lately gone from the late King to Scotland. Mind Glasgow business; Jerviswood and Hume; though I know you need not this item. You shall always find (by God's strength) that I shall acquiesce in doing my duty; and, leaving the event to God, from whom we have all our being, moving, and breathing, &c. my care is, the publick, and my brother, whose uncertain health frightens me, on such suddain concussions and tutches. My reprinting this, hath convinced the city of N. Payn's guilt, and the plot at home. Both Arran and Captain Mair are here. I am sorry Abercrombie's offer was not embraced: He is the life of all; I mean the Jesuite. Adieu.

Excuse me to Mr Stevenson; for I have nothing to write;
and I am sending off a flying packet.

ALEX-

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Complaints against his Brother's Transactions in Scotland.—Of the Episcopal Clergy who will not take the Oaths. [In this and the following Letters, friend is used for his brother the secretary, and neighbour, for the Master of Stairs.]

S I R,

I am so stunned with the unfortunate account of the Turkey fleet that is come to this city this morning, that I can mind no other business. I pray God it prove false. The particulars I refer to others, for I know them not exactly. Be assured, a great many of our countrymen design hither speedily, to prevent such a stop was last year. There is a talk here, as if the King would, by his prerogative, discharge the prisoners and oaths. In the beginning of this week, the Master of Stairs had an audience of the Queen. It is told to me, that it was about the explanation which (as reported) the synod of Glasgow made when they took the oaths. These last three posts, since this report began, I have had many letters, but not one word of that explanation. I have enquired at all my acquaintances, but find no mention of such a thing in their letters. Monday's letters brought it hither, and a hideous noise about it here; but it's sunk very much; which makes me believe the audience must be on other things; the grounds of the intended accusation in the inclosed. I wish for an account what is become of Sir John M'Lean and Sir William Lockhart. I am told Sir David How is printing the indictment against N. Payne, and his defences, &c. Daniel Munroe is said to be busied writing against the act for the oaths, and the church-act. Its also true, that my Lord Elphinston hath been with the Queen, complaining of his not being provided for, since he demitted his troop on assurance of another. The thing, in this, is a design to lay the blame at my friend's door, which he can easily answer, but cannot prevent clamour without ground in absence. I do heartily thank you for the approbation of my delivering that long paper,

July 14.
1693.

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and asking leave. I am sensible these steps were made opportunely and successfully. My friend being in the country hinders his writing to you and your partner. He came to Edinburgh on Saturday night. On Monday he would write by the flying packet, desiring him to hasten hither. Be sure to humour and oblige Selkirk as much as you can, and cause Mr Stevenson should do the like. Its absolutely necessary for my friend and you to live well with his father. Keep close that long paper; a copy whereof I delivered here. Pray, prevail with P. to conceal it too; and Mr Stevenson too. You'll see by the inclosed what rods are layed in pipe against my friend: Pray, be diligent and effectually to prevent ill impressions, that, at least, a fair hearing may end things fairly, according to the merit and truth of things. Pray, advertise us of all the bad, as well as the good, you perceive in our affairs. The three batteries mentioned in the inclosed are a triple grateful return for my friend's preserving that family in our parliament; but I never expected other dealing from them. I have sent four large packets, intercepted from Paris here, to my friend, which I hope will be very useful for their Majesties service. The episcopal clergy in Scotland will not take the oaths; so consider what is next to be done. I sent your's and Mr Stevenson's to myself forward to my friend yesterday, then they arrived here.

Excuse my not writing to Mr Stevenson this night, for my heart is oppressed with the ill news aforesaid. Adieu.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

*Bitter against the Master of Stairs for granting Passes to Papists.—
Has certain Tools employed in his Service for the Discovery of Designs against the Government.*

S I R,

Aug. 4. 1693. By my last I gave you an account of the blow that was given on the church-act, &c. and I am sure the archbishop confirmed it all to my

my Lord P. by the last post. Now, I shall give you a tuch of a deeper dye, ingrained indeed a pass or two under my neighbour's hand-seal, are produced this morning to Secretary Trenchard; whereby ten or twelve men and women, young folks of quality and estates in Northumberland, had liberty to go beyond sea; and the proof is plain and full: The young women to be put into nunneries, and the young gentlemen to be put in the Jesuite colledges, and other popish schoolls, to be educated in that superstition. By virtue of these passes, they are actually gone beyond sea, and are placed in those very nunneries and colledges they designed. Its certain these passes, and appears fully to be the only cause of their getting beyond sea, the law forbidding it; and that, which is worse, the act of parliament here that prohibits the carrying over any persons to be educate in the popish religion, or that gives or procures any pass for such to go beyond sea, makes it treason; but that which afflicts some most is, that the passes and plain full proof are produced openly this morning, not only to the secretary aforesaid, but also to many worthy and honourable members of the two houses of parliament; so the thing cannot be smothered and concealed. The only remedy is a pardon under the great seal, like Broughton and Sir William Purves, which made them both very honest men again. Besides, the old gentleman that went over with these young folks, and, by virtue of these passes, as their governor, proves a great trafficker with France against this government. What will be the result I know not; but Secretary Trenchard dealt fairly, and sent the Harwich waiter or surveyor (Mr Mackye) to my neighbour immediately, to inform him of the whole affair, and his hazard. This struck him almost dead; and, in his consternation, suddainly he said, "Every thing, I see, contributes to destroy me." He pressed to have or see the passes; but was denied this, being his warrant for what he did. My friend medled not with it, he not knowing of it till the mine was sprung; and now the city and court talk of it. You cannot imagine how deep these two wounds strick; I mean *the* for *this* in the church-act, and these passes; they have not only intirely

intirely funk all the noise that was raised against our parliament's proceedings, but also have raised a full and shameful hew and cry after, and against them ; which is a clear demonstration, that he who walks uprightly walks surely. While I am writing, I am told that all the blame is laid on Halfyde, with a great deal of bitterness and reflection. If so, he will not be the first servant that hath fathered his master's bratt ; but they will not fall out ; or, if they do, indeed the reckoning betwixt them would turn to a better account than all the passes afore said. I wish I had the stating them. I am confirmed that Sir John M'Lean is with the late King ; where he got a pass, I am not sure as yet. My woman-traveller is gone thither too ; if she proves honest, it will do good service to the government ; but, if she fails, and proves false, *et operam et olium perdidit*. There is an absolute necessity of trying and trusting such tools. I bless God I have peace in the integrity of my intention in that affair ; and I have carried it so closely, that no living knows their names, nor shall, till I see the result ; for, as she confirmed to me by oath her faithfulness in this affair, so I faithfully promised to conceal her name, and the road she intended to take thither and back again to me. I perceive we will have a fleece of our discontented folks here to make a noise all this winter. My Lord Breadalbine is at the Bath already. My Lord Lowthan came to this town last night. Some say Tarbett and Breadalbine will be here speedily, and Lithgow too, and the whole crew. Several letters from several places bear, that Admiral Rooke is come safe to Kingfail. I am waiting for my neighbour's explanations of Glasgow : It's certainly false ; but I doubt if I'll get a copy of it this night, though it hath been promised to have it this night ; they are ashamed of it already. I am confident you'll have it next post ; and I am confident an audience was had here on this sham explanation, as I wrote before. The afore said business of the passes vexes them : My neighbour hath been with N. about it. It's said Halfyde denies it to be done by him ; it is also said, that Halfyde is turned off upon this account ; and that N. would not speak in my neighbour's behalf till this was done ;

done ; and, if my tool tells truth, he doubts if N. will meddle in it, looking it so dirty, and that, for this, equally shameful. My brother hath wrote fully to you and Mr Stevenson ;—and now I am sure the affair of the giving passes is at least misprision of treason. I find the other side of this house is very confident, that the general assembly will meet at the day and place they affixed, which they hope will ruin them utterly : God prevent it. Excuse this confused long letter ; for I am not able to read it over for all the world ; but my mite shall not be wanting, though its of little value. Cessnock is growing mad by the pressure of his creditors ; he abuses you and my brother about losing his place ; he calls it cheating him out of it : At the reflecting word I grew warm, and tuched him ; he calmed : The truth is, he kept all this while very ill company, of ill principles. Keep this intirely to yourself. He denys positively that he consented to Ormiston's succeeding him. I am weary. Adieu.

My service to Mr Stevenson. My weakness, and the length of this letter, will plead my excuse for not writing any more. Twelve at night.

JOHN MACKY to LORD MELVILL.

Of Passes granted by the Master of Stairs.

My LORD,

Upon perusal of what passes have come to this place since the war, I have found severals granted by the Mr of Stairs, that do really astonish me, particularly, one dated December 15. 1692, to Captain James Dalyell and Captain William M'Gill, at the time there were warrants out for securing of both. Be pleased to look into some of the informations I have given your Lordship, and you will find the character of both. They are both now in France ; and Dalyell, as your Lordship may remember, was sent from the borders of Scotland, upon which search was made for him at London.

Another,

August 24.
1693.

Another, dated 27. of March 1693, to Mr John Menzies, some time professor of philosophy at St Andrew's, a man, so noted a Jacobite, that he durst not stay in Scotland; and manages now the correspondence betwixt King James and the Bishop of Glasgow. Another, dated April 4th, to Mr Orchard, who came up with Meldrume last Spring to my Lord Midletone, and went over with this pass about the same time my Lord went. Another, dated April 27th, to the famous Mrs Simpstone that serves Skermorly, with several others to English gentlemen, whose characters I do not yet know. I have all the passes in my possession, and shall keep them till there be a convenient time to make use of them. The Laird of Clerkingtone came by your Lordship's pass last week; he is a noted Jac. and may be going to France; but has not a head can do much harm. I hope your Lordship hath been mindfull of that affair I troubled your Lordship about when last at London. I shall always be careful of doing every thing may contribute to your Lordship's service; and I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

And obedient servant,

(Signed)

JO. MACKIE.

ALEX. JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

A curious Passage concerning Sir George Campbell and Sir James Montgomery.—A Discovery made by Falsyde of a treasonable Correspondence.

SIR,

Septem. 19.
1693.

The two welcome Dutch mails arrived here on Saturday's morning. Immediately I dispatched away the flying packet; and I believe this very time they are feasting upon the dainties of it, as I did when it came, and still do. I never saw such a look as I got from my neighbour when he read the account of it, (except when

when I told him, that Ormiston succeeded Sir George Campbell in that place); but the great misfortune was, the flying packet was gone four or five hours before that account came to his hands; for we both bemoaned the too much haste in sending away the flying packet; so the ordinary post was the only remedy that was left. There is no sort of news; the only expectation is, that our fleet may happily meet with the French fleet in their return to Brest, which would wash away all our sower humours, and make us happy in a second sea-victory; and perhaps that new invention of firing darts may be a chief help; for on Saturday I saw the grand experiment, which succeeded wonderfully. Yesterday I met accidentally Sir George Campbell, and delivered your message, and invited him to dinner, as he was going to his lodgings in Kingstreet, Westminster. 'Twixt the Privy-Garden wall and the Cockpit, a gentleman in a hackney coach called to him, and spoke to him, who was Sir James Montgomerie; there was company in the coach; they stopt not, but drove on beyond Whitehall: Within half an hour, or less, he sent for me, and told me the story, which surpris'd me exceedingly, both on the account of Sir George's silliness and Sir James's boldness. It was too late to retrieve it; so I scolded Sir George exceedingly, how easily he might have had him seized, there being two centries upon the guard in Whitehall, and in the park-house, and so but calling out a traitor, the very people had stopt the coach and taken him. This is a foolish silly unaccountable passage. The truth is, I told him too much in my passion; how easy a porter might have done it, or dogged him, and then had him taken. I found him exceedingly vexed, either at his omission, or his telling it; however, I went straight to Secretary Trenchard, and acquainted him with it; and all oars are put into the water to find him out; for its certain he is just come from France or Stockholm. I am informed, that several gentlemen that took the oaths are now resolved to refuse to take them, if tendered to them in Scotland, their hopes are so great at present. This information made me resolve to enquire if it was so here: And, walking the park this morn-

ing, I found Mr Boskawn, (the privy counsellor) ; I told it to him, and he assured me, that its so here too, several persons being fined in the country for not taking the oaths, and refusing them, tho' they had taken them before, since this happy revolution. This is so considerable a passage in my thoughts, that I really think its worth not only writing, but considering too ; and the more its enquired into, the number of them will appear considerable ; and may I not then rationally conclude, that profiliters are made carefully ? My Lord Braedalbine appears publickly at court, though I have not yet seen him in the Queen's presence : Its pretended he hath leave to stay. I have letters from a good hand at Edinburgh, that bear the D. of Queensberry, &c. immediately on the first arrival of the bad news of the last battle in Flanders, his Grace went to the prisons to visit them that were for refusing the oaths, and other crimes against the government, yet he did not come to the council ; and it is observed, the prisoners took their part, and that then the design to liberate the prisoners was first formed, and at last performed so vigorously and bare-faced, as the journals and inclosed show you, (I mean the former journals.) The same letter says, that the chief ingredient of the new match was to effect these things : And that Calder's trial, or rather the misgiving it, was another ingredient ; and the misapplying the new taxes is another part of it. Thus, its a loyal and hopeful match that brings forth such fruit before seed-time. I desire not to be guilty of ill-natured observations ; but its not for nought that Mr Thom. Deans (the great dealer with that family) is gone down now to Scotland. My brother, and others too, write positively to me, that Calder never wrote that manifesto ; and therefore such pains have been taken to acquit him, lest he should have discovered others ; and, for the same reason it was, that he unnecessarily owned himself the author of it, to cover others from suspicion : And indeed, why should not Calder do so, when he was himself insured, and out of the way of hazard, and protected and magnified for their merit ? I must confess these steps are unaccountable, for them to dare to do so ; but it will be more unaccountable if they
be

be suffered to continue in such legerdemain, &c. Thus, I give you my mite as heartily as you gave your treasures by the other post; and I shall take care to procure a dispensation from your lady for your stay longer till S. W. L. and Jeref. business be done. I shall be sorry if B. Albion be permitted to stay, since he strangely behaves himself in his denials of the notice of the former prohibition. Halfyde's stratagem and masterpiece.—The J. Clerk's letters were at the Bath. All that I know of Halfyde's discovery is, that he shows a letter wrote by your brother-in-law Mr Dullap, desiring him to send forward an inclosed letter to Mr Shields (the Cameronian); this letter was directed to be left at a house at Bruxells. Halfyde says, that he opened this letter to Shields, and found another letter in it to the Earl of Lauderdale, in which there was a large key, or cypher, with some directions how to use it. Halfyde left this open packet on his table, and a gentleman accidentally coming in, perceiving it, enquired what it was, whereupon he told him the whole thing, and asked what he should do in it. This gentleman advised him to see the utmost of it, which Halfyde agreed to. About ten or twelve days afterwards, another packet comes to Halfyde's house, under the same directions, with advice and directions how King James should come to Scotland, and what steps and preparations he should make before he comes thither. There is also accounts of men and things, and particularly, bitter expressions and reflections on my brother, yourself, the advocate, Lord Justice-Clerk, and others; but my information is short of these particulars; but this is the scheme of the whole: So judge of it as you please, and let my information be kept secret as from me; for I plowed with another man's heifer, whom I would not have discovered. Read this to Mr Stevenson, for I am not able to write; and present my humble service and thanks for his rarities. I long to have you all here with flying colours or flags after a sea-victory. Adieu.

The Dutch post is not, nor can come while the wind is so cross. After the flying packet was quite gone, I devulged the last news; all honest men rejoiced at them, and others were disappointed thereby.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Halfyde threatens to ruin him and his Brother.

S I R,

Septem. 29.
1693.

The vacation of the council and session in Scotland, and the want of four Dutch packets, create such a profound quiet as to news, that I have nothing else to do or say but to send the inclosed, tho' I confess we're more uneasy than we would be with the noise of all the couriers at home and abroad. It's believed Sir William Ashurst is my Lord Mayor of this city by the plurality, but the poll will determine it, this being the election-day. I pray for the like good accounts of our Edinburgh election, S. J. Hall to be the man. The news of the last flying packet is a great mortification, and rejoicing to others ; you will easily distinguish the Kidneys. Halfyde officiates still ; it seems he is inseparable. Many of my neighbour's friends admire at this ; but the reason you'll feel in their thoughts. Besides, Halfyde positively declares, that he hath made such considerable discoveries, that he will be a greater man than both our secretaries. He declares, that he can, and will ruin Secretary Johnston and his brother ; and, as to the other secretary, he says, he is a lazy and credulous man ; (all this can be proved.) As to Cunningham and Jamison's business, he says positively, that he hath the King's order to sign Ja. Jamison, or any other name he pleases ; (this can be proved.) I answered, that he ought to be sent to bedlam, or at least to grant passes to Jacobites and Rebels. Halfyde officiates still, even this night. Thus I have made much of nothing ; that is, much noise or writing about nothing. Adieu.

My service to Mr Stevenson,

ALEX-

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to MR CARSTARES.

*General Talmaſh's Death.——Hints of a diſcovery of a Plot.——
Colonel Parker.*

In the following letters, we have a detail of the ſeveral conſpiracies of the Jacobites previous to the diſcovery of the plot for aſſaſinating King William. Parker was the prime mover and agent in that deſign. See State Trials vol. 4. Charnock's trial.

S I R,

The gazett gives you all the news about Breſt. Laſt night an unlucky expreſs brought the melancholy account of Lieutenant-General Talmaſh's death of his wounds at Plymouth the morning before. What I writt to you laſt poſt is my true ſenſe of the affair I writt to you of concerning the Colonel; and I doubt not it is, and will prove all true: Yet there are ſo many accidents that may interveen, and alter men and things, that your tenderneſs and prudence is deſired in repreſenting them to P. very cautiously, till things ſhow themſelves; the ſucceſs or uſefulneſs being the ſtandard of mankind, eſpecially of courts and great men, who of neceſſity muſt judge the tree by its fruit, and not by the bloſſoms, &c. There is nothing elſe material worth writing, only the Jacobites are poſitive and confident that you have received a blow in Flanders; particularly, they ſay that Luxemburgh hath got in betwixt you and your horſe; ſo that they cannot join your infantry. God forbid. Adieu.

June 15.
1694.

ALEX-

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to MR CARSTARES.

Of Proofs against Colonel Parker.

S I R,

June 19.
1694.

The proof in the Colonel's case is so full, positive, and plain, that the King's counsel at law judge it sufficient. So that difficulty is over. Yet I am endeavouring to seize four more to add to the six we have already. I have a further prospect in this, hoping this opportunity may be improved to a more general discovery of men and things. If I get Mackadam and Sharnock, I believe the barbarous point in Flanders will be proved; that is to say, that the Colonel hath spoke some words, which will evidently prove that he was concerned in it, and approved of it as an heroick attempt. Dr Kennedy proves very obstinate. Impart to my Lord P. what you please of this letter; but to none else. Adieu.

Witnesses.

Sir George Maxwell

Captain Carr

Captain Bruce

Captain Welsh

Lieut. Somervail

Coronet Chalmers.

} All the six, except Bruce, are in custody.

} The last three were officers in the Colonel's regiment in Ireland, and were with him in the French camp, at the siege of Mons, and at Lyle, Paris, &c.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

*Prospect of further Discoveries concerning the Assassination Plot.—
Accounts of himself,—and his present Employment as a Spy in
the Service of Government.*

S I R,

June 29.
1694.

This is only to tell you, that the six names of men I sent you before is probably encreasing to twelve; at least, this night, or to-morrow,

morrow, will bring near it, tho' they are grown very cautious; I say twelve, because I have four persons, that now do service, (in case of necessity), will positively prove the points of Ireland. Substance and in arms in Flanders at the siege of Mons, &c. with his being sent before the invasion, intended to raise the people to meet King James in arms. I judge all these points are safe beyond exception, both as to the number of the witnesses and their quality, being all gentlemen, who can produce in writing their commissions, or other credentials on their side. The thing now I am endeavouring chiefly is, this last and most tender point, the assassination-plot. How far I shall be able to carry it, I do not know. If once I catch Sharnock and M'Adam, and Major Fountaine, its certain they can clear the point, by proving his approbation and cursing the mis of the blow pt. Coronett Chambers (in custody) being his valet de chamber, and afterwards his coronet at the Boyn, and thereafter returning to be his servant in France and Flanders, having dealt very ingeniously with the grand jury, I have soe ordered things, in an obliging way, that I hope he will be prevailed on to tell the whole truth, by an intire discovery of men and things; thereafter, Sir George Maxwell and the others shall be dealt with in the same manner, each of them severally having notice this night, that ingenuity will come too late after others have prevented them by their discoveries &c. Besides, they were lost to their party, by what they have done already to the grand jury, &c. such as insinuations of settlement and safety, &c. if they deall plainly. This is the state of this affair, concerning which I shall only add, that no other person could produce one witness in this business, except what I did; and two of these witnesses were in Scotland, Bruce and Seaton; each of them got twenty guineas, which my Lord Justice Clerk paid by my orders, since repaid by me; besides the expence here in discovering and seizing the persons that could prove the points. The whole expence, since I followed this way, you know is considerable, which freed me to make application here for my repaiment, both before and since the King left

left this, tho' without any effect. I have never received one fixpence from the government; and I believe it will be acknowledged that I have done some services, that at least I should be repayed what I have laid out in that way, since I do not so much as pretend to any reward, nor charge one fixpence for my personal expence about those sort of buisnesses, &c. Since I gave you an account of some things I had done after the King's going till you left this, and, ever since your arrivall there, have sent you what occurred to be communicated to P. I hope you will prevent any mistake on that head. You know my circumstances; my approaching difficultys make me tremble when I think on them. You know I have no estate to support such expence I have been at; besides, by following this way, I have lost and destroyed the way I could comfortably lived on by my profession and practice of the law and the tallys affairs: But I hope God will find out an expedient, or teach me patience to bear it, without repining, the hurry of public affairs forcing the best and greatest of men to delay the considering of private affairs. I wish you all hapiness, and a happy campaign. We have noe news, only a fleet is returning to the coast of France, on some attempt here, which I pray God good success. We want several Dutch packetts. Adieu.

My respects to Mr Stevenfon.

Sir JAMES STUART, Lord Advocate for Scotland, to Mr CARSTARES.

Advifes with him about calling a General Assembly.—About taking in and turning out the Episcopal Clergy.

The fynod of Lothian is adjourned to February next, as I hinted to you formerly. I desire to know your thoughts, if it be adviseable that they address the King for a new assembly to sit some time before August next, and the sooner the better, if it can stand with the

con-

veniency of his Majesty's affairs, it may be it will not be unacceptable to the King. You can judge of the obvious consequence of it. I know some who would be glad of it, although it should be but a very short session, if it were no more but to appoint a commission for the North, for taking in some of the best of the incumbents, in some places almost a whole presbytery: As, for example, that of Strabogie in Morray; in other places but three or four in a presbytery, as they can be had; that so there may be a more full representation of the national church in the next ensuing general assembly. I would fain quote a saying out of St Augustine, in his book of *sermone* but it has escaped my memory; however, some who were not very forward for taking in on this side of Tay, seem to be very willing for taking in on the other side. If that motion take effect, one thing has need to be well thought on, What to do with those who have been found all along, and still refractory to the civil government? You must help out with an expedient here; and then, if there be a taking in, there would seem to be some equity for purging out, especially of the *But there must be time for that, and a thing they call Causa removens, prohibens, &c.* And yet some, of whom you would not expect it, speak never a word of purging out. You may, if you think fit, give your thoughts of these things. Adieu.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Some farther Particulars concerning the Assassination.—Names of Witnesses.

S I R,

I long to have an account of all affairs with you, which we cannot expect till the wind change. The bringing in 70 Swedish and Danish ships, loaden with corn and naval stores for France, is all I can send you. You will understand the names on the other side of this paper, but show it to none but to P. only; and do not so much

July 3. 1694.

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as mention the thing to any other person whatsoever. - The three points, viz. Ireland, and in arms in the French army at the siege of Mons, and other places in Flanders, and having subsistence there, and his being sent a little before the last invasion to raise the people, and to join K. J. and commissions distributed, &c. will be fully and satisfiably proved, beyond all exception. The last point of the designed assassination in Flanders, is the difficulty which I hope too will, in some measure, be performed, to the conviction of all honest loyal people, and to the shame of their Majesties enemies. There were three persons in custody, Coronet Chambers, Lieutenant-colonel Fountaine, and Lieutenant-colonel MacDonald, are believed to be privy to that wicked design; but M'Adam nor Sharnock are not taken. However, all possible care is taken to seize them; and there is hopes Chambers will deal ingeniously, by telling the whole truth; and both Fountaine and MacDonald are dead men in law; so its probable they'll do the like to save themselves. God willing, there shall be nothing omitted that I can do to clear this last point, which would be an incurable stab to the Jacobites, if once it were proved fully. After perusal, burn this. Do the like to the last, after P. hath seen it. I took them all myself. Keep all close, for I am not suspected by them. Adieu.

Byeres of Coats, Captain Murray, Lieutenant-colonel Murray's son, that was in the castle of Edinburgh, are come now hither from France. The laird of Meldrum is in Holland, and coming hither. Have patience till you hear further.

Names of the Witnesses.

1. Sir George Maxwell
2. Lieutenant-colonel Fountaine
3. Lieutenant-colonel M'Donald
4. Captain Bruce
5. Captain Welsh
6. Captain Innes of Towey
7. Captain Alexander Seaton
8. Cap-

8. Captain Riven
9. Captain Hamilton of Raplogh.
10. Captain Peter Hay
11. Coronett Chambers, Parker's secretary in Ireland and Flanders,
and France, and here too
12. Cornet Somervill
13. Ensign Seaton.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

*Account of the Fleets under Lord Berkley and Admiral Ruffel.—
Dark Hints of further Discoveries.*

S I R,

I pray God to send us good news from you, it being generally
believed that our King hath fought the Dauphine. God preserve
our King, and give him success. The last post brought you the
burning and entire destruction of Diep, which is now confirmed by
Colonel Wharton. The express just now came from my Lord Berk-
ley, before Haver de Grace, three parts whereof was burning and
destroyed when the express left this fleet, Wednesday (the 18th in-
stant) at night, before that town. He says, the next night, and part
of Thursday thereafter, would wholly destroy it, and then the fleet
would return to Spithead for a recruit of all things, especially of
bombs, their stock being spent on Diep, and this town Haver de
Grace; and so return to the French maritime towns, to do the like
on some more of them. I have no account of Admiral Ruffel, other-
wise than that he had joined the squadron in the Mediterranean sea,
and had been before Barcelona three days after the French had left
it, and returned to Toulon. Admiral Ruffel, with the fleet in those
seas, with the flight of the French fleet there, and returning to Tou-
lon, and fortifying themselves there, and the relief of Barcelona,
will probably further the war with the Turks, especially this burn-

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ing the French maritime towns accompanying it. God grant that I may add a victory in Flanders; which would turn the balance. But we shall have no joy till we hear of the King's safety, he so extremely exposes himself in the time of action. God preserve him. As to my own particular, its in the way to be done; and am heartily thankful for your kind and effectual part in it, and P.'s too. But I am about something; if it hit right, it will give an edge to my thanks to P. I hope by the next post. In the mean time, If you have opportunity, represent my most humble and grateful acknowledgements to P. with that sense I truly have of them; the manner being so extraordinary obliging, that I shall still retain it in my memory, that I may on all occasions express it, that is, in my sincerity and diligence, in endeavouring to serve the King and his Lordship. We have nothing from Scotland worth writing. Have patience, take courage, and pursue the altercations of men in our country. Do it vigorously; Providence leads the way. I see men like trees already; but both you and I will see them like men without disguise, in their true colours, be they black or white, shortly, here and there too. Depend on this, and steer your course accordingly. Few days or weeks will give you a dawning light, which I hope will speedily turn to fair day-light. I dread nothing but the King's hazard in the battle. Good God preserve him! Seal up your lips; but do as I advise. I have ground for what I advise and write. Adieu.

Your brother, Keckarich, and the master dined with me yesterday here.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to MR CARSTARES.

A new Plot discovered.—Walmsly apprehended, &c.

S I R,

July 31.
1694.

Your's of the 23d and 26th are before me, and shall wait for the event, either in fighting, or not, as the King sees cause; whom God preserve.

preserve. I doubt not you have a noise of seizing several persons of quality on a new discovery of a plot. I shall only say, (at this time), that it's true, and will appear legally to the conviction and punishment of some of the guilty. I believe one of the chief of them will lodge this night in the Tower; the rest are coming under guards to this place from the country. Have patience; you will find firmness and vigour in the prosecuting them. I see already all application made in their behalf is rejected, which is the only way to go effectually to work to save the government and disable their enemies. Having this opportunity, I have not forgot our present disadvantageous circumstances at home; and I believe such an impression is taken that will tend to good effects, at least, it will facilitate your present task; and, though things are kept very close in this discovery, yet I have reason to believe the poyson hath infected beyond Tweed, and that the remedies must be applied there too, if the cure be general, which it must be, if any at all. It's true, the edge of this discovery immediately strikes against the protestant and popish Jacobites; but I hope the pretended false Williamites will have a share of it too in all the three kingdoms, (Ireland being worse than the other two); and, if it were in my power, I would show more favour to the professed Jacobite than to the treacherous Williamite, who lurks in disguise to destroy us. I write thus plainly to quicken your endeavours, and that you may lay hold on this opportunity to improve it to the best advantage of their Majesties service. I forbear to tell you names or particulars, for the same reasons that hindered me from writing last two posts to you or any other person. We have no news here. We believe our fleet is hastening out immediately to continue the bombarding the French maritime towns. We begin to believe that Admiral Russel and the fleet will winter in the Mediterranean, to curb the French fleet, if not attack it, at Thowloun, before this season is over. The prospect of things is very fair and promising; and the indefatigable application the Queen and the ministers under her here follow their business with, wonderfully

fully raises the spirits of honest people, &c. My nephew James Colhoun, as I believe, is with you; pray assist him in his preferment. I shall write to him next post. My own business is still doing; you shall know when it is done; and I hope you have presented my humble acknowledgements to P. for his favour in it. Since I wrote the above, I was called out, and I find Walmley is lodged in the Tower; he is a gentleman of L. 6000 Sterling of an estate; he hath been an indefatigable and an irreconcilable enemy to this government: He hath great relations, who endeavour to bail him out; but all their application was refused. Two Colonels, Fountayne and M'Donald, are just now sent to Newgate; and perhaps the late K. hath not two better officers than they two, according to the general character the town and their own party give them. I hope they'll be taught their duty; there is enough against them. Burn this; for you know I do not write so fully to any others. My humble service to Monf. Vandlow, Herming, and Mr Vanderdort. Adieu.

My Lord Sidney hath promised to write to my Lord Portland this night for a Captain's commission for my nephew, so mind it; and give my respects to Captain William Baillie and to Mr Stevenfon, to whom I'll write so soon I have news.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to MR CARSTARES.

Byars of Coats apprehended.—Some particulars of his Correspondence with France.—Holmes's Club.—Colonel Fountain.

S I R,

August 7.
1694.

I send you inclosed Byars of Coats's packet of letters corresponding with France, and his desiring to continue it. Its so plain, there is no sort of colour of an excuse. I wish the whole party followed the example, thus to hang themselves with their own hands. Upon my intercepting this packet, I caused seize him in my Lord Marshall's lodgings, in the Pallmall, at dinner; but the foolish messengers

fengers suffered James Morray (the Prince) and Captain Patrick Murray to escape by the back-door, and abscond ever since; yet I think I shall catch them speedily. When Byars was examined, he denied that ever he was in France, or that ever he had any correspondence with any persons there; (these are his words): But, upon producing the inclosed letters, he sunk, and confessed the inclosed packet, particularly the three letters marked A. B. C. to be his hand-writing, and that he had received the letter D. wrote by his friend at Edinburgh: He also confessed, that (*Marshall*) is my Lord Marshall, and that (*the Prince*) is James Murray, son to the late depute governor of the castle of Edinburgh; and, that (*his friend at Paris*) is Captain James Murray of Stanhope, who was concerned in Kilfyth's treachery in the Highlands to betray the army. When he was further interrogated about Holms's club, and the other names exprest in the letters, he stopt, and would say no more. I have wrote to my Lord Justice-clerk to take care of Finlay, and to explain the names and terms in these letters, which lie yet in the dark, viz. Floyd, John Meneche, Malcolme, and the Doctor, and the Sprents, &c. I know Holms's club, and have observed it these three years, and offered P. to have taken them altogether; but it could not be done to any good purpose, for want of evidence; that club being the most cunning, industrious, and malicious sort of bigot papists in this town. It's out of this club I got Sir Æneas, and the inclosed packet of Byars, and three other things. They are of Melfort's faction, called in the letters Earl John. It's evident Meldrum left France with Byers, and that he is gone to his mother, the Countess of Perth. It seems also that Byers got passage hither by the packet-boats from Havensluce. He says, *I made the journey with more ease than I expected.* The truth is, the passage to and from France is too frequent, and too easy to these sort of folks. I have been informed from several hands, that some people have power on the Dutch side to give passes, which is very much abused; they call the man M'Kerk, as they tell me. It is not now Halsyde's passes that prejudices the government; but I can prove M'Karchurk (he succeeds

fuceeds Halfyde) fent letters from Sir Æneas M'Farfon, (while in prifon here), to M'Lean the writer, and Sir David How in Edinburgh, the old way my neighbour's packet. Your perufal of this and the other inclofed will make you of Byers's opinion, that all the Jacobite fools are not at St Germaines, fince he wrote, figned, and confefled the inclofed letters here, at the peril of his life. If it can be fo, after fuch a mad attempt, I wifh it were refolved what way to difpofe of him. It cofts the King ten fhillings every day to the meffenger ; befides, he was actually in arms in the French armies ; and I think he can tell tales, if pinched into an ingenous humour. He is a gentleman, and hath great relations, the Duke of Gordon, Earl of Perth, Earl of Linlithgow, &c. My Lord Aboyne, his governor, Forbes the prieft and lieutenant, have given bail of L. 5000, to appear before the council in Edinburgh within fix weeks. This prieft, Forbes, is alfo called Father Marr ; he is an ingenious man, and of great efteem abroad, and had great power with the late King and my Lord Melfort in the late reign. I fufpect there is more at the bottom of his going to Scotland at this time than his being governor to my Lord Aboyne, I think you fhould propofe this affair, and get directions how they fhould be difpofed of when they appear before the privy council, otherwife you know what will become of it. Lately, at Secretary Trenchard's defire, I wrote to Scotland, and feized Mrs Simfon, (the notorious Simpson's fifter): The Lord Juftice-Clerk examined her ; fome letters were intercepted, and fome were found about her, fhewing her correffpondence with her brother and Mall Jones, who now abfconds for treason, and carried on Crosby's (in Newgate) intrigues. This alfo appears by my taking Dr Kennedy and his treasonable papers, before you left this place. The prefent difficulty is, to know whether Simfon and this his fifter were born in Scotland ; for, if fhe was born there, they cannot bring her hither, fince her crime was done there,—if you can tell me where the Simfons were born. As to the military man's bufinefs, I can only repeat what I told you before, that the three parts are fafe, and will be proved, viz. Ireland, Boyne, &c.

&c. Flanders, French army, siege of Mons, &c. England, late invasion, contributions, subsisting, and lifting, with giving out commissions, &c. The present care and labour is the fourth point, the assassinating, &c. If Cornet Chambers (who was the clerk or secretary) grow ingenuous, and the foreign witnesses appear too, this will be done too. Ensign Arthur Seaton (that I brought from Scotland by post on this occasion) gains on Chambers every day, they being old fellow-officers in K. J. armies; so, at last, he hath confessed all the points except the last; and he seems to be more averse to tell that secret than all the rest, though he seems to insinuate, that he is not ignorant altogether; but just now, he says he will never be an evidence; however, his humours shall be suffered to evaporate; and every opportunity shall be laid hold on to bring him to tell the whole truth. Fountayne is to be first tried: I hope three or four witnesses will prove his lifting and subsisting a great many people; but there is no certainty in these things till things are perfected and done. I am weary of this long letter. Communicate no part of it, only to P.; then burn it. We have no news, only my Lord Berkley parted from Whitehall this morning, to go on board the fleet, whom God prosper. Adieu.

Pray, take care of my nephew Colhoun's preferment.

Mr ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

In quest of Witnesses against Fountayne, and other Prisoners.—The mean Arts he makes use of to obtain Evidence.—Takes great Merit to himself for his Activity.

SIR,

Your's of the 6th came just now to my hand. I have inclosed so many papers to you, there seems no occasion for me to write much this night. Wednesday last I was advertised, that it was resolved to try Colonel Fountayne first, of all the prisoners, next session,

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(which begins the 24th of this month); the reason is, that lifting and subsisting of men, before, at, and after the late intended invasion, to rise in arms to join the late King and the French, &c. is a great point, and naturally includes a plot and design against this government to overturn it. Besides, it's apparent, that Fountayne hath been concerned, and privy to all the intrigues levelled against this government, and can discover both men and things, which would be of great advantage to their Majesties service; and, if Fountayne proves refractory, yet the true management of this point of lifting and subsisting will be a fair leading carte as to others trials: Yet I think Fountayne cannot escape, there are so many other things against him, viz. his rebellion in Ireland, the Highlands, and his particular lifting and subsisting, as appears by the information, and two more witnesses, at his trial. The thing now to be minded, is to find out so many witnesses as possibly we can get to prove lifting and subsisting by Fountayne, or any other Jacobite officer, for the purposes aforesaid in this information. One Lieutenant William Drummond, in my Lord Strathnaver's regiment, is mentioned: I doubt whether this Drummond is a lieutenant in my Lord Strathnaver's present regiment, or in his first regiment. To secure the point, yesterday I wrote to my Lord Justice-Clerk to look after him, if in Scotland, and send him hither immediately by post; and to send up three or four that can prove the foresaid point against any other persons. Now, if this Drummond be in my Lord Strathnaver's present regiment with you, pray be sure mind to have him hastened hither without delay. There is one Crawford and Robison, (whom you know), who were detached out of the guards here; I believe both of them can prove this point of lifting and subsisting; (lifting is enough alone.) Crawford told me of a house-keeper that offered him money here to subsist him for the late King. Be pleased therefore to search after Crawford and Robison; and, if you find them material, be pleased to send them hither. It's also very advisable, that pains should be taken to find out such persons that can prove this point. I believe there are several of them amongst the

the English and Scots forces with you. There is one Mr Telford, a surgeon to Colonel Cunningham's regiment of dragoons, is very capable, and I hope willing, to serve this government. I helped to bring him out of prison for debt, to do services; he succeeded in some things. I told P. of him. If you engage him, he can serve you effectually: But you must engage some honest officers in every British regiment, and, if they be sincere, they'll find out such; and I believe Crawford, Robertson, and Telford may do much in it; for they were at London, and conversed with the Jacobites. Encourage Telford (surgeon); he can do much; he hath had a great deal of money here from me: I believe he knows many here that can prove this point, and other points too; so oblige him. Excuse this hasty letter in so great a concern.—But I have been called abroad five times about secret business since seven of the clock this evening; and Mr Acon Smith tells me just now, that I'll neither let him eat or sleep, &c. Impart what is material in this letter to P.; but burn the letter itself. Always consider that the session begins in the Old Baillie 24th of this month; so hasten things. Consider also that two or three material witnesses is a vast benefit to their Majesties service; and yet I hope here there will be enough; but the more the better. Adieu.

My brother is abroad; he'll write next post. Pardon my confusion; for I have too great prizes in chase, if I can hit it this night. Read these new intercepted letters; I believe they are both from Sir Ja. Montgomery. I keep the originals, and hope by the next to interpret most of them.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Colonel Parker's Escape.—Fountayne's Trial.—In the same Strain with the last.

S I R,

Colonel Parker (Sunday last) made his escape out of the Tower, by such gross corruption, that nothing gives the least colour to ex-
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cuse it. I doubt not the bottom of this affair will be found out, and the guilty punished. In mine, (last post), I mentioned the information against Fountayne; but I was forced to delay it, for I got not the original till two of the clock Sunday morning, with the other papers inclosed, from Mr Acon Smith; I was forced to copy the information, and send my servant to the general post-office, Lombard-street; but it was too late. Pray, give them both to P. You know I could not send the original information, it being part of the evidence. And I assure you, that the whole pinch in Crofbey's business seems entirely to lie in the proof of his hand-writing; so mind it, and push it. The session being delayed for few days longer, I do renew my request, that Drummond, in my Lord Strathnaver's regiment, or any other that knows lifting or sub-fisting, may be hastened hither with all possible expedition; such are the considerable consequences of proving this point clearly in relation to the new discovery; though, in my conscience, if the witnesses here prove right and full at Fountayne's trial, there is enough, not only to do Fountayne's business, but also to give a true light into the plot itself. Every minute I expect the return of the messengers that were sent out on Saturday night late: I am impatient to know their success; for all these things are uncertain till they are done. I have no hopes of taking Parker again; however, I am endeavouring all that in me lies to do it. It's a shame such a base assassinate should escape, and ridicule the justice of the kingdom. I send you my Lord Justice-Clerk's letter. Send them all four back again. We have no news, save the desperate attempt of a Danish man of war in the Downs, and Admiral Ruffel's letter to the government; the particulars whereof you'll get from better hands. Be kind to my nephew; and tell him that I have paid his bill of exchange from Rotterdam. A proclamation is coming out, with a reward of money, to retake Parker. Adieu.

ALEX-

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

*Laments Colonel Parker's Escape.—Has seized Stone, from whom
he expects great Discoveries, &c.*

S I R,

Last post I gave you the names of the persons I took in a ship going out of the mouth of this river. Sunday last I was advertised, that Captain M'Adam, and four more, really intended to go on board that ship, and that they were on the shore with a little boat to carry them to this ship; but, being frightened by the seizure of the foresaid persons, they all returned to London; and one of my tools hath been twice in company with three of them; but Parker was not with them in the country, nor do they know where he is: However, M'Adam will be a great prize; he was much employed and trusted by the late King, Melfort, Middleton, Sir Ja. Montgomery, and some of the great folks at home: Besides, he was employed by Parker, Storie, Sharnock, &c. And it was with him Parker left his horses, arms, writings, and all he had, when he came to England, before the last intended invasion; and it's to him Parker spoke about the assassinating attempt, &c. I shall do what I can to take him. Consider the public noise about Parker's business, and the new discovery, makes these people very cautious; so it's very difficult to catch them. Sunday last, in the evening, I was informed that Parker and Captain Storie were absconding in one Hay's house in Edrinton, twelve miles distant from this city. Immediately I sent for Morice, and imparted the secret, and gave him the warrant. He chose his companions, and he kept the secret till they saw the house: So they surrounded the house in the night-time. When the door opened, about four o'clock in the morning, some of them rushed in; and, at last, with the hazard of their lives, they seized Captain Storie and one Hutton; and brought them hither last night prisoners; for Parker was not then there. As yet I do not

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not know Hutton's circumstances; but Captain Storie came from France with Parker, a little while before the late intended invasion; and then, on their arrival, both of them were taken together in Kent, by the country militia, and were brought to Southwark, where they made their escapes by corrupting some of their guards. This small account of Storie will show you what sort of kidney he is of. All along I have been informed, by many hands, that Storie is the most understanding, contriving, active, and boldest of the late King's servants, and most trusted by him and his creatures. When he and Parker left France, before the late intended invasion, Parker was ordered to follow Storie's directions; and the truth is, Parker was esteemed by the party as the hand, and Storie the head and hand too, (as the Jacobites have often expressed it.) I hope to find evidence against him: And now I am sending for Macky, to whom he discovered the late intended invasion. Coronet Chambers, Peter Hay, and Sir George Maxwell (now in custody), can do his business; Mr Fish, Barlowe, and two women, can do the like. I have not read the papers that were taken with them; Mr Acon Smith says they are material: We shall both peruse them to-morrow morning, or this night, so soon I have sent out three parties on the hunt. But, to what purpose are all these endeavours to cut off the *summa papavera*, while at the same breath they let them escape, by gross palpable corruption? I have perused all the examinations concerning this base designed escape; and this day the Lord Chief-Justice is taking more. I know also the expressions of the warden, (who got notice yesterday to prepare for his trial this next session the 29th); but I shall only say, that I believe the right mark is higher they should aim at. I know not who is guilty or not; but there are such symptoms and black marks of guilt, certainly there is ground enough for a strict enquiry. I know a certain person hath sent a vindicating letter to P.; but I believe he will be very slow in his return, till he understands the whole affair. There is an embryo; I know not what the birth will produce; I shall do my endeavour to find the truth, without respect of persons, only aiming at the King's service;

vice; though there are great endeavours to stifle it in the womb; which makes me more jealous, and I hope it will make me more vigorous in my endeavours to bring it to a full birth, whatever it be; least otherwise the small flies be caught in the spider's web, while the great ones break through. This base abominable escape of Parker makes me to add, that I am informed Storie was the most active and prudent instrument in carrying on and effecting it; and, how opportunely had Storie's taking been, if Parker had not escaped?—(Time will try things.) I have ground also to believe, that Storie is much concerned in all the steps of these intrigues the government is now prosecuting on the new discovery. Do not mistake me in what I have said about evidence against Storie; it's certain I know persons (above mentioned) that can do his business effectually; but I am uncertain if they will give full evidence against him. I shall hasten to seize them, least they withdraw, as several persons did in Parker's case; otherwise, Storie, Sharnock, Larick, Bowvy, and M'Adam, had been long ago taken into custody. I have some little hints, as if the two persons in the Tower (Stanly and Walmsly) had, for their own preservation, delivered Parker by this escape, least he might tell tales, which they were very jealous of. It's evident enough, that the meeting of our privy councillors at the Bath, was to prevent an prohibition, and concert measures. By the next I hope to give you full proof of subsisting and lifting many people before and at the late intended invasion. Fountayne, M'Donald, and Crosby, got notice to prepare for their trials on high treason this next session. Fountayne was confounded with it, and shuke, trembling every inch of him. This accident I have put in a way to be improved for a discovery; for he knows all; and I find his party is jealous that he will save himself. I have the like ground to believe the warden in the Tower will do the like. I hope the gentleman goaler of the Tower will be put into Newgate too, and another warden, not less guilty than them all; but by whose decernment or connivance, &c. I write all these things to you at large, that you
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may lay hold on the first opportunity to represent them in brief to P. and I do it in the sincerity of my heart ; and, knowing the closeness and faithfulness, I chused to write this way, to save P. trouble of reading my hasty and undigested letters, using our old freedom. The Queen hath displaced the gentleman goaler of the Tower; Tyburn seems the fittest place for him. My brother is gone to Tumbridge, then to the Bath. My Lord Berkley and the fleet is returned to the Downs safe after this great storm, God be praised. Hasten back to me my Lord Justice-Clerk's letters I sent you, that you might have a full view of our circumstances at home. I hope you have minded the note I sent you about Crosby. Sharnock and Bovy are my present business : If I had them, with those I have already, I would hope to clear things more evidently than all those in the Tower or in the country will probably do. Do your endeavour for my nephew's preferment ; and do not let him want money for subsistence ; I shall answer it to you. Adieu.

I send you Mr Ridpath's new book. It's a pity Mr Morrice is not made a messenger ; he hath done many services, and never had one fixpence, only what I gave him. The rest of the messengers are generally villains, except very few. Certainly Mr Ridpath should be minded and provided for.

ALEX. JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Storie, alias, Captain Stow's Examination.——Sir James Montgomery dangerously ill.

SIR,

Aug. 24.
1694.

Three Dutch mails dew leaves us in the dark ever since I sent you the copies of Beyers letters. I have plyed you with long letters ; I wish they come all safe to your hands. I wrote very freely last post, about the taking Captain Storie, and Parker's escape, &c. Pray give an account of this letter, particularly,

ly, if it comes safe to your hands. Yesternight Captain Stow, alias Storie, was sent to Newgate. The messenger, Hopkins, tells me that a great multitude suddenly gathered before the door; but a guard of musketeers prevented any mischief, and conveyed the prisoner to his new lodgings. The messenger also tells me, that the prisoner told him in the coach, "I see now they will hang me; and that is the worst they can do to me." When he was taken on Monday morning, and till yesterday morning, he owned no name but Brooks; but then I coming in accidentally to the Duke of Shrewsbury's office, I found him sitting with Mr Vernon; immediately we knew one the other. He and I were in the justiciary court, Gray's inn, for severall years. This made him drop his disguised name, and he owned his true name, Captain William Stow. This sudden rencounter pierced me sensibly. He is a gentleman of excellent sense and courage; I am heartily sorry he applied them to such ill uses. Then I informed the Duke what I knew of him; and that Macky is a positive evidence; and that I hoped to get more against him (as in my last.) When I had gone below, I met the prisoner again. He said, *There is no mortal can prove any thing against me.* I replied, *Do not trust to that; for you all thought that no evidence could be found against Colonel Parker; yet there was enough to do the business, if he had not made his escape; and the same evidence will reach you, who was his companion in all his crimes.* Then he asked, who they were? I replied, Mr Vernon knows best. Then he said, *I thank God I am ready; I wish they could try me to-day, and hang me to-morrow.* So he was called up to the Duke to be examined, and, as I hear, to little purpose; he is stubborn: And the next step is to get evidence. So I spoke to the Duke to send for Macky; which accordingly was done yesternight: And I particularly wrote to Macky to bring up all the noats, letters, or papers that any way related to the late intended invasion. Thursday last and yesternight I wrote to the J. Clerk, to try what he can amongst the people then at St. Germain, Paris, and La Hoge, when Parker and Stow were sent to England. All possible care shall be ta-

ken to find out such as are here. I have put all my people to work; I wish it may succeed. I doubt not to find several persons that can give materiall evidence against him, but I do not know if they will do it ingenously; this is the hazard. I have a probable view of effecting this affair. Have a little patience; I hope the best &c.; and my opinion is, that if, once he were pinched, he would squeek, which would be a great happiness; for he knows all, &c. Receive the inclosed from the Lord Justice Clerk to me. Would to God the circumstances of that countrey were mended; its certain Sir J. Montgomery is very dangerously sick of a decay; he hath got the flux, the desperate cure which will either kill him or recover him: But I have not time to copy the letter I have this day received about it. I hope the subsisting and lifting is minded; the session begins the 29; but the comission of Oyer and Terminer will last longer. I am impatient for the witnesses I wrote for. Drummond is in my Lord Stranavers regiment with you. Adieu.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON TO MR CARSTARES.

Particular Detail of his great Diligence in making Discoveries, and carrying on Prosecutions.

SIR,

Sept. 4.
1694.

Your's of the 23d surpris'd us all; but the Duke of Shrewsbury writes this night to the Earle of Portland, to hastene Lieutenant William Drummond hither. I writt to you so fully heretofor about this, that I need not repeat it. You have the copy of Seaton's information against Fountain. Lifting and subsisting is the point; so know of Drummond, if he was one lifted or subsisted by Fountaine; and what other persons were lifted, subsisted, or provided with arms, horses, &c.; and where such persons are now. The tryals are delayed to the beginning of the next Month. There is time enough now to gather the evidences, if Drummond immediately
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tell the truth plainly. There are such strenuous endeavours to corrupt goalers and witnesses, especially when any of them are both Jacobites and papists too, we must use all possible caution to prevent the possibility of turning the tables against us. If Drummond be sincere, and material in his evidence, all will be sure and fixed, there being another English protestant evidence ready to prove the foresaid point at the tryall. Its evident by Parker, Sir James Montgomery, and 5 or 6 others escapes, that the Jacobites undermine this government, by giving money; and the other week 300 guineas was offered to the turnkey of Newgate to lett Colonel Fountaine make his escape. I am just now credibly informed, that 1000 guineas is to be offered for effecting Captain Stow's escape. I hope both are prevented; for I advertised the chief keeper, who trusts none but his son. These things make me jealous; and I have some notice they are playing the same game with the King's witnesses in Fountaine and other cases; Therefore hasten hither Drummond. Mind Telford, Crawford, and Robison. Sir George Maxwell of Orchardston was taken up as evidence against Parker; he confessed that he and Parker were both at the seige of Mons; but he positively declared to the Duke of Shrewsbury, Mr Vernon, Mr Acon Smith, and my self, that he would never come to the court to depone the same at Parker's then intended tryal. It appears also that he had a Lieutenant-colonel's subsistence in the French army in Flanders. It appears also that he was sent to Scotland, through England, just before the late intended invasion, about the same time Parker and Stow were sent to England; and he kept a correspondence with N. Payne in the King's Bench here, and in the boarders, and in Scotland, till Payne was taken up. My Lord Melvil hath the foresaid papers and informations upon oath against him, but says they are in the country; pray write to his Lordship immediatly to send them up hither. You may remember also his behaviour and expressions, for which he was taken up in Flanders, and sent in custody hither; besides, I have ground to believe that he hath been in all the Jacobites intrigues and plots, and can disco-

ver both men and things, if he pleases. Its true we cannot send him down to Scotland to be tryed there, he being born in Ireland; yet its to be considered what should be done with him; there is full evidence, and his own confession too of high treason, against him; he hath great friends here; inform P. of this. I believe orders for prosecuting him are necessary from the King. I have gott an authentick attested copy of Byer's indictment in Scotland; next council day I design to get an order to send him down to Scotland, to be tryed there. I insist on these, because I find the sending down Sir Æneas Macpherson hath wonderfully terrified our countrymen Jacobite trafeckers. Coats will be the second example, and hope it will have good effects. The fear of this hath made some of them return to France, and others are going. I doubt not P. hath seen the report of the committee of council about Parker's escape, the corruption and negligence that attended it, &c. There is one thing that straitens me exceedingly in these matters. The law of England doth not afford any way to force witnesses to appear in the court at these tryalls for treason, but only by a subpena; which; if they doe not obey, there is very little penalty. Now, naturally, the most materiall witnesses against the prisoners are their own accomplices and confederats in their crimes, and most of them both Jacobites and Papists: Soe to subpena them to appear and give evidence in court at the tryalls, is to give them warning to abscond and run away. The only expedient I could find out was, to get oaths made of their being *participes criminis*, and soe desire warrants to take them up. Some wisemen think this way will discredit their evidence in court. I acknowledge it were better not to have them to come out of prison to goe to court to give evidence at these tryals; but how we can help this inconvenience I do not see, except we run a risque of their absconding. I have done my part; I have got several depositions made; and I am endeavouring to get warrants to have them taken up. I design to be with my Lord Chief-Justice and my Lord Keeper to effect this to-morrow. I wish P. would consider this difficulty, and directions were sent about it; for, it's found by experience,

experience, whenever they suspect that they are to be produced as evidence, they abscond, as M'Adam, Aughenouty, Sharnock, Bovys, Tucker, Lawick, &c. already have done; so that we cannot find them. This afternoon I have discovered the inclosed libel against this government. I have given one to my Lord Keeper, and another to the Duke of Shrewsbury. The authors are Dr Hooks late Dean of Worcester, and Mr Charles Lesley. I know them both; but they abscond. I know the printer and the superviser, or corrector, of the press. I hope to catch them all, or some of them, and the most of the books too, before they be dispersed. You may peruse it, and inform P. of the contents of it. To-morrow I design to give one of these libels to the Archbishop of Canterbury. These private presses are intolerable; I hope I am in a way to destroy some of them. Last week, Mr M'Kye at Harwich being named by me to be sent for hither to make oath against Captain Stow, last week he was assaulted in the Royal Exchange (and narrowly escaped being killed, before he could draw his sword in his own defence) by one Mr Larrow, whom he had taken with treasonable papers in his pocket as he came out of the packet-boat; this assault was for revenge. Sunday, Larrow was taken into custody by the Duke of Shrewsbury's warrant; and some dangerous papers were found about him; an exact account of the forces here, their number and their quarters, an exact account of our fleet, and indeed of all the men of war, and the stations where they are, with the numbers of their guns and men. There is also another letter says, that Mr Gilman (who hath some office or employment about Deal) is sent to our King's army in Flanders. This Gilman says, in one of his letters to Larrow, that he will send a sincere and bold account of all he observes there for the common cause. (By the next post I shall send you a copy of the letter, since it's necessary to keep it here for Larrow's trial.) At present, I only desire that P. may cause Mr Gilman to be observed. He says, (in his letter), that he will keep company with the best of the army: He writes also, that he will send his letters to Francois Lerow, directed to Mr Marshall

(a)

(a notorious active Jacobite) at Wayman near Chelensford, or to Mr Wiseman, the letters to be left at Mr Quanmow an apothecary in Suffolk-street; so let his letters be observed too with you, as directions are given to the post-office general here. The great number of the Scotch privy councillors at the Bath makes a great noise; the people there call them the Committee of Safety; I wish they prove so. I think a prohibition, with intimation to return home, may be seasonable, if thought fit, otherwise they intend to be here. My brother is at Salisbury. I am weary. Adieu.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the same Subject.

SIR,

Septemb. 7.
1694.

Your's of the 30th I received, and thanks you heartily for your kind obliging expressions and actions. The delay of the trials was general, they being all put off. Last post I told you that the Duke of Shrewsbury then wrote to P. to hasten Lieutenant Drummond hither. I still was, and ever will be, of Popish Jacobite witnesses very jealous; and now I find a melancholy instance of the truth of it; for Captain Seaton absconds, though he very freely made the affidavit I sent you. He owns all he says to be true; but he says he will not be an evidence in court; he hath wrote to Mr Acon Smith to this effect. I am yet uncertain whether he is corrupted by the other side, or that he expects money from Mr Smith before he gives his evidence; if it be the last, he shall never receive one farthing; and I am endeavouring to catch him, and force him to tell the truth. Yesterday I desired and obtained an order from the Queen and privy council, to send Byers of Coats to Scotland, to be tried there for high treason. His owning his letters, and confessing being lately come from France, is enough, considering his relations, (the D. of Gordon, Seaforth, Perth, Lithgow, Tarbat, &c.), his insolent

insolent behaviour at his seizure, and at his examination, and his converse with the worst Jacobites here; it's probable there is more at bottom than yet we know of his errand hither: In short, I believe, he is capable to discover men and things, if pinched. I send you the copies of the letters to Larrow, as I promised in my last. Pray, immediately cause observe and watch Henry Gilman; there seems to be some thing extraordinary in it. The libel I sent you by my last, I hope will be the cause of disabling some of them concerned in it from doing the like again ere long. I am the more slow in this, since I know two other libels are ready for the press, both wrote by Mr Charles Leslye, viz. the Original Contract. The second is called the Jacobite Epitomized. The Jacobites boast among themselves, that these two books are masterpieces, and unanswerable; which may prove a mistake, if they get it in the Old Baillie. I shall do my utmost to effect it, if my tool fail me not. I know the authors, the deliverer to the printer, the supervisors of the papers, the printer, and the corrector of the press, of all such (or most) libels against this government. It's most certain the Laird of M'Lean of Mull is in Scotland absconding. I have reason also to assure you, that some other considerable Jacobites, lately come from France, are lurking in that kingdom. The French privateers drop them wherever they please. I know poverty is their pretence for coming home; Who will believe them? I have wrote to the Lord Justice-Clerk about it; consider his zealous letter inclosed; you'll see there is a necessity of sending down the two messengers, and Hamilton the constable to bear witness against Sir Æneas. I think to-morrow will get the lease signed by the Dukes. This day we have letters from Ostend, that Hivy is surrendered on terms. We have little hopes of the expedition-fleet this season. This parliament is prorogued to the 25th of October next. Adieu.

Pray, cause examine Drummond, and hasten him hither, if material; with any others he discovers, or you can find by Telfort, Crawford, &c.

ALEX-

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to MR CARSTARES.

Urges the Merit of his Services to Government,—in order to obtain the Office of one of the Tellers in the Exchequer, now vacant by the Death of Mr Mainard.

S I R,

Septemb. 11.
1694.

The Dutch post not being come, I have none of your's to answer, and there is no sort of news here, being all gaping for success in bombarding Dunkirk, Calaise, &c. Saturday last, Mr Mainard, one of the tellers of the Exchequer, died; so his place will be speedily filled up by the King. No doubt great application will be made for it, the value of it being L. 1000 or L. 1400 Sterling; and it's only nominal, a sinecure, being always officiated by a deputy. I do not desire to magnify my endeavours to serve this government: I do know the ministers here put a greater value on them than in modesty I can express; in so much, that they resolved that I should have a profitable post that did not require attendance, lest I might be diverted from following my old way, wherein they seem to think I have been carefull and successful beyond any others, considering my circumstances, as a free-will offering, without assistance or reward; besides my personal hazard, expence of time, and personal charges, (of which I never charged nor received one farthing), though I received L. 650, the true money I gave to the people I employed. All these things, with a probability of doing future services, make me beg your assistance in offering it to P. that I may have that post. Hitherto, what I have done, I did it as it were in fetters, caused by narrow circumstances; but, if P. gets me this post, I hope to do better things, it being very hard to make brick without straw. I think none that knows me, and what I have done, will doubt my zeal, sincerity, and industry for this government. I may safely and modestly enough add, that I have served an apprenticeship with application enough in this way; and
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few, if any, new incomers, can doe it effectually to purpose, try it who will. I submit all to your conduct and management, being sure of your friendship and speedy application to P. about it: And I hope, within few days, to do such a piece of service, as if another did it, it would be a handle to procure what I desire, though they had done nothing else: It's the seizing some libels against this government, and the printers too; and also seizing some considerable fugitives who are endeavouring to make their escape to France. I cannot learn of any more Jacobite printers, but one or two at most, which I hope to catch. The mischief of such libels is so great and poisonous, my whole endeavour is to prevent them; I shall do my utmost, and I hope to succeed. Consider five years already spent, &c. Adieu.

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON TO MR CARSTARES.

Urges his claim.—Magnifies his past Services.—Regretes his Brother and the Bishop of Sarum's absence from Town.

S I R,

Two or three Dutch maills being due, I have very little to say to you. I writt so fully about my own particular, my pretence to the teller, *alias* tayllier, in the exchequer place, that I doubt not your application hath done what you can in it; and it's his Majesty's pleasure only can determine it as he thinks fit, he being the best judge of the sincerity, diligence, and success of mens endeavours to serve him. One thing I shall add; you, and all that know me, are not unacquainted, that, at my first coming to London, and ever since this happy revolution, I have got money, and chiefly maintained myself, by buying and selling tallys at the treasury, exchequer, the sick and wounded, the victuallers, the cofferers, the pay-masters, the master of his Majesty's works, and other offices can easily evince; so at least I may be supposed to understand the thing

Sept. 18.
1694.

as well as any of my competitors: But the truth is, there is no difficulty in it; it's a sinecure, and is officiated by deputies. It being a nominal profitable place; so he that gets it may follow any other business he pleases, which I suppose will be an inducement on my behalf; if my past small services, and the probability of doing more of that kind, be thought worth encouragement, after five years spent in endeavours to make a discovery of men and things; and how far I effected it, you can judge. The negligent or corrupt escapes of criminals cannot be imputed to my fault; and I think (modestly enough) I am the only private man that carried on such a chain of services in this way since this happy revolution. I trust intirely to your friendship and diligence in your application to P. for my behoof. It is unlucky as to the time, my brother and the Bp. of Sarum being both in the country; but I am happy that P. knows several of my services, and you can inform him of others done since you went over. I have not wrote to any person about this, only to yourself. I tell you again, if I succeed in what I am now about, it will turn the balance on my side, whatever be my competitors; but the nature of the thing requires five several persons to be trusted: The least imprudent action or expression will raise jealousies, and spoil all. For the reward and the expence of these instruments, I brought the chief of them to the D. of Shrewsbury, for their encouragement and assurance of their satisfaction. If it hit, it will be a great piece of service, and will certainly bring my great design, a full discovery, to a full harvest. If it fall out otherwise, so that it turn abortive by any accident, I fear not to have my management, and every step of it, to be canvassed. I am sensible my running a new risque in this my present uncertain attempt, may be judged very imprudent, if it fail; but I am so fully satisfied, that, if it succeed right, it will turn so infinitely to the advantage of this government, that I judged it my duty to venture and pursue it to the utmost of my power, with all the caution and dexterity I am capable of. One thing more I shall say, that the five instruments seem to me to be very zealous, and capable to do their business, each of them having his part to
act.

act. I expect to hear no more from them till it hits or misses; the accounts whereof I wait with too much anxiety: The nature of the thing is such, that now we are only passive till the other party act, and run themselves into the net; their very party are satisfied, if they be taken, they will rather discover than die. Thus, the concern of that party for their preservation, (or rather their own,) is the true cause of the difficulty of my effecting this business; however, I shall leave it to such issue Providence hath allotted to it. Thus I have entertained you without news; there is none here, but great expectation of bombarding Calis. Byers of Coats goes next week to Scotland, to be tried there for high treason. Burn this. Adieu.

If my nephew Colhoun wants L. 20 Sterling, furnish him. I shall answer it on demand.

Warrant from King William to Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Justice-Clerk, for seizing, opening, and decyphering suspected Letters.

Superscryved WILLIAM R.

Whereas, upon our pleasure signified to you by Mr Secretary Johnston, near two years ago, you have ever since given the necessary orders to the managers of our post-office, for seizing, from time to time, such letters as came to their hands under suspected addresses, and for breaking them open and decyphering them, and improving such knowledge as was got by them for our interests: And whereas you have used several other methods for discovering unlawful correspondences, and getting intelligence of bad practices against us and our government, and have done us many secret services of such a nature, we are sensible of your diligence and good affection to us in all this, and do approve of the same. And we recommend it to you to continue to give the necessary directions for such like purposes, and to be at the necessary charges; of which, as well as of those you have been at already, you shall be reimbursed.

Kenfington,
Decemb. 17,
1694.

And you may expect further marks of our favour for the trouble we know you must be at in this matter; for 'the doing of all which this shall be your warrant. Given at our court of Kensington the 17th December 1694, and of our reign the 6th year.

By his Majesty's command,

(Signed)

J. JOHNSTON.

Addressed thus,

To Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, our Justice-Clerk.

Superscryved WILLIAM R.

Right trusty and well beloved councillor, we greet you well. We have read and considered your's, and we are intirely convinced of your loyalty and fidelity, and does approve of what you have done on this occasion for our service. We continue the power we formerly gave you of searching the pacquets for discovering of correspondences that may be kept against our government. It is fit that Sir William Sharp and Mr Cockburn be continued clost prisoners, until they make full discoveries of what they know; and we are willing that all legal methods be used against them, or others, for finding out any secret plots or designs laid for disturbing the publick peace. And, in order thereto, it being fit that some persons of entire loyalty and affection to our government be impowered and intrusted for the ends above written; therefore, we do impower John Lord Murray, one of our secretaries of state, yourself, and Sir Thomas Livingston commander in chief of our forces, to examine the saids Sir William Sharp and Mr Cockburn, and to use all other legal methods against them, or any others you find concerned, whether at present employed by us in the government or not, for discovering what is designed against us and our government; and that either by threatening of punishment, or by promising pardon and indemnity, as you shall find necessary; for doing whereof, this shall be to those above intrusted, and to yourself, a sufficient warrant. And so we bid you farewell. Given

ven at our court of Kinsington, the 12th day of March 1695-6, and of our reign the seventh year.

By his Majesty's command,

(Signed)

J^A. OGILVIE.

LORD TARBAT, afterwards EARL of CROMARTY, to Mr CARSTARES.

Offers to resign his Office of Register.——Complains of his Adversaries in Administration ; whom he represents as Enemies to Mr Carstares ; and solicits his Interest with the King to obtain a Remission for him.

S I R,

I know too well the temper of our hott party, not to know with that how inconvenient it were for you to be seen in my company ; yet, since I am sure you wish them well, and the King at ease from their turbulent designs, it will not displease you to carry to the King what may contribute to both these ends, which, I can assure you, this inclosed will in some measure do. I intreat you to represent to his Majesty, that I am neither afraid of my adversars for I am not guilty of a thought prejudicial to him, nor wearied of serving him ; but, if he judge it either fit or easy to please a party, with allowing my address for a private lyfe, I can as willingly quit a beneficial office to serve him, as they can trouble him untill they get it. Though I am afraid this will not cure the distemper, yet its all that I can contribute to it. But, when their heat cannot bear with the E. Melville's family, and with you, to whom they owe, under the King, all the power they have, I can little wonder of their fretting at me ; but, I hope their folly will not frighten the King from so faithful servants, nor you from giving him counsell for their sakes, whose fire will hurry to self-prejudice, if not stopt by prudence.

May 16.
1695.

prudence. I hope my fidelity in endeavouring to enlarge the bottom of his Majesty's government; and especially, by bringing in of such of the northern clergy as would qualify themselves for ecclesiastic office, according to the present law, will not always be considered as undutifulness in me; I wish the holding of so many out be not: But I shall be best pleased, if my fears for the effects of these heats be disappointed. I will adventure to intreat the favour of you to second my desire to the King, in giving me a safe and easy retreat, and to favour me with a letter, whereby those in the government may know, that my person, my little estate, and the pension which his Majesty hath given me during my life, and not depending on my being in or out of employment, may be secure by his Majesty's protection: And, if you please to give him my faithful assurance of being as zealous for his person and interest, when in a private, as if I were in the highest station, I will make good your promise, and likewise assure you, that, by doing this, you will very much oblige me, and ingage me to be,

S I R,

Your faithful friend,

and servant,

T A R B A T.

Right trusty S I R,

We having allowed our right well beloved and right trusty cousin and counsellor, G. V. of T. to lay down the office of clerk of our counsels, registers, and rolls, and his old age rendering him less able to attend frequently at our counsell, it is our pleasure that he be not called to attendance, but when he voluntarily comes, or on our express call. And we likewise require the Lords of our treasury, now in place, and any who shall succeed them, to make the pension of L. 400 yearly, granted by us, under our privy seal, to the said G. V. of T. during his lyfe, to be effectually paid to him in manner

ner as is contained in our letter of gift and pension granted to him by us, in all points.

For our right trusty, &c.

The Lord Chancellor, and remanent Lords of our Treasury, &c.

LORD TARBAT to Mr CARSTARES.

Urges his obtaining a general remission for him from the King.—Wishes Lord Melvil again restored to the management of Affairs.—Protests that he is innocent.

S I R,

This is to trouble you with a new desire to prosecute my former proposition; for, had I never wearied till now, I see now too much to make me wearie: But I regrave the King, kingdome, and interest of the church, more than what concerns myself; for I pretend not to bigotry, yet I wish a settled church; and I am far mistaken if the present and promised heats doe not prejudice all these. However, I think it both his Majesty's and the church's interest to have a firm and yet moderate presbyterian, who will be above suspicion with the church, and yet be one to stop violent fury. And I wish to have a return from my master as soon as can be. Another thing is of importance in my judgement, and that is, since the interest of the moderate party is much weakened by what was done to the E. of Melvill, which renders him less able to do effectual service, it might be useful to the King and country, if, by some demonstration of favour, others may be encouraged to follow his directions, which would put many in a right road, who goes wrong. If I mistake, I assure you it is with no ill meaning. Mean while, if you please, I wish to have a very general remission sent me, because I see faults fight for in others on no great grounds. If it come, let it contain treason, perduellion, and a general of all crimes; though, on all that's sacred, I know not myself guilty; nor doe I fear any thing, on this side, of Irish witnesses, or evidence. I am,

S I R, Your faithful servant,

T A R B A T.

EARL.

June 11.
1695.

EARL OF ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Proceedings of the Commission of Glenco.—Exclaims against the Method of Inquiry, &c.

S I R,

June 21.
1695.

Since I writt laſt, we have continued ſtill in our heatts, but no particular attackt made, only the committee has been going on in examining that matter in relation to Lord Stairs; which I wiſh they did impartiallie; yet I think nothing can be made of it. They may ſtrain it the length of a citation, having the prevalent vote; but this week paſt they have moved nothing in that affair. The commiſſion of Glencoe has been fitting cloſe, and odd enuf meaſures taken in expiſcating matter out of witneſſes; and on Monday the whole procedour is to be laid before the parliament, the commiſſioner having ſaid he would take it upon him, notwithstanding the commiſſion carries a report firſt to be made his Maſteſty; and the way they explain that, if the account is ſent the King to day, and laid before us two days after. I ſent you a pretty full account of the ſham plott deſigned to humble me, which its probable you may have be this tyme from others. Their malice goes as far againſt me for acting a moderate part, as againſt thoſe they pretend to have crymes againſt. In ſhort, there is no end of thoſe heats, unleſſe the King put ane end to them, or allow us club-law. Sure I am, we are mutch the ſtronger. I vow, at this rate they proceed, no mortal can be in ſecuritie that does not run the ſame madd part they doe; nay, all the length, to a title; for, if a man differ in the leaſt in ſentiment, though in a tryſle, he is preſently ſaid to be a rogue, ane enemy to the government, and a hater of preſbyterie. They give out the King allows all this, but would not alter, leaſt he diſoblige the church of England, but is ſatiſfied they act the part; which I am convinced is falſe; yet there is a neceſſity the King ſhow his diſpleaſure to ſuch madd proceedings, or elſe we ſhall all run in confuſion,

non

non looking upon himself to be safe. 'Sure I am they must own I am and must be sincere to the government; yet it is all one, since I am not one of them. You are, upon all occasions, loaded by them, and cited; and therefore is the more obliged to endeavour a cure. I shall not trouble E. Portland; but be so just to me, still, to tell him my curriadge; shall I desyre to take measures from him? and I hope shall not put them in execution to the disadvantage. You will hear from others we have at last struggled the King into six months cesse; but they must make bargaine before they goe further. If they be allowed their swing, but one word from court would make us all verie good, I do assure you; and I desyre you may say as much in my name. I have fought some half a score a battles since I see you; and I hope it will be found I have done the King some service, in stopping those extravagancies they otherwise had run into without controul. I am your's. Adieu.

I forgot to acquaint Secretarie Stairs E. Lauderdale is dead; which will occasion a vacancie in the session, his brother Hatton succeeding him. I wish it be endeavoured others do not supply the place too suddenly; but my hope is, it is not the King's temper to be too hastie.

LORD TARBAT to Mr CARSTARES.

Against the Master of Stairs, and in favours of Melvil and his Family.—Proposes one to succeed him in the Office of Register.

S I R,

The methods of some men, and their heats, you (though you know us well) cannot conceive, nor can the sad consequences be safely exprest. I know you have account of the matters of fact; my troubling of you shall be of another subject. Its certain, if the presbyterian party would moderate their designs, and were they managed by wise men, they are sure to the King, and against his enemies;

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June 25.
1695.

mies; but, as the Mr of Stairs may repent his succeſſe againſt the E. of Melvill, ſo may others; for he had the beſt founded intereſt with that party; and, if he had not been loaded with marks of diſgrace, he had led that party to the King's mind: But, being put from the ſecretar's office, and without an exoneration, either in that office, or in commiſſioners; which was never refuſed to any. The preferring his juniors in preſiding in council and parliament; the taking his ſonne's regiment from him; he and his ſonne left out of the commiſſion for auditing of accompts; forcing a deputy on his ſonne in the caſtle; and all who come down from court making it their work to leſſen him. But, I do not ſee a probable way for the King to manage the true preſbyterian party but by his family; and, if they were countenanced by the King, they could doe more by their finger than others can doe with both their hands. Yea, altho' he be thus leſſened, the body of the preſbyterians have more kindneſs for him than for all the other officers of ſtate. The hot party who attackt him rudely enough at firſt, and ſpoke loudly of it, found the reſpect of the preſbyterians ſo ſtrong for him, that now they court him; whiſt others ſee that he moderats many; in ſpyte of the heats, they all deſire union with him. But he would be leſs uſeful were he plunged in a party. In ſhort, if this confuſion and wrong ſteps be retrievable, I ſee not ſo fixt a baſe to draw up on as him and his family; for L. Keith is certainly one of the ſharpeſt, moſt judicious, diligentſt, in the nation. What paſt as to the Mr of Stairs yeſterday, you will know by this poſt; and none could perſwade the leaſt delay until his Maſteſty were acquainted. A ſhort obſerve, drawn by a friend of his, I have incloſed. I wiſh earneſtly that the King may put E. Melvill and his children under ſuch marks of his favour, as may ſtrengthen them to ſett right what is wrong; and he is too long a filling of my poſt; for that would allay ſome, and put others from their fooliſh expectations; for they roar and gape in hopes of it. I wiſh a ſober, faithful, and able man may get it; and he whom I recommended is ſuch. But they have twiſt him into a miſprison of Glenco affair; and will, no doubt, caſt dirt on him; though I am ſure he had no more hand in it than you had.

But

But they will put a beast's skin on every one that is not of their clubb, and then hound at him. And my relation to him will not move me to urge the least inconvenience in the King's affairs; therefore take that post in the easiest access; whether it be to one or two, I leave to E. Melvill and you to advise in that. So you see my own interest weighs little with me. But, I hope the King will send me a letter, such as will let all see I am in his protection, though not in publick service. And perhaps I will be as useful to him in recess, though not so profitably for myself, as when in publick. So go about, Sir; consider our nation, and where the strength of it lies, and then consider our present state; and what comes next; and judge if wit and discretion be not necessary. Then view our trustee governors; and take or offer what measure you judge fit. I wish the L. Keeper Summers and E. Melvill did correspond, and that the King and E. P. would write kindly to him, for he got discouraging blows; and you know his reserved temper, and unwillingness to meddle; but he is an ill man if he refuse when he is so necessary. D. Queensberry, E. Argyle, E. Keith, and he, are very well; and, by this inclosed scheme, you may guess how to pack them right. I will retire so soon as the parliament adjourns, (if I be not clapt up with E. Brod.) My fault, as is said, is, that I endeavoured to bring the episcopal clergy to address, as was prescribed to me, and to take the oaths; which indeed I endeavoured diligently. But its two years since I quitted meddling in it, seeing it to little purpose; for these two parties will never coalesce. What you writ to me, direct by E. Melvill, and it will come safe to the hand of your faithful servant.

————— to Mr CARSTARES.

Proceedings against Breadalbine.—Blames Mr Carstares for a threatening Letter in his favour.

S I R,

I had the favour of your's of the 27th, and am glad of your safe arrival at the camp. All the proceedings of the parliament against

July 5.
1695

my Lord Broadalbine have been so cool and slow, that there was not the least shadow for that suggestion of a sudden execution. Its true, at last, he hath received his indictment, and was appointed to be tried Monday last; but I am certain, on his Lordship's application for longer time to the parliament, it would be granted easily. However, I am afraid the warm and violent expressions; threatening severe reprimands from you, was not the easiest way to carry that, or any other favour on his Lordship's behalf. I send you a gazette, which hath most of Scotch news. I have desired Mr Pringle to shew you the rest of the printed papers, and how Livingston is vindicated. There are some acts made, *1st*, Against profaneness. *2^{dly}*, Against blasphemye. *3^{dly}*, Against illegal baptisines and marriages. *4^{thly}*, Against markets on Saturday and Monday, to prevent travelling on Sunday. I am jealous lest the dispersing here Mr Hugh Dalrymple's information for his brother (for which he got a severe reprimand, and begged the court and parliament's pardon,) will irritate. I doubt not some of these informations are at you ere this comes to your hands. I wish they had never come out, &c. I have given their Majesties letter for you to Mr Pringle, to deliver it. I doubt not you have heard of the packet-boat. We have no news here; only some ships come in say, that Monday last they heard great shooting of bombs, &c. as near St Maloes. I wish good success; and I pray God Almighty to preserve the King, and bless his arms by sea and land. My service to my Lord Portland, secretaries, and Monf. Vanderdort. Adieu.

REPORT of the Commission given by his Majesty for inquiring into the Slaughter of the Men of Glenco, subscribed at Halyrudhouse the 20th day of June 1693.

John Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland,
William Earl of Annadale, John Lord Murray, Sir James Stewart
his Majesty's advocate, Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord Justice Clerk, Sir Archibald Hope of Rankeiller, and Sir William
Hamilton

Hamilton of Whitlaw, two of the senators of the College of Justice, Sir James Ogilvie his Majesty's solicitor, and Adam Drummond of Meggins, commissioners appointed by his Majesty, by his commission under the great seal, of the date the 29th of April last past, to make inquiry, and to take trial and precognition about the slaughter of several persons of the surname of MacDonald, and others, in Glenco, in the year 1692, by whom, and in what manner, and by what pretended authority the same was committed, with power to call for all warrants and directions given in that matter; as also, to examine all persons who had a hand therein, with what witnesses they should find necessary, either upon oath or declaration; and to report to his Majesty the true state of the said matter, with the evidence and testimonies to be adduced before them, as the said commission more amply bears; having mett, and qualified themselves by taking the oath of allegiance and assurance, conform to the act of parliament, with the oath *de fidei*, as use is in such cases, did, according to the power given to them, chuse Mr Alexander Monro of Biercroft to be their clerk; and he having also qualified himself as above, they proceeded into the said inquiry, to call for all warrants and directions, with all such persons as witnesses that might give light in the said matter: And having considered the foresaid warrants and directions produced before them, and taken the oaths and depositions of the witnesses under named, they, with all submission, lay the report of the whole discovery made by them before his Majesty, in the order following. And, *1st*, of some things that proceeded the said slaughter. *2^{dly}*, Of the matters of fact, with the proofs and evidence taken, when, and in what manner, the same was committed. *3^{dly}*, Of the warrants and directions that either really were, or were pretended for the committing it. And, *lastly*, The commissioners humble opinion of the true state and account of that whole business. The things to be remarked preceeding the said slaughter were, That its certain that the lairds of Glenco and Auchintraitten, and their followers, were in the insurrection and rebellion made by some of the Highland clans, under

der the command, first, of the Viscount of Dundee, and then of Major General Buchan, in the year 1689 and 1690. This is acknowledged by all: But, when the Earl of Broadalbin called the heads of the clans, and mett with them in Auchallader, in July 1691, in order to a cessation, the deceased Alexander M'Donald of Glenco was there with Glengarry, Sir John Maclene, and others, and agreed to the cessation; as it is also acknowledged: But the deceased Glenco's two sons, who were at that time with their father in the town of Auchallader, depone, That they heard that the Earl of Broadalbine did at that time quarrel with the deceased Glenco, about some cows that the Earl alledged were stolen from his men by Glenco's men; and that, though they were not present to hear the words, yet their father told them of the challenge; and the two sons, with Ronald MacDonald indweller in Glenco, and Ronald M'Donald in Innerriggin in Glenco, do all depone, That they heard the deceased Glenco say, That the Earl of Broadalbine, at the meeting of Auchallader, threatned to do him a mischief; and that he fear'd a mischief from no man so much as from the Earl of Broadalbine, as their depositions at the letter A in the margin bear. And Alexander MacDonald, second son to the deceased Glenco, doth further depone, That he hath often heard from his father and others, that there had been in former times blood betwixt Broadalbine's family and their clan, as his deposition, at the same mark, bears. And here the commissioners cannot but take notice of what hath occurred to them, in two letters from Secretary Stair to Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, one of the 1st, and another of the 3d of December, 1691; wherein he expresses his resentment, from the marring of the bargain that should have been betwixt the Earl of Broadalbine and the Highlanders, to a very great height; charging some for their despite against him, as if it had been the only hindrance of that settlement: Whence he goes on, in his of the 3d of September, to say, That, since the government cannot oblige them, it is obliged to ruin some of them, to weaken and frighten the rest; and that the MacDonalds will fall in the nett; and, in effect,

effect, seems even from that time, which was almost a month before the expiring of the King's indemnity, to project with Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, that some of them should be rooted out and destroyed. His Majesty's proclamation of indemnity was published in August 1691, offering a free indemnity and pardon to all the Highlanders who had been in arms, upon their coming in and taking the oath of allegiance, betwixt that and the first of January thereafter: And, in compliance with the proclamation, the deceased Glenco goes, about the end of December 1691, to Colonel Hill governor of Fort-William at Inverlochy, and desired the Colonel to minister to him the oath of allegiance, that he might have the King's indemnity; but Colonel Hill, in his deposition marked with the letter B, doth further depone, That he hastened him away all that he could, and gave him a letter to Ardkinglafs to receive him as a lost sheep; and the Colonel produces Ardkinglafs's answer to that letter, dated the 9th January 1691, bearing, that he had endeavoured to receive the great lost sheep Glenco, and that Glenco had undertaken to bring in all his friends and followers, as the privy council should order: And Ardkinglafs further writes, that he was sending to Edinburgh, that Glenco, though he had mistaken in coming to Colonel Hill to take the oath of allegiance, might yet be welcome; and that thereafter the Colonel should take care that Glenco's friends and followers may not suffer, till the King and council's pleasure be known, as the said letter, marked on the back with the letter B, bears. And Glenco's two sons above name do depone in the same manner, that their father went, about the end of December, to Colonel Hill to take the oath of allegiance; but finding his mistake, and getting the Colonel's letter to Ardkinglafs, he hastened to Inveraray, as soon as he could for the bad way and weather, and did not so much as go to his own house in his way to Inveraray, though he past within half a mile of it; as both their depositions at the letter B bears. And John M'Donald, the eldest son, depones further, at the same mark, That his father was taken in the way by Captain Drummond at Barcalden, and detained twenty-four hours.

Sir

Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinlafs, sheriff-depute of Argyl-shire, depones, That the deceased Glenco came to Inveraray about the beginning of January 1692, with a letter from Colonel Hill to the effect above mentioned; and was three days there before Ardkinlafs could get thither, because of bad weather; and that Glenco said to him, that he had not come sooner because he was hindered by the storm. And Ardkinlafs farther depones, That, when he declined to give the oath of allegiance to Glenco, because the last of December, the time appointed for the taking of it, was past, Glenco begged with tears, that he might be admitted to take it; and promised to bring in all his people, within a short time, to do the like; and if any of them refused, they should be imprisoned, or sent to Flanders: Upon which Arkinlafs says, he did administer to him the oath of allegiance, upon the 6th of January 1692, and sent a certificate thereof to Edinburgh, with Colonel Hill's letter to Colin Campbell sheriff-clerk of Argyle, who was then at Edinburgh; and further wrote to the said Colin, that he should write back to him whether Glenco's taking the oath was allowed by the council or not, as Ardkinlafs's deposition at the letter B testifies. And the said Colin, sheriff-clerk, depones, That the foresaid letters, and the certificate relating to Glenco, with some other certificates relating to some other persons, all upon one paper, were sent in to him to Edinburgh by Ardkinlafs; which paper being produced upon oath by Sir Gilbert Elliot, clerk of the secret council, but rolled and scored as to Glenco's part, and his taking the oath of allegiance; yet the commissioners found, that it was not so delete or dashed, but that it may be read that Glenco did take the oath of allegiance at Inveraray the 6th day of January 1692. And the said Colin Campbell depones, That it came to his hand fairly written, and not dashed; and that, with this certificate, he had the same letter from Ardkinlafs, (with Colonel Hill's above mentioned letter to Ardkinlafs inclosed), bearing how earnest Glenco was to take the oath of allegiance, and that he had taken it upon the 6th of January; but that Ardkinlafs was doubtfull if that the council would receive it. And the sheriff-

iff-clerk did produce before the commissioners the foresaid letter by Colonel Hill to Ardkinlafs, dated at Fort-william the 31st day of December 1691, and bearing, that Glenco had been with him, but slipt some days, out of ignorance; yet that it was good to bring in a lost sheep at any time, and would be an advantage to render the King's government easy. And, with the said sheriff-clerk, the Lord Aberucehill, Mr John Campbell writer to the signet, and Sir Gilbert Elliot clerk to the council, do all declare, That Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance, with Ardkinlafs's foresaid certificate as to his part of it, did come to Edinburgh, and was seen by them, fairly written, and not scored or dashed; but that Sir Gilbert, and the other clerks of the council, refused to take it in, because done after the day appointed by the proclamation: Whereupon the said Colin Campbell, and Mr John Campbell, went, as they depone, to the Lord Aberucehill, then a privy councillor, and desired him to take the advice of privy councillors about it: And accordingly they affirm, that Aberucehill said, he had spoke to several privy councillors, and partly to the Lord Stairs and that it was their opinion, that the foresaid certificate could not be received, without a warrant from the King; and that it would neither be safe to Ardkinlafs, nor profitable to Glenco, to give in the certificate to the clerk of the council: And this the Lord Aberucehill confirms by his deposition; but doth not name therein the Lord Stair. And Colin Campbell the sheriff-clerk does further depone, That, with the knowledge of Lord Aberucehill, Mr John Campbell, and Mr David Moncrief clerk to the council, he did by himself, or his servant, score or delete the foresaid certificate, as now it stands scored, as to Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance; and that he gave it in so scored or obliterate to the said Mr David Moncrieff clerk of the council, who took it in as it is now produced. But it doth not appear by all these depositions, that the matter was brought to the council-board that the council's pleasure might be known upon it, though it seems to have been intended by Ardkinlafs, who both

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wrote himself, and sent Colonel Hill's letter for to make Glenco's excuse; and desired expressly to know the council's pleasure.

After that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance, as is said, he went home to his own house; and, as his own two sons above named depone, he not only lived there for some days, quietly and securely, but called his people together, and told them he had taken the oath of allegiance, and made his peace; and therefore desired and engaged them to live peaceably under K. William's government; as the depositions of the said two sons, who were present, marked with the letter E, bear.

These things having preceeded the slaughter, which happened not to be committed until the 13th of February 1692, six weeks after the deceased Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance at Inveraray; the slaughter of the Glenco men was in this manner, viz. John and Alexander M'Donalds, sons to the deceased Glenco, depone, That Glengary's house being reduced, the forces were called back to the south; and Glenlyon, a Captain of the Earl of Argyle's regiment, with Lieutenant Lindsay and Ensign Lindsay, and six score soldiers, returned to Glenco about the 1st of February 1692; where, at their entry, the elder brother John met them, with about twenty men, and demanded the reason of their coming; and Lieutenant Lindsay shewed him his orders for quartering there, under Colonel Hill's hand; and gave assurance, that they were only come to quarter; whereupon, they were billeted in the country, and had free quarters and kind entertainment, living familiarly with the people, until the 13th day of February. And Alexander further depones, That Glenlyon being his wife's uncle, came almost every day and took his morning drink at his house; and that the very night before the slaughter, Glenlyon did play at cards in his own quarters with both the brothers. And John depones, That old Glenco his father had invited Glenlyon, Lieutenant Lindsay, and Ensign Lindsay to dine with him, upon the very day the slaughter happened: But, on the 13th day of February, being Saturday, about four or five in the morning, Lieutenant Lindsay, with a par-

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ty of the foresaid soldiers, came to old Glenco's house, where having called in a friendly manner, and got in, they shot his father dead, with several shots, as he was rising out of his bed; and the mother having got up and put on her cloaths, the soldiers stripped her naked, and drew the rings off her fingers with their teeth; as likewise they killed one man more, and wounded another grievously at the same place: And this relation they say they had from their mother; and is confirmed by the deposition of Archibald M'Donald indweller in Glenco, who farther depones, That Clenco was shot behind his back with two shots, one through the head and another through the body; and two more were killed with him in that place, and a third wounded, and left for dead: And this he knows, because he came that same day to Glenco's house, and saw his dead body lying before the door, with the other two that were killed, and spoke with the third that was wounded, whose name was Duncan Don, who came there occasionally with letters from the Brae of Marr. The said John M'Donald, eldest son to the deceased Glenco, depones, The same morning that his father was killed, there came soldiers to his house before day, and called at his window, which gave him the alarm, and made him go to Inner-riggen, where Glenlyon was quartered; and that he found Glenlyon and his men preparing their arms, which made the deponent ask the cause; but Glenlyon gave him only good words, and said, they were to march against some of Glengary's men; and, if there were ill intended, would not he have told Sandy and his niece? meaning the deponent's brother and his wife; which made the deponent go home, and go again to his bed, until his servant, who hindered him to sleep, raised him; and, when he rose and went out, he perceived about twenty men coming towards his house, with their bayonets fixed to their muskets; whereupon he fled to the hill; and having Auchnaion, a little village of Glenco, in view, he heard the shots, wherewith Auchintraiten and four more were killed; and that he heard also the shots at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon had caused to kill nine more, as shall be hereafter declared. And this

confirmed by the concurring deposition of Alexander M'Donald his brother, whom a servant waked out of sleep, saying, It is no time for you to be sleeping when they are killing your brother at the door, which made Alexander to flee, with his brother, to the hill, where both of them heard the foresaid shots at Auchnaion and Innerriggen. And the said John, Alexander, and Archibald M'Donald, do all depone, That the same morning there was one Sergeant Barber laid hold on Auchentreaten's brother, one of the four, and asked him if he were alive: He answered, that he was; and that he desired to die without, rather than within. Barber said, that, for his meat that he had eaten, he would do him the favour to kill him without. But when the man was brought out, and soldiers brought up to shoot him, he having his plaid loose, flung it over their faces, and so escaped; and the other three broke through the back of the house, and escaped: And this account the deponents had from the men that escaped. And at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon was quartered, the soldiers took other nine men, and did bind them hand and foot, killed them one by one with shot: And when Glenlyon inclined to save a young man of about twenty years of age, one Captain Drummond came and asked how came he to be saved, in respect of the orders that were given? and shot him dead: And another young boy, of about 13 years, ran to Glenlyon to be saved; he was likewise shot dead: And in the same town there was a woman, and a boy about 4 or 5 years of age, killed: And at Auchnaion there was also a child missed, and nothing found of him but the hand. There were likewise several killed at other places, whereof one was an old man about 80 years of age. And all this the deponents say they affirm, because they heard the shot, saw the dead bodies, and had an account from the women that were left. And Ronald Macdonald, indweller in Glenco, farther depones, That he being living with his father in a little town of Glenco, some of Glenlyon's soldiers came to his father's house, the said 13th of February, in the morning, and dragged his father out of his bed, and knocked him down for dead, at the door; which the deponent seeing, made his escape;

escape; and his father recovering, after the soldiers were gone, got into another house; but this house was shortly burnt, and his father burnt in it; and the deponent came thereafter, and gathered his father's bones, and burnt them. He also declares, That at Auch-naion, where Auchintriaten was killed, he saw the body of Auchintriaten and three more, cast out, and covered with dung. And another witness of the same declares, That, upon the same 13th of February, Glenlyon, and Lieutenant Lindsay, and their soldiers, did, in the morning before day, fall upon the people of Glenco, when they were secure in their beds, and killed them; and he being at Innerrigen, fled with the first, but heard shots; and had two brothers killed there, with three men more, and a woman; who were all buried before he came back. And all these five witnesses concur, That the foresaid slaughter was made by Glenlyon and his soldiers, after they had been quartered, and lived peaceably and friendly with the men of Glenco, about 13 days; and that the number of those whom they knew to be slain were about 25: And that the soldiers, after the slaughter, did burn the houses, barns, and goods; and carried away a great spoil of horse, milt, and sheep, above a thousand. And James Campbell soldier in the castle of Stirling deposes, That, in January 1692, he being then soldier in Glenlyon's company, marched with the company from Inverlochy to Glenco, where the company was quartered, and very kindly entertained, for the space of 14 days: That he knew nothing of the design of killing the Glenco men till the morning that the slaughter was committed; at which time Glenlyon and Captain Drummond's companies were drawn out in several parties, and got orders from Glenlyon, and their other officers, to shoot and kill all the country-men they met with; and that the deponent, being one of the party which was at the town where Glenlyon had his quarters, did see several men drawn out of their beds; and particularly he did see Glenlyon's own landlord shot by his order, and a young boy of about twelve years of age, who endeavoured to save himself by taking hold of Glenlyon, offering to go any where with him, if he would spare his life; and was
shot

shot dead by Captain Drummond's order: And the deponent did see about eight persons killed, and several houses burnt, and women flying to the hills to save their lives. And, lastly, Sir Colin Campbell of Abrucehill depones, That, after the slaughter, Glenlyon told him, that MacDonald of Innerriggen was killed, with the rest of the Glenco men, with Colonel Hill's pass or protection in his pocket, which a soldier brought, and shewed to Glenlyon.—The testimonies above set down, being more than sufficient to prove a deed so notoriously known, it is only to be remarked, that more witnesses of the actors themselves might have been found, if Glenlyon and his soldiers were not at present in Flanders with Argyle's regiment. And it is further added, that Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, who seems, by the orders and letters that shall be hereafter set down, to have had the particular charge of this execution, did march, the night before the slaughter, with about 400 men; but the weather falling to be very bad and severe, they were forced to stay by the way, and did not get to Glenco against the next morning, as had been concerted betwixt Major Duncanson and Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton: So that the measures being broke, Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton and his men came not to Glenco till about eleven of the clock after the slaughter had been committed; which proved the preservation and safety of the tribe of Glenco; since by this means the far greater part of them escaped. And then the Lieutenant-Colonel being come to Canneloch-Levin, appointed several parties for several posts, with orders that they should take no prisoners, but kill all the men that came in their way. Thereafter, some of the Lieutenant-Colonel's men marched forward in the glen, and met with Major Duncanson's party, whereof a part under Glenlyon had been sent by Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton to quarter there some days before; and these men told how they had killed Glenco, and about thirty-six of his men, that morning; and that there remained nothing to be done by the Lieutenant-Colonel and his men, save that they burnt some houses, and killed an old man, by the Lieutenant Colonel's orders, and brought away the spoil of the country:
And

And this in its several parts is testified by John Forbes Major in Colonel Hill's regiment, Francis Farquhar and Gilbert Kennedy, both lieutenants in that regiment, who were all of the Lieutenant-Colonel's party, as their depositions morefully bear. It may also be here noticed, That, some days after the slaughter of the Glenco men was over, there came a person from Campbell of Balcalden, chamberlain, i. e. steward to the Earl of Broadalbin, to the decessit Glenco's sons, and offered to them, if they would declare under their hands, that the Earl of Broadalbine was free and clear of the foresaid slaughter, they might be assured of the Earl's kindness for procuring their remission and restitution; as was plainly deponed before the commissioners. It remains now, to give an account of the warrants, either given, or pretended to be given, for the committing of the foresaid slaughter; for clearing whereof, it is to be noticed, That the King having been pleased to offer, by proclamation, an indemnity to all the Highland rebels, who should come in and accept thereof, by taking the oaths of allegiance, betwixt and the first of January 1692; after the day was elapsed, it was very proper to give instructions how such of the rebels as had refused his Majesty's grace should be treated; and therefore, his Majesty, by his instructions, of the date the 11th of January 1692, directed to Sir Thomas Livingston, and supersigned and countersigned by himself, did, indeed, order and authorise Sir Thomas to march the troops against the rebels who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity, and to destroy them by fire and sword; (which is the actual style of our commissions against intercommuned rebels;) but with this express mitigation in the fourth article, viz. That the rebels may not think themselves desperate, we allow you to give terms and quarters, but in this manner only, That cheftians and heritors, or leaders, be prisoners of war, their lives only safe, and all other things in mercy; they taking the oaths of allegiance, and rendering their arms, and submitting to the government, are to have quarters and indemnity for their lives and fortunes, and to be protected from the soldiers; as the principal paper of instructions, produced by Sir Thomas Livingston,

vingston, bears. After these instructions, there were additional ones given by his Majesty to Sir Thomas Livingston, upon the 16th of the said month of January, supersigned and countersigned by his Majesty, and the date marked by Secretary Stair's hand; which bear orders for giving of passes, and for receiving the submission of certain of the rebels: Wherein all to be noticed to the present purpose is, That therein his Majesty doth judge it much better that these who took not the benefit of the indemnity in due time should be obliged to render upon mercy, they still taking the oaths of allegiance; and then its added, If Mackean of Glenco, and that tribe, can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves. And of these additional instructions a principal duplicate was sent to Sir Thomas Livingston, and another to Colonel Hill, and were both produced. And these were all the instructions given by the King in this matter. But Secretary Stair, who sent down these instructions, as his letters produced, written with his hand, to Sir Thomas, of the same date with them, testify, by a previous letter of the date of the 7th of the said month of January, written and subscribed by him to Sir Thomas, says, You know in general, that these troops posted at Inverness and Innerlochy will be ordered to take in the house of Invergarie, and to destroy entirely the country of Lochabar, Locheall's lands, Keppoch's, Glengary's, and Glenco; and then adds, I assure you your power shall be full enough; and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners. And, by another letter of the 9th of the said month of January, which is likewise before the instructions, and written to Sir Thomas, as the former, he hath this expression, That these who remain of the rebels are not able to oppose, and their chestians being all papists, it is well the vengeance falls there: For my part, I could have wished the MacDonalds had not divided; and I am sorry that Keppoch and Mackean of Glenco are safe. And then afterwards we have an account, that Locheall, Macnaughton, Appin, and Glenco, took the benefit of the indemnity at Inverary, and Keppoch and others at Inverness. But this letter of
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the 11th of January, sent with the first instructions to Sir Thomas, hath this expression : 'I have no great kindness to Keppoch nor Glenco ; and its well that people are in mercy.' And then, 'Just now my Lord Argyle tells me, that Glenco hath not taken the oath : At which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect ; the worst of the Highlands.' But in his letter of the 16th of January, of the same date with the additional instructions, though he writes in the first part of the letter, 'The King does not at all incline to receive any after the diet, but on mercy ;' yet he thereafter adds, 'But, for a just example of vengeance, I intreat the thieving tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose.' And to confirm this, by his letter of the same date, sent with the other principal duplicate, and additional instructions to Colonel Hill, after having written, that such as render on mercy may be saved, he adds : 'I shall entreat you, that, for a just vengeance, and public example, the tribe of Glenco may be rooted out to purpose : The Earls of Argyle and Broadalbine have promised that they shall have no retreat in their bounds ; the passes to Ranach would be secured ; and the hazard certified to the laird of Weems to resett them : In that case, Argyle's detachment, with a party that may be posted in Island Stalker, must cut them off ; and the people of Appin are none of the best.' This last letter, with the instructions for Colonel Hill, was received by Major Forbes, in his name, at Edinburgh ; and the Major depones, That, by the allowance he had from the Colonel, he did unseal the packet, and found therein the letter and instructions, as above, which he sent forward to Colonel Hill. And that, in the beginning of February 1692, being in his way to Fort William, he met some companies of Argyle's regiment at Bellisshiells, and was surprised to understand that they were going to quarter in Glenco ; but said nothing till he came to Fort-William, where Colonel Hill told him, that Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton had got orders about the affair of Glenco ; and that therefore the Colonel had left it to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton's management, who, he apprehends, had concerted the matter with Major Duncanson. And

Colonel Hill depones, That he understood that Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton and Major Duncanson got the orders about the Glenco men which were sent to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton : That, for himself, he liked not the business, but was very grieved at it : That the King's instructions of the 16th of January 1692, with the Master of Stair's letter of the same date, were brought to him by Major Forbes, who had received them, and unsealed the packet at Edinburgh ; as these two depositions do bear. Yet the execution and slaughter of the Glenco men did not immediately take effect ; and thereafter, on the 30th of the said month of January, the Master of Stair doth again write two letters, one to Sir Thomas Livingston, which bears, 'I am glad that Glenco did not come in within the time prefixed : I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together to help : I think to harry (that is, to drive) their cattle, and burn their houses, is but to render them desperate lawless men to rob their neighbours ; but I believe you will be satisfied it were a great advantage to the nation that thieving tribe were rooted out, and cut off : It must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both their men and their cattle : Argyle's detachment lies in Letrickwell, to assist the garrison to do all of a sudden : ' And the other to Colonel Hill, which bears : ' Pray, when the thing concerning Glenco is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the men will shift you ; and better not meddle with them than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers who have fallen in the mercy of the law, now when there is force and opportunity, whereby the King's justice will be as conspicuous and useful as his clemency to others. I apprehend the storm is so great, that, for some time, you can do little ; but, so soon as possible, I know you will be at work ; for these false people will do nothing but as they see you in a condition to do with them. ' Sir Thomas Livingston having got the King's instructions with Secretary Stair's letter of the 16th of January, and knowing, by a letter he had from the Master of Stair, of the date the 7th of January 1692, that Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton was to be the man employed in the execution

tion of the Glenco men, in pursuance of the secretary's letter, he writes to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, upon the 23d of the said month of January, telling him, 'That it was judged good news that Glenco had not taken the oath of allegiance within the time prefixed, and that Secretary Stair, in his last letter, had made mention of him;' and then adds, 'For, Sir, here is a fair occasion for you to show that your garrison serves for some use; and, seeing that the orders are so positive from court to me, not to spare any of them that have not timely come in, as you may see by the orders I send to your colonel, I desire you will begin with Glenco, and spare nothing which belongs to him; but do not trouble the government with prisoners; as this letter produced by Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton bears.' And Sir Thomas being heard upon this letter, declared, That at that time he was immediately returned from his journey to London, and that he knew nothing of any soldiers being quartered in Glenco, and only meant that he should be prosecuted as a rebel standing out, by fair hostility; and in this sense he made use of the same words and orders written to him by Secretary Stair. Thereafter, Colonel Hill gives his orders, to be directed to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, in these terms: 'Sir, you are, with 400 of my regiment, and the 400 of my Lord Argyle's regiment, under the command of Major Duncanson, to march straight to Glenco, and there put in due execution the orders you have received from the commander in chief. Given under my hand, at Fort-William, the 12th day of February 1692.' And this order is also produced by Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton. Then, the same day, Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton wrote to Major Duncanson in these terms: 'Sir, pursuant to the commander in chief and my colonel's orders to me, for putting in execution the service against the rebels of Glenco, wherein you, with a party of Argyle's regiment, now under your command, are to be concerned; you are therefore to order your affairs so, that you be at the several posts assigned you, by seven of the clock to-morrow morning being Saturday, and fall in action with them; at which time I will endeavour to be with the party from this place at the post appointed them. It will be

necessary that the avenues minded by Lieutenant Campbell on the south side be secured, that the old fox, nor none of his cubs, get away. The orders are, that none be spared, nor the government troubled with prisoners.' And the copy of this last order is produced under Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton's own hand. And accordingly the slaughter of Glenco and his poor people did ensue the next morning, being the 13th of February 1692, in the manner narrated. And, upon the whole matter, it is the opinion of the commissioner, *first*, That it was a great wrong that Glenco's case, and diligence as to his taking the oath of allegiance, with Ardkinlafs's certificate of his taking the oath of allegiance on the 6th of January 1692, and Colonel Hill's letter to Ardkinlafs, and Ardkinlafs's letter to Colin Campbell sheriff-clerk, for clearing Glenco's diligence and innocence, were not presented to the Lords of his Majesty's privy council, when they were sent in to Edinburgh in the said month of January; and that those who advised the not presenting thereof were in the wrong, and seem to have had a malicious design against Glenco: And that it was a further wrong, that the certificate as to Glenco's taking the oath of allegiance was delete and obliterate after it came to Edinburgh; and that being so obliterate, it should neither have been presented to, or taken in by the clerk of the council, without an express warrant from the council. *Secondly*, That it appears to have been known at London, and particularly to the Master of Stair, in the month of January 1692, that Glenco had taken the oath of allegiance, though after the day prefixed; for he saith, in his letter of the 30th of January to Sir Thomas Livingston, as above remarked, 'I am glad that Glenco came not in within the time prescrib'd.' *Thirdly*, That there was nothing in the King's instructions to warrant the committing of the foresaid slaughter, even as to the thing itself, and far less as to the manner of it; seeing all his instructions do plainly import, that the most obstinate of the rebels might be received into mercy, upon taking the oath of allegiance, though the day was long before elapsed; and that he ordered nothing concerning Glen-

60 and his tribe; but that, if they could be well separated from the rest, it would be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that set of thieves; which plainly intimates, that it was his Majesty's mind, that they could not be separated from the rest of these rebels, unless they still refused his mercy, by continuing in arms and refusing the allegiance; and that, even in that case, they were only to be proceeded against in the way of public justice, and no other way. *Fourthly*, That Secretary Stair's letters, especially that of the 11th of January 1692, in which he rejoices to hear that Glenco had not taken the oath, and that of the 16th of January, of the same date with the King's additional instructions, and that of the 30th of the same month, were no ways warranted by, but quite exceeded the King's foresaid instructions. Since the said letters, without any insinuation of any method to be taken that might well separate the Glenco men from the rest, did, in place of prescribing a vindication of public justice, order them to be cut off, and rooted out in earnest, and to purpose, and that suddenly, and secretly, and quietly, and all on a sudden; which are the express terms of the said letters; and, comparing them and the other letters with what ensued, appear to have been the only warrant and cause of their slaughter; which in effect was a barbarous murder, perpetrated by the persons deposed against. And this is yet farther confirmed by two more of his letters, written to Colonel Hill after the slaughter committed, viz. on the 5th March 1692, wherein, after having said that there was much talk at London, that the Glenco men were murdered in their beds after they had taken the allegiance, he continues, 'For the last I know nothing of it. I am sure neither you, nor any body impowered to treat or give indemnity, did give Glenco the oath; and, to take it from any body else, after the diet elapsed, did import nothing at all: All that I regret is, that any of the sort got away; and there is a necessity to prosecute them to the utmost.' And another from the Hague, the last of April 1692, wherein he says, 'For the people of Glenco, when you do your duty in a thing so necessary to ridd the country of

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thieving, you need not trouble yourself to take the pains to vindicate yourself, by shewing all your orders, which are now put in the Paris Gazette: When you do right, you need fear nobody; All that can be said is, that, in the execution, it was neither so full nor so fair as might have been.' And this, their humble opinion, the commissioners, with all submission, return and lay before his Majesty, in discharge of the foresaid commission.

Sic subscribitur, Tweedle; Annandale, now Marquis of Annandale, and President of the Privy Council; Murray, now Duke of Athol, and Lord Privy Seal; Ja. Stewart, her Majesty's Advocate; Adam Cockburn, late Lord Treasurer-depute; W. Hamilton; Lord Whitelaw, one of the Lords of Session; Ja. Ogilvie, now E. of Seafield, and Lord High Chancellor; A. Drummond.

MR DAVID BLAIR to MR CARSTARES.

Of Church-affairs.

DR SIR,

July 18.
1695.

I wrote to you formerly under Mr Alexander Stevenfon's cover, but know not if it has come to hand. I have delayed writing for some time, because things were long in dependence. The adjourning of the general assembly but the very day before it should have sat, was very grievous to our ministers, who were come in from all quarters; and it was no easy matter to get them quieted. Many of the more forward of them were for a present address to his Majesty; but the more prudent prevailed with the rest to lay it aside; and, in lieu thereof, to content themselves with giving some memoirs to the secretary, who, I believe, has promised his utmost endeavours, that the day to which it is adjourned in November next may be punctually kept. They were also earnest with him, that
there

there may be annual assemblies according to law ; which I hope now will not be so uneasy to be obtained, after the act that passed on July 12th concerning the church, wherein there lies no obligation upon the established church to take in to ministerial communion with them, any of the late prelatical incumbents ; but only civil protection to such of them as shall qualify themselves civilly, &c. So that one great advantage gained by that act, is the pulling out the thorn out of the ministers foot, and out of some bodies else too, if I am not much mistaken. The act passed the very day after the assembly should have sat : Had it passed sooner in the beginning of the parliament, the assembly might have sat, in my poor judgement, without detriment to any interest : And I believe in mine own mind, that the uncertainty we were all in, how that act was to be framed and contrived, might have been one of the reasons why none pressed me to write to you, for using your utmost endeavour towards the preptory sitting of the assembly, (as in some cases formerly they had been accustomed to do) ; at least, this is my conjecture. All were wishing, and some were hoping that it would sit ; but, as I have said, none were instant and pressing. It was pity to see the ministers flocking in from all parts ; and, in the mean time, their adversaries flouting at them for having lost their labour ; and yet more pity to hear the poor ministers saying, they durst not go home to their congregations, especially in the south-west parts, where Mr Hepburn will triumph over them for what he will call their unfaithfulness, and will be in a ready way to draw away people from hearing them : But I hope there will be no such occasion hereafter. On the other hand, it was some piece of satisfaction to see pragmatical Crevie, the ringleader of the protesters of the north, deprived by the authority of parliament, and confined to this side of Forth. As to civil affairs, I have nothing to say, save that I am glad that things went not in a higher strain than they did ; and that in heaving at some persons, there was not a mere desire preferred without rendering a reason ; for, as you know, I came to understand, some while ago,

ago, that, if crimes were laid to the charge of any, and could be made out before the judge competent, that would give offence to no body. God make all well, as Sir John Scot said to the King. Adieu.

COCKBURN of Ormiston, Lord Justice-clerk, to Mr CARSTARES.

Of some hot Words betwixt Argyle and himself upon the subject of Glenco.—Other quarrels among the Statesmen.—Public Transactions.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 23.
1695.

I have your's of the 11th; but that of the former post you mention must be in the hands of those have taken a flying packet coming for the secretary from London. I'm glad of one thing, they will see you still own yourself to be my friend; and all the lying stories they are able to send abroad have not hindered that far our correspondence. There is nothing I love worse then to chase clashes. You had account of what I met with from Kilmarnock; and when I tell you that Argyle, publickly in parliament, challenged me to ask satisfaction which way I pleased, when he reflected on the whole commission of Glenco; for the rest, he said, he would not reflect on them; but for that gentleman (meaning me) who thought himself reflected on, he should have satisfaction which way he pleased. This, and other flashes, I have borne; but do not think me fee; only my moderation hath at this time appeared; though I hear it's all one whether it had or not; but so it is not with myself; for I have peace. This day Anstruther tells me, he has been very angry with Mr H. Dalrymple, who told him, he had a return from his brother to that he wrote, of some heated words past between Anstruther and the secretary in parliament; and that the King and my L. Portland knew of it, as they did of other such things; and they would do a great deal of good: So Anstruther is upon the writing over, that Secretary Johnston and he were never
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So well, the secretary having acknowledged he had spoke too warmly; and I know they have been dining at others lodgings. Now, if a heated word do a man's business, true or false, why not mine for the second time? Your Friends the Melvills and Anstruthers are like to break the bond of alliance; only Anstruther seems to be casten off with his new gift of Fyfe, having which Cassengray had. Raith told him briskly, he should not get it through neither treasury nor exchequer; and Linlithgow told him, he would not get a quorum of the treasury to sign it; for they behoved to keep to Melvill, for he has kept to them. The church-act, the levy-act, the continuing the supplies, the moderation of the address, and the forbearing the Visc. of Stairs, are the greatest instances of respect to his Majesty has been shown of a long time; and I'm sure more than was expected; and may well allow the few days sitting after the first allowance. It might a been expected the parliament should a written a letter to the K. at their rising: It was spoke of among some members; but there appeared such a disposition to explain their former letter, that it cost some folks pains to get it diverted at this time. Had I been revengeful, I had fair opportunities when my Lady Argyle's petition came twice in. I'm going to the country, and shall there expect that sentence is said to be prepared for my friend and myself. Say what they will, neither of us are Jacobites. Farewell.

SIR JAMES OGILVY, afterwards Earl of Seafield, to Mr CARSTARES.

*Proceedings in Parliament with respect to Glenco vindicated.—
The Part he acted.—The Strength of the Party with which
he is engaged.*

Dear Sir,

I have your's of the 27th of June; we long for good news from your camp; and particularly, we are apprehensive of our countrymen, that they will have their share of the present danger. Our parliament is now almost over. I know endeavours will be used to

Edinburgh,
23^d July
1695.

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misrepresent our proceedings; but, when duly considered, I am hopeful the King will be satisfied. As to the Earl of Breadalbine, we will not proceed against him; it will be left to the King to order about him what he pleases. The Mr of Stair is indeed loaded to purpose; but thereby the King is most justly relieved of all the aspersions raised in that affair of Glenco; and I doubt not the Mr, letters, and our votes, both in the commission and parliament, when compared, will justify us, that we have proceeded impartially. And here I cannot but say, that our carrying so great a plurality in parliament against an secretary of state, an Lord of the treasury, and an president of the session, may convince any body, both of the strength of our party, and that there was ground for what is done. I must tell you, that all will bear me witness I have acted an moderate part in all this; and, when its over, and represented to his Majesty, I will be ordered by his Majesty as to the method of serving him, as is my duty. I wish he may get good advice; and I am sure he will have it from you. I wish moderate methods be taken; and that moderate men meet with due encouragement. Our party, if weal with the court, is able to serve the King to his satisfaction. Neither can it be proposed, that all the other party be run down: All the alteration necessary may soon be found out; but I am afraid the King may be misinformed. It is now a proper time for you to do good to your country. Honest men expects your assistance; and mistake will soon go over. You know the King has been much troubled about our church-matters; but now we have prolonged the time to the ministers for taking the oaths; and those take them are declared to be under his Majesty's full protection within their churches. The subsidies are near finished. We will make the time of continuance as long as possible we can. I wish God preserve the King to us; it is the less matter whom he employ. Give my humble duty to my Lord Portland: I am entirely his Lordship's servant. I wriet to you in great confidence, and I doubt not your friendship; and, were I capable to serve you, I would think it my happiness; for I am most sincerely your's. Dear Sir, Adieu.

A L E X-

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON to MR CARSTARES.

Of a false Alarm concerning the King's Death.

S I R,

Lately I had nothing worth writing, which I desired Mr Pringle to tell you, as the cause of my silence; but, when the last three Dutch mails came together on Wednesday last, nothing could be more seasonable and acceptable. It was thus, upon Saturday last, in the morning, I received seven or eight advertisements, that the Jacobites were exceedingly uppish, and boasted among themselves, that God Almighty had destroyed their enemies, and restored the righteous King, (King James, as they called him); and that he would be here immediately without opposition. This quickened me; whereupon I acquainted some ministers at the helm therewith, that they might use their endeavours, as I would use mine, to find out the bottom of it. Upon Sunday last, I had reports from nine instruments (not one knowing of the other) I had put on the scent the night before: They seemed to be all agreed in substance, (though they differed in many circumstances), that, not only the bulk of the Jacobites, but also, the most cautious and most prudent of them, that our gracious King was killed in a battle, and his army destroyed, by the French in Flanders. You may judge my thoughts and fears then. Three Dutch mails being then due, I communicated this too, and it was verified on all hands here. Then I set my folks to find out the root from which all this sprung; particularly, to know whether any express or intelligence was come from France bearing it particularly. I employed three persons fitt and capable to reach the secret transactions of that party, being trusted by them. Monday night I was pretty well assured that no such express or intelligence was come from France, my people having been in six or seven meetings of the most active Jacobites, and not one of them knowing the secret, though they all pretended it to be true; and some of them

August 16.
1695.

curfed the concealers, as thereby loofing the beft opportunity to rife in arms, and fhew themfelves in the field. The moft cool and wife among them advifed patience, and not to attempt any thing rashly. Upon Tuesday laft all was as it were in a flame; that whole party (and many more) were confident of the truth of thefe reports; which was confirmed by the not coming of the three Dutch maills, nor one of them. I never faw fuch an univerfal confternation and confufion of the honeft loyal party; and, on the contrary, nothing but infolence and impudence was to be feen in the words and actions of the Jacobite party. I hope never to fee the like again. That night, (Tuesday laft,) I gave a little hint of this to Mr Pringle, and then I ftayed abroad all night, ftill receiving the accounts my people brought in to me; which affured me, that a day or two would produce fome extraordinary and desperate attempt made by that party; but, God be praised, next morning brought in the three Dutch maills, (the laft is of the $\frac{18}{8}$,) which reftored us to life, and funk the other party into defpair. When I had perufed my letters, three of which were from you, I returned to my folks, and defired them to obferve the countenances, words, and actions of that party, as narrowly as they poffibly could, and to let me know what they learnt at night; when accordingly we met, and I found that party mad at their own folly, in being fo credulous and eafily impofed on. I found alfo, that many of them had wrote to all their friends in this kingdom, to be in readinefs, and affuring them of the truth of thefe reports. And, particularly, I learnt that many letters to this purpofe were fent to Scotland the laft Tuesday's poft. I communicate this too to the government; and that I thought it very fit to fend off a flying packet to my brother, with an account what had happened here, and with the news and letters of the three Dutch maills; which would contradict thefe false ftories; and alfo, on a further defign, if poffible, to catch all the Tuesday's letters when they came to Edinburgh. This flying packet, being speedier than the ordinary poft, would be 40 hours at leaft before the Tuesday's ordinary poft would come to Edinburgh; by which means the fpreading infection would

would be easily prevented: And, pursuant to this resolution, I sent off a flying packet on Wednesday last, and wrote to all my friends to prevent and contradict these lies and stories; and I hope it will be at Edinburgh early to-morrow, being Saturday, if it be not intercepted, as my flying-packet about the bombarding St Maloes and Graveline was: But I have not only found out the persons concerned, and have so vigorously pressed them, that they have dropped the intercepted packet near one Sir Humfrey Gores, a justice of the peace, who hath sent it to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who hath restored it to me; but they shall not escape so, for I will pinch them for example's sake; there being no living at this rate. There must be some greater persons at the bottom of intercepting this packet; which I hope will be discovered, if the tools already discovered tell the whole truth. I believe it was either some Jacobite, or some person concerned for those prosecuted in our parliament. I caught the post-boy, after he had fled 30 miles. Since I have got the ostler; but the topster of the house is fled above 70 miles. I think I know whereabout he is, and I will handle him without mittins, (as we say.) I have wrote too much, being oppressed with a vehement cold, caught by my night-ramble aforesaid. I pray God to preserve the King, and that we may hear speedily of the surrender of the castle of Namur. Your's to your wife were sent to her yesternight's post, by her clerk Michael Read. Send me all your good news, for I'll learn the bad ones from the Jacobites. My Lord Arran hath got such a surfeit by the three last Dutch mails, that, for his cure, he is gone to the Bath. I believe all of them are ashamed of their weakness and folly; and we will take heart by their disappointment. Adieu.

LORD

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Lord Breadalbine.—Desires that Mr Carstares may get the King's Order with respect to the Prosecution of that Lord helped.

S I R,

Edinburgh
October 17.
1695.

Your's of the 4th from the Hague was very acceptable. I never thought myself farder concerned in E. Breadalbine's affairs, than that I was perplexed his friends had so contrived, and did so manage the order, that I could not serve him as I wisht to do; and, though they have said, on the other hand, that I was overawed by a party, yet I protest there was no such thing; but I singlely followed my light and instruction; and I intreat you to do your best to have the order helped, and sent down; for I know the Earl is troubled. I scarce remember how Neal carried in the recruits; he had some aversion in private, but in publick I think he was passive: But I plainly perceive that Watt's party hath given him over for lost; yet, were I to dispose, I would make Mr Dawson, Mr Watson, and Mr Neal, Mr Dawson and 34, in the first vacancie that will instantly happen. Now, that you are, I hope, well arrived, you will know perfectly how matters go. I seriously wish Carse well with Wood; and I know it is not 33 fault; but Whyte must blend us better together, and 9 must give us our rules positive and distinct, and order all to keep them. Present my service to Mr Pringle: Tell him I have his of the 12th; and I know he will communicate what he hath from me. I have been of late much troubled with gout and gravel. Old sinners, many fores; but mercy is a sweat refuge; and I hope I shall long for, and find rest. I am most sincerely yours. My most humble service to Mrs Carstares.

SIR

SIR JAMES OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Letter from the Earl of Portland.—Regrets that Portland is not to meddle in Scottish Affairs.—116 Episcopal Ministers, who had qualified, besides those formerly assumed.

Dear SIR,

At my return from my country-house I had ane renewed instance of your favour; of which I am very sensible it was ane most obliging letter from the Earl of Portland, which I know was by your procurement. I am sorrie to find my Lord intends not to meddle in our affairs; for I certainlie understand that his Lordship's influence both has been, and may still be, most useful to all honest and well affected men: But I am perswaded he is so honest to his and our master, that he will not decline to act and do when he finds it needful for his Majesty's service. Our divisions and animosities are great, as you may easily perceive by our conflict last council about Broadalbine. The advocate tells me he gave you an account of it; so it is needless for me to do it. I pray you take good and safe measures for bringing us to peace. The president is very unwell. Presminnan and Newbyth are invalids; and I doubt if they can return to the session. There are an 116 of the episcopal ministers in churches qualified, besides those formerly assumed. The presbyterian ministers have declared severall of the non-jurants churches vacant, particularly my parish church at Cullen is so vacated. This was without my knowledge, yet I do not blame them; for he was disaffected to the civil government; and it was necessary to make some examples. I intreat the continuance of your friendship. Give my most humble service to the Earl of Portland. I will not as yet presume to write him an return; but I am most sensible of the honour he has done me; and I am most sincerely yours. Adieu.

Edinburgh
October 26.
1695,

Mr

Mr DAVID BLAIR to Mr CARSTARES.

Presses to have an Assembly;—which Mr Carstares was afraid of.

Dr Br,

Edinburgh,
Octob. 31.
1695.

This day yours of 26th current came to hand; in which you say, that the late letters you have had from your brother Dunlop, and a gentleman of note with us, make you afraid of an assembly: But all I speak with here, as well as myself, by all that we can learn, will be more afraid if there be no assembly. I told you, in a former, that, amongst other reasons for an assembly at the time appointed, this one I thought considerable, that it might be a good means, and, for any thing I know, the only means, to restrain and curb the humours of some young ministers in Galloway, who talk much of doing something, at least by way of testimony, against the putting off of the diets of assemblies, &c. It may be you have heard of a paper of overtures, from the late synod of Galloway, proposed as remedies against these aledged incroachments, &c. The paper makes no great noise here: Its was offered by a correspondent from the synod of Galloway to the synod of Merse and Tiviotdale; but that synod waved it. The synod of Lothain is to sit next week: But whether that paper will be offered to them or not, I know not. There are none that I speak with who are willing to give it any encouragement. The most judicious here do think that the folks of Galloway take too much upon them, and act by a method unprecedented in this church. I am told, that three young men, Camerron, Boyd, and Ewart, have been the great sticklers in that affair in the synod of Galloway. These things I thought fit to acquaint you with, that, in case there be any talk of them with you, the inconveniences from them may be the better obviated: And if there be no noise of them, I know you will make none. Adieu.

Mr

MR of FORBES to MR CARSTARES.

Solicits his Interest to obtain a Regiment.

S I R,

I was sorry you parted from the Hague without my seeing of you: I was twice that day at your lodgings. This comes by my friend Forbes, to whom I have spoke at large. Pray pardon my freedom as to the delivering this letter to my Lord Portland; it is about what I spoke to you at the Hague, one of those Scots regiments at Deal and Dixmude. You know in a manner how I have been wronged; and what service I have done the bearer will inform you at large. In few days I hope to be with you. I know your are able to do much; I shall wish it may lye in my way to give a fuitable requitall; hoping for pardon for this freedom,

Newport,
Nov. 1. Old
stile 1695.

I am, Sir,

your most affectionate and
humble servant,

WILLIAM Mr of Forbes.

You may acquaint my Lord Portland, that it is either Offerall's, or Sir Charles Graham's I am for.

LORD CARMICHAEL to MR CARSTARES.

Of Jealousies between Mr Carstares and some of the Ministry in Scotland.

S I R,

I came to town late yesternight, and was very glad to receive a letter from you; though indeed I admire you should forborne writing to me upon any account of this nature; for you know how desirous I was to be in your company, when your leisure allowed, the short time you was here; and whatever mistakes was, I always own-

Edinburgh
Novem. 7.
1695.

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ed the friendship which, upon many accounts, I was obliged to have for you; and have been many times witness to the concern and great trouble ye have been at to get matters go right, when I was very dispondent; and I would fain hope and wish, that ye, and honest men who have the same design, may be in a right understanding together, and all jealousies removed; for I declare sincerely, there is no man living I think myself more obliged to, and wishes better than yourself. As for the other affair ye write of, ye have been witness how perplexing and troublesome a task it has been to me, which you wanted not your share of, makes me intreat and expect ye will be so friendly as not to let me be in danger any more; for ye may remember what pains ye was at, and how long a time it was before my exoneration could be procured; when it was thought nothing was done but what would give satisfaction. My wife gives her sincere service to you and your lady, with mine. I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate and real servant,

CARMICHAEL.

I wish your noble friend and mine all imaginable happiness; and shall ever acknowledge myself his most obliged servant.

The old laird is gone out of town; but, if he fail you, he is the ungratefulest old dog ever lived, which shall not be untold him; but I dare answer for him.

My wife bids tell you, she fears ye rather be angry at her.

GEORGE MUNRO to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Cause he had with Colonel H. before a Court Martial.

S I R,

Bruges,
Nov. 17,
1695.

I have been so often troublesome to you upon several accounts, that I am ashamed; but the necessity I lie under in my affair with
Colonel

Colonel H. obliges me to give you as yet this trouble. God knows my innocency, as likewise what justice I have for my pretensions; though, in the former court-martial that fate, as well as this, which he pretends to have, I am sure I have nothing to expect but ruin. I have sent over with my brother a copy of the accompts given in to me by Colonel H. as likewise the articles I except against, excerp'd thereout, with my reasons thereto annexed. If your leisure could allow you but to look on them, at first sight the injustice done me would be evident; and truly the sums I do lawfully pretend to are of such consequence, that it is not for a man of my stock to lie out of them so long. God knows what pains and expences he has already compelled me to by his unjust dealings; and, if I get not a speedy redress, I will undoubtedly be exposed to some inconveniencies: Besides, my very reputation suffers, as an unjust pretender, so long as I have not a sentence given out in this matter by unbiass'd judges; which I cannot expect in this place. When I met with such an unjust procedure in the former council of war, as the Mr of Forbes and Mr of Polwart can inform you, who were members thereof, ye may easily judge what I am to expect in another, which I fear will be like Mr Michell Scotsman's son, father worse. So that I see no medium left for me, but to have my business carried over before the court-martiall at the Horse-guards, where undoubtedly I shall as well have my innocence made appear, as likewise justice done me in my pretensions; which I am sure his Majesty would condescend to, if my affair were represented to him, as it is in effect: And, at that same time, I believe his Majesty would not refuse me a foreloff for coming over to pursue it. There are many reasons moves me to have my recourse to you as my hope-anchor; and, if ye do not help me at this time, I fear I run the risk of shipwreck. I need not prescryve measures to you what is fit to be done; for, if ye know not, ye may easily think my wit is at a stand. Ye see it is assistance and advice I crave; and, if I had not a great deal of justice on my side, I should not offer to address myself to you. I have likewise written to my Lord Annandale, and

my Lord Secretary, who I hope will not be averſe from aſſiſting me to get juſtice ; for, God knows, it is all I ſolicite ; for I fear I be too tedious, which I hope ye will pardon ; and, when time allows you, I will hope you will honour me with a line. I am,

S I R,

Your moſt obliged,

and moſt humble ſervant,

GEORGE MONRO.

————— to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Miſunderſtanding betwixt Mr Carſtares and Lord Juſtice-Clerk.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Nov. 12,
1695.

I wrote to you laſt poſt, with ſome letters I ſent incloſed ; and, after an apology I made for that of Sir Ja. O. you will think ſtrange that the incloſed ſhould not have come by it, even ſooner, becauſe of the date, which my Lord Carmichael told me this night at delivery ; and I preſt he would alter the date, ſeeing he had not given me it ſooner ; but he allows you, when you write to him an answer, to tell him, you find he had wrote it ſome poſts before he gave it me. I need not tell you how much he is your friend, and how deſirous he is that you and honeſt men ſhould underſtand one another well. I was told yeſterday by my Lord Juſtice-clerk, that he got one from you the day before, wherein you are a little briſk to him for writing ſo to you. I told him I was heartily ſorry that there ſhould be any ſuch thing betwixt you ; and I thought it was certainly a great trouble that he ſhould have any jealousies of you ; and I ſhall ſay no more upon that head, but that theſe who wiſh beſt to the government both of church and ſtate do very much re- grete it ; and it is very much wiſhed that theſe miſtakes were removed. You have had occaſion to do good offices to your coun- try ; and I ſhall hope, whatever uſage you have met with, it will not alter

after you. I hope you will not take this ill, seeing I have so much concern in you; and, while I breath, I will evidence on all occasions how much I am bound with great sincerity to be your's most faithfully.

My wife gives her best services to Mrs Carstares, and bids me tell you, that your Will. she hopes will be a brave fellow to serve you.

Sir JAMES OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Asks his Advice how to conduct himself in the ensuing Assembly.

Dear SIR,

I am glad the advocate is called up; his advice at present I hope will do good; he is one I am much obliged to; but seeing he will be absent, I have complied with my Lord Carmichael's desire, in accepting to be one of the assembly; let me have your advice freely how to carry; I will endeavour to act faithfully, and likewise to procure moderation. You see I use freedom. I will give you no further trouble, but remains most intirely your's.

Edinburgh,
Dec. 2.
1695.

————— to MR CARSTARES.

Of a Battle among the Great Folks, &c..

DR SIR,

I have had two from you since I wrote any; and I delivered the letters as they were directed. The D. of Queensberry is most anxious to hear from you in answer to his, as that which keeps him there. We have had, as you will forsee, various reports of the battle amongst our great folks with you, as it is called here; and both parties say they have win. I shall presume to say no more upon

Edinburgh,
Dec. 10.
1695.

upon the differences, but that I pray God the King may be well advised in the determination. If, before this comes to hand, you have not wrote to the D. of Queensberry, that you will write to him. The L. Justice-Clerk bid me tell you, he would fend away the Lady Rothes letter. I answered him, that I did not doubt but he would write to you an answer to your's. I am sensible there are ill instruments betwixt you; God forgive them. My wife gives her most humble services to Mrs Carstares and you. Farewell heartily.

Sir JAMES OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Divisions in Scotland.—The East-India Act;—and his own Conduct in that Affair.

DR SIR,

Edinburgh,
Dec. 10.
1695.

I am sorry to find our divisions increase. I doubt not the King behaves wisely amongst our contending parties. If they both speak well of me, it is what I owe to your good advice. I did follow it as much as I was capable. I was not able to persuade others to do it. Do our nation all the good you can. I am sure this will preserve to you the good opinion of honest men. I will not trouble your noble friend, whom I am obliged to serve, seeing I am not accused of the talking unduly concerning the East-India act. I can attest God of my innocence; neither was it in my offer. I shall endeavour to live honestly; and then I can pretend to be protected by my friends: But I believe what is reported about this is a fable. I hope you will be so friendly as to let me know if I might write to the Earl of Portland, now when affairs are in agitation. I am loath to trouble his Lordship; but none will more willingly serve you both than your's. Adieu.

I am sorry our India act occasions so much trouble; for I think it will do little hurt to England, seeing we want an fleet.

SIR

SIR ANDREW KENNEDY to MR CARSTARES.

Of the disposal of Offices.—A Company for his Son.

SIR,

I never longed more to hear from you than now; but I should excuse you, being busy. You have considerable charges in our Scots affairs, and its probable there may be more. I heartily wish they all may be for the better, and that honest and wise men may be in all important posts. Our publick accounts here of occurrents with you are so inconsistent and uncertain, we know not what to trust. Who succeeds Mr Johnston as yet we know not, though our letters have told us of several. Sir, your state-news would be fresh to us: Pray, take so much avocation as to allow me the half of an quarter of a sheet what is past, and who stand candidates or competitors. I want my supporters you used to jeer me with: If I cannot stir, its well I may sit; but that proposition for my son must wait a fit season; and we know by whom to do it. Before any saddles were empty, I wrote at large to my Lord Advocate about it; and desired him to advise with you. I doubt you'll find an occasion to move in it at present; but he is my very good friend. I have not heard from him since I wrote to him: But you are all taken up. Your brother, his wife, son, and all their friends, are all very well: They did me the honour, the 29th of the last, to be six or seven hours with us. I told him the compliment was extraordinary; and, had it not been that that day was besides the usual number of the days of the year, I could not have expected it.

Rotterdam,
March 2.
1696.

Sir, about three weeks ago, I wrote to Dr Hutton in favours of one Andrew Reid a nephew of mine, bred at Glasgow, an apothecary-surgeon, who is come hither to me, that the Doctor might procure to him some mate's place in some hospital in Flanders, that he may be furnished with an opportunity of experience in his calling; but have had no return from the Doctor; and now the time to be provided draws near. Pray, Sir, enquire at the Doctor, if any thing

thing can be done for him: And, Sir, may I presume, in case he be not provided for, that you would be pleased to speak for him to Mr Van Loon, or any other; and it will be a great kindness to him, and an obligation on me: And I am sure you will get thanks for recommending such a well qualified person. Pray, let me have your answer, and a direct address. My wife, I, and all here are well, and give you and Mrs Carstares our humble service; and I am,

S I R,

Your most constant faithful servant,

(Signed) A. K.

Sir, I hear nothing of my Lord Carmichael; he deserves to fill some good place: Were he at London, he would be very frank to try to get something done for me; for, to tell you the truth, as all things are at growing dearth, by the continuance of the war, it is not possible to live on what I have done; and it must needs be uneasy to be obliged to give out more than comes in. I did project some things to Mr Johnston, but that is over. If you and the advocate could think of getting my allowance bettered, I need it. When Major-General Livingston was here, he chanced to be witness to a great deal of trouble and charge I was at about officers of the army, deserters, and invalids, that he thought my youngest son might get a captain's commission; which money the King might best spare.

EARL of ARGYLE to MR CARSTARES.

Of the State of Parties.—Complains of the Powers granted to Lord Justice Clerk and Sir Thomas Livingston.—Of Treasury-affairs.—The Chancellor's bad Management.

Edinburgh,
March 19.

Last night the advocate arrived. I saw him this morning, and has acquainted him of all past since my coming to this place; and am resolved to follow joint measures with him, as are our other friends,

friends, D. Q. L. Raith, E. Le. &c.; the chancellor, and L. Murray concurring with him, has placed the main trust in Justice Clerk and Sir Thomas L. who has power to seize persons, horses, and arms, without being obliged to be accountable to the council, make close prisoners, or otherwise, as they see fit: In so much, that the Justice Clerk, acquainting the council the other day, that Lady Largoe was seized, desired the council's order to send her to the castle. I said it was probable enough there might be just occasion for it, she having been formerly under the same circumstances, and considering her profession and character in relation to the government; but that I desired to know somewhat of which she was presently accused of; which was denied me; saying, 'Some body was to be trusted, and every body was not;' in short, treated me as one not to be trusted. The three prisoners in the castle, Sir William Bruce, Sir William Sharp, and Lord something, who was formerly a Lord of the session, are by the same secret committee made close prisoners; and we are to know no cause for it. I shall suffer any thing at this time for the King's service; but I flatter myself it is not the King's mind we be so treated; and that it shall be redressed. But I do expect of you, that you do fairly represent, that our taking all tamely is not out want of sense of the usage we meet with; for, unless it be understood, the resentment will be hereafter more warmly returned. When I say we, I mean the D. of Q. E. Melvine's family, myself, and our other friends. We of the treasury often meet; the short accompt I can give you from them is, 'Item all spent.' Before my coming down, they have past precepts for payment of upwards of a twelve-month's clearings, which they did not consider exhausted what they had, in so far as, there remains nothing to pay subsistence, April, May, or June; and those precepts drawn not paid: Neither how to recall the former, I see not; nor how to find three months subsistence, I see not. Yet there is our difficulty; for, had we come upon an account not forstalled, the matter had been easy; but, being once so far behind, and no money in the treasury to pay part, the case is the harder. Its apparent the money the chancellor applied

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to himself goes a great length to occasion this. I have advised, which I think will be complied with, which is to grant such a monthly subsistence, including field-officers and captains, who formerly had no allowance of subsistence, as will put them in a condition to wait payment of clearings the better; and L. 120 sterling per month brings it to this pass. For, whilst field-officers and captains had no allowance of subsistence, and they rogues of fortune, it did necessarily oblige them to cheat the King in their musters; and, putting them once in a bad way, it was not easy to prevent it afterwards. As to L. Jeddart, he labours still under the hardships formerly represented, and waits a return from court. I had almost forgot to tell you, that Sir Thomas, by the intrinsic power assumed to himself, has granted a commission to Captain William Drummond, to seize what persons, horses, and arms, he sees fit; leaving all to his own discretion; so that, in a little time, by these methods, the country must be liable to the old military executions. I am as much for the security of the government as any, but in another method: I would have the nation ruled by such as are most able to support the government, if the worst of times should come; for, were there invasion, we should be obliged, either to take it upon us, or run for it, and let all go to ruin; which God forbid. My present satisfaction is, in the first place, that you tell my thoughts, and usage we meet with, to Earl Portland; and let Sir James know what passes. I carry very fair with Lord Murray; but, believe me, he is a very weak brother. Adieu.

EARL OF ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Bitter Complaints of the Treatment he has met with from those in Administration; whom he particularly characterizes.

Edinburgh,
March 21.

I have little to add to what I said in my last. I confide entirely in your justice and friendship to me, or else I should be very uneasy if I did not rest assured that the treatment I meet with is duly represented;

sented; for, though I am resolved to suffer much at this juncture, I cannot digest it; neither can I propose to live under this oppression; for, as Leven tells me, he wriet to you, we need more than Job's patience; I must confirm it. When I reflect, we are at present ridden by an old weather-beaten decayed doege, who rules arbitrarily, by a pune sillie piece of a secret statesman dictating to us; whose looks, as well as expressions, betray him; who can never purge the Gillicrankie blood; taken in either sense, then to be lorded over by a little fyre-ship, whilst those of the first magnitude are neglected. And, above all, to be dragoun'd by an imperious, ignorant, fresh-water, Crumdell general, sure I am, can never tend to his Majesty's service. I forgot to tell you in my last, at least I fear I did, when he named a party to Jeddart, who supported him, he named E. Portland and yourself; which I admire at; since it was my greatest concern, I fancied he was in good terms with E. Portland, who I feared had not a right impresson of him. One thing I design to wriet to Secretary Ogilvie, of which you'll please to mind; it will certainly tend to his Majesty's service, that Sir Thomas be ordered to tender the oath of allegiance and assurance to all the officers of the Scots army; for sure I am, there are officers, that have been in the late King's service within these four years, that carry considerable commissions, and have not yet taken the oaths; particularly in Lord Murray's regiment; as, for example, one Captain Ghrame. And it will not be amiss, if, thereafter, a list of all their names be returned. I acknowledge it may be objected, Why I should not move this in council? I answer, Should I, it will be made a party-business, as if I did design to reflect on Sir Thomas; and the King's service will be thereby neglected; which makes me take this method. I must again tell you, that, unless these two captains be removed from Jeddart with a witness, I cannot propose to show my face any longer on this side of Argyle-shire. As to the treasury, I find the chancellor has acted all this while like a man making his will, proposing to live no longer; for he has anticipate all the founds, that I scarce see a possibility of retring it. Even that found, which ought

to pay the salaries, he has not so much as left room for his own; and I confess its a pity he should have it. I shall, if I can, live amongst them, in the other part of the government, make it my business to understand the treasury-business; and, as I am stated there with the other honest men, I hope we may, when the subject-matter will allow it, recommend ourselves to his Majesty. As for our friend Sir John, pray, let him know he daily confirms my good opinion of him. Now the alarm seems to us to be over, I do believe, in a few days, we shall begin to disperse; but I shall wait the return of this; and therefore must desire to hear from you by the first. Pray, let Mellvine know I do desire the favour of you to acquaint him of our transactions, and of my thoughts. I am your's. Adieu.

————— to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Lord Argyle.—Bad State of the Treasury and Garrisons.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
March 26.
1696.

Since the last I had from you, there hath little occurred but what possibly you have heard from better hands, except what was this day, whereof I saw an account sent to you. I will endeavour, so soon as I can get occasion, to have more frequent correspondence with you; but I am now going to the country for some tyme. My Lord Argyle, I see, resolves to attend punctually on business, and, in all men's eyes, is fit enough for it, if he pleases; wherein I wish he may continue. Never was our treasury more meanly provided, if this threatned disquietment had fallen in the countrey; and, I hope no wise man, that tenders the welfare of the King's affairs, or our own security, will be so narrow as the last subsidies were; for, besides the subsistence of the troops, we have not wherewith to provide some meal that is requisite to be laid up in the several garrisons. I sent Sir James an exact account of what we have to go upon
till

all the next parliament. I have no further to trouble you at present, but that I am your's.

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Bitter Complaint against Sir Thomas Livingston.—Treasury-business in great confusion.—Privy-council need Directions from Court.

S I R,

I gave you account, two posts agoe, that Sir Thomas demur'd to put the King's orders in execution as to L. Jeddart's two captains; and now, at last, he has positively refused it, using expressions, very unbecoming him, of the Duke of Queensberrie, E. Leven, and myself. 'What,' says he, to one, 'doe you think those three, calling us a partie, can carry this over me?' Indeed, Sir, if Sir Thomas be put in competition with me alone, besydes three, I should not take it well; but I am satisfyed the King is wise and just, and will not encourage Sir Thomas in those insolent humours. I am sure both his Majestie and E. Portland will remember, all the while I was at London, I mentioned not his name by way of complaint; though I had too good reason. So averse am I from making complaints, that often I chuse rather to suffer. Sir Thomas has stirr'd up L. Carmichall, making him verie concerned. I cannot blame Carmichall not to desyre them; for indeed they are not worth the having. But he is but a fresh-water foger; and does not know it is most usual for his Majestie (who knows and understands the œconomie of his troops verie well) to make removes wher ther is not good agreement: And these two captains never having injured L. Carmichall, ther may be a possibilitie of ther living well with him; but its morallie impossible L. Jeddart and them can serve together. In short, Sir, so they be remove from Jeddart, it is all one to me where they goe, except to my son's regiment, unless I were on the head on't: I should make them eat their meat in order. I am the more concerned,
and

Edinburgh,
March 16.

and Sir Thomas the more to be blamed, nay, inexcusable, when all other parties, even Annandale and me writting in his Majesty's service, that he should through this bone of contention. I have, by the Lord Murray, proffered Sir Thomas to concurr in his Majesty's service, and all past quarrells to be forgot. If he settle not matters on this, as I imagine he will not, I have done my part. We meet at Threassurie everie day; we find all matters there in mightie confusion; and the King mutch behynd hand. I am endeavouring all I can to bring the forces, I mean ther payment, to some kind of consistencie; and in all matters I shall appear impartiall, preffering the service to all particulars. In the counsell, what method to follow is hard, evrie one being of a different sentiment. Severalls were made prisioners before I came hither, and others of the same circumstances neglected; which shows a deal of partialitie. We want mightilie measures from court; for its true our secretarie is hear with a credentiall letter; but I find he his at a lose as mutch as others as are not blest with his post. There are several classes of people to be suspected upon the present juncture of affairs; those that were officers, and quitt, still refusing to serve, and not taking the oaths: Ther are papists, there are such of the nobilitie as ther birth gives them priviledge to sit in parliament, flights it, refusing to take the oaths. I do desire to know how these are to be disposed of, and how distinguished. We are nibbling at them, but in the dark; for hitherto, where anie particular pick lay, such a person siezed; but others not noticed. Wher anie notoritie is known, all agree to sieze such a person. Pray, what is proper communicatte to secretarie Ogilbie; since I refer to you, and I wriett but a short lyne to him, I shall not question your letting E. P. know what is proper. I bid you Adieu.

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EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

The opposite Party's Conduct towards Lord Advocate.—His Plan for a Bond of Security to be exacted of certain Persons, not to disturb the Peace of the Country, in opposition to one proposed by the Chancellor for the Highland Clans.

I received your's by last post, and shall observe your doctrine of patience as much as possible. You will understand by Lord Advocate, as well as others, that we need more than an ordinary stock; for, even in matters which properly belong to his post, they make no use of him; conceals from him, as if he were to be suspected as disaffected: I find him most sensible of it, which does not displease me. They betray their ignorance by this procedure; and it ought to be improved by our friends. What passes to-morrow before this post goes, I shall acquaint you of; mean time, a committee is to meet, to prepare the method for calling in the Highland clans to give surety for their dutiful behaviour to the government: I went along with it, and thereafter proposed we might put the Lowlanders into several classes, who were either fit to be put under bail, imprisoned, or banished: It was waved by the chancellor; and, at first, I would not press it. In this, as in other matters, I shall act in concert with the advocate, as with Sir John Maxwell, who they likewise slight.

Edinburgh,
March 23,

I must acquaint you, I left some little business with Secretary Ogilvie, which nearly concerns me, to move the King in, after I was gone; whilst I left all my private concerns to mind the public. I have received a letter, though not from Sir James, acquainting me I am to be gratified but in part, which is very hard; and it's probable you'll be of my opinion. One paper was a year's discharge of my feu-duties, being this year, in which I enter heir; so that, in strictness of law, it would double. Another paper, a tack to be renewed

renewed of the herring fishing, which my family has had these hundred of years from father to son, in nineteen year tacks. I do not doubt but Selkirk will be a ready hand to ask it; but I hope the King will not forfault me without a fault; besides, in law, I must have the years of the forfaulture allowed me. A third paper, was a gift of the late E. Lauderdale's escheat to my sister, she being deprived of almost all her jointer. I hope I shall be excused to mind a little my particulars, whilst I give almost all my time to the public; but would more pleasantly, and to better purpose, would his Majesty be pleased to cause us all move in our proper sphere. I left my other memorial with E. Portland; which I shall forbear to mention at this juncture. I shall not doubt but you'll use your interest in those matters which so nearly concern me, and in Lord Jeddart's affair, which calls for his Majesty's justice, not only to him, but to us all, within ten degrees of kin. My Lord Portland was pleased to allow me to apply to him in particulars; and what I say to you is the same. I know your friendship; and on all occasions I shall study you a return.

March 24.

This day the committee met in the morning, appointed for Highland affairs. The Advocate, E. Sutherland, E. Kintore, Laird of Grant were on the committee; I presided. We agreed upon a bond to be offered to the council, applicable to Lowlanders as well as Highlanders; which being presented, some made some objections to it; which gave me occasion to say, that the reason why it was made so extensive was, that we thought the more it did comprehend, the more it answered the end, which was to secure the peace of the country upon all events: And that we might the more effectually yet perfect that, I offered several classes of people to be considered by the council, how far, in point of law and convenience, it was proper to guard against the injury they might do us. So near as I can remember, I shall set them down in short, without expatiating, or repeating the reasons I used to recommend my overture. As,

Al

All noblemen whose birth intitles them place in parliament does not take the oaths or qualify themselves.

All gentlemen chosen members to serve in parliament, and does not qualify themselves.

All papists of what degree soever.

All who has been in France, served the enemy, come home, and has not obtained remissions.

All who were in office civil or military, flung up their commissions upon the revolution, or since have, refusing to qualify themselves.

All chosen to be commissioners of the cess or supply, pitched upon to be justices of the peace, or other employments, refusing to qualify themselves.

All horses and arms seized, or to be seized, how and what manner they are to be disposed of.

The chancellor was thunder-struck, sitting mute; and, though I was seconded by the Advocate, E. Leven, D. of Queensberry, Grant, E. Sutherland, who I had made by being on the committee, and by Sir Robert Sinclair and Enster; yet, though it was oftentimes moved the appointing a committee to consider these matters, he tore his gloves to pieces, but said nothing. At last, up stood Carmichall, and proposed some method might be fallen upon for our security, by arming the well-affected, or something to that purpose, which the chancellor laid hold on to wave my overtures; but, being strongly seconded, and I standing close to my tackle, we overbalanced him. Then stood Annandale up, not disapproving of my overtures, but running us into an overture of entering into an association, which the chancellor likewise took hold of. I said both these propositions were good, had a good view; but neither did derogate from mine: So pressed a committee, which we obtained, adding to the former, D. of Queensberry, E. Leven, E. Annandale, L. Carmichall, both named by me: So much I studdie peace, L. Justice-Clerk, Sir Thomas Livingston were added. This

afternoon we met; the committee has prepared a report for the council when they meet to-morrow: And you shall by next have an account what passes. Adieu.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Association.—State of Parties in the Committee and Council.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
March 28.
1696.

By my last you will understand how our association was managed; but since I am more confirmed that, since it was moved, and so far advanced, it should have gone through; and that it was very improper to represent, if we should make a compliment; though I could not vote against an express prerogative, nor differ from such as were judged to know the King's mind best, as I have written more fully to the secretary. For your own business, I doubt not but you will perceive that 55 was against your security, because 13 was so much for it; and Hamiltoun thought it needless and affected: But when 55 saw it was so well liked, he would have gone along with it, if Mr Erskine's agent had not come in, and declared himself against it; which, it's supposed 21 did to be easy to his friends. However, it is feared 9 may despise our trifling, for he may well give a general allowance; but White can hardly be pleased with Mr Chambers's present methods. Hume had the good luck to be approved by both 13 and 55, and likewise by Mr Dawson; but White's interest is what I would have mostly minded. Harries was frank for your security. Remember my former letters. I am your's.

LORD

55, Argyle.	13, Annandale.	Mr Erskine, Lord Murray.	21, Lord
Murray.	9, the King.	White, the King.	Chambers, the Council.
Hume, Advocate.	55, Argyle.	Dawson, Ormiston.	Harries, Chan-
cellor.			

LORD ADVOCATE to MR CARSTARES.

Differences among the members of Council and Committee about the Association.—Cyphers explained.

S I R,

I have written our news to S. J. Ogilvy. As for your private concerns, Mr Harris and your friend Hume live civilly, and no more. 32 hath been with 27, who told him plainly, that Dawson could not approve Mr Carse his management; and that he was of opinion, that 33 would be found an unfriend, not of design, but on the event, to Mr White's interest. When Mr Chambers was thinking to give security for 9 concern, Mr Hamilton proposed a moderate and legal security; but Arg. 13 purposed to outdo him; and proposed a security that was judged by friends to be neither practicable nor necessary; and that it was not worth the hazard of a disappointment: And Adv. 32 did offer his reasons to council 3; but Mr Thomson being very pressing for his security, it was appointed to be written; and, when Mr Chambers saw it, at first he seemed well pleased with it; for, since some would have it, 32 endeavoured to make it as good for Mr White as he could devise, especially since 57 and 27 were likewise for it: But Ar. 55, and Mr Lee, still thinking that it was rather a compliment than a just security, they were for acquainting 9 before it should be granted: And your friend, who acts for Mr Erskine, coming to town, he happened to be of Mr Hamilton's mind, which brought the matter to a new reasoning; and then it was resolved that 9 should be acquainted; and 32, with another, were desired to give an account of the whole business. But my thoughts are, that all this is but wind, and will not prove good payment; and that it had been bet-

Edinburgh,
March 26.
1696.

N n 2

ter

32, Advocate.	27, Justice-clerk.	Dawson, Ormiston.	33, Carstares.
Carse, Carstares.	Mr White, the King.	Chambers, Council.	9, the King.
Hamilton, is probably	Annandale.	Mr Thomson, Annandale.	57, Car-
michael.	27, J. C.	Mr Lee, Queensberry.	Mr Erskine, Lord Murray.

ter that it had not been moved at all, or that it had gone through ; but that Mr White should not have been troubled with such a trifling business : And therefore Hume, though he thought the motion needless, yet, since it was made, and had taken air, gave it all the countenance he could ; and though An. 13 was very ill pleased at the disappointment, yet Thomson, as well as Hamilton, was satisfied with 32's part. Chanc. 1. took part with 13 ; but it was 21, as I have said, that did cast the balance ; and 55 is well pleased that Thomson mist his mark. And this is the account I can give you of your particular ; save that all 25's partners are so angry, that though they carry fair with 32, yet even Mr Dawson is not so intimate with him ; but 27 is very intimate with Mur. 21. And this is the best account I can give you of your friends. Remember my former letters, and let me hear of your receipt of this ; and be still assured, that 32 is tender of 33, as he would wish ; and assure your friend, who does for Mr Wood, that he shall have all good advice this way, and that Mr Hume can give him ; and pray him to put the best colours upon Chambers's actings to Mr White that he can ; for 32 is truly sorry for such triflings and contentions. Adieu.

LORD MURRAY, *alias* EARL OF TULLIBARDINE, to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Association, and his Reasons for opposing it.——Some too forward.——Apprehensive they may blame him ;——but hopes Mr Carstares will take his part.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
March 28.
1696.

I received a letter from you just as I went last out of town, which I thank you for the good news was in it. Some of the council had concerted an association, and were very forward in having it pass, without so much as acquainting me, though it was known I was
to

25, Secretary Johnston.

Mr Wood, Sir Ja. Ogilvy.

to return very soon to this place. The bringing it in after the apprehensions of the invasion seems to be over, is not so proper as at first; but the making any leagues or bonds, without the King's express warrant and allowance first obtained, is treason by our law, and is declared to be the King's undoubted right, and his alone; which does sufficiently answer all reasons can be given to enter into it before his Majesty was acquainted; which I must own I maintained in council, being particularly obliged in the post I am, that such preparatives be not made; in which I have differed with some, and in other things wherein I judge they are too forward: But perhaps I may be blamed by them for not being so; but I doubt not to have you to take my part, since your's was the same. I am

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

(Signed)

J. MURRAY.

ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Vindicates his private Character from some Aspersions.—His Reasons for taking his two Daughters from their Mother.—Of the Draught for an Association.

I received your's dated the 24th instant. I need say little in return to the first part of your letter; several matters having intervened, of which you have had daily accounts, acquainting you what lengths we had gone as to the classing of people; but I believe it were necessary the King's mind were known as to the executing those rules strickly or not. As to what you say in relation to myself, and my own particular behaviour, I take it very kindly of you. I know it is the effect of your friendship and concern in my person, besides my family. I do assure you, my carriage shall be such as I shall give no just cause of scandal or offence; though I know some makes it their business so much to render me criminal, and at least censurable, even where is the least ground, that, whilst I am

burdened

Edinburgh,
March 30.

burdened with the error of the first concoction, I need scarce hope to be free of censure ; should I lock myself up in a cage, daily they will be hatching something. There is one thing I know will be clamoured against, that I have sent my two daughters home to Rosneath, designing to take the charge of them myself. My reasons for so doing are, since they are mine, and that I am bound to provide for them, none can blame. I wish and endeavour that they be bred up with all duty and love to me, as their father ; which I cannot expect in the circumstances they have been in hitherto, living with a mother in those terms with me, and who never in her life showed them either the example of good nature, or duty to their parent ; and who always carries herself to her children to an extremum on side or t'other, by too much fondness, or too much severity. They are coming up to an age in which its presumable they will receive impressions ; and I have not forgot the Latin, ' Quo semel est imbuta,' &c. But, above all, my chief reason is, She having had lately the charge of her sister Douns's daughter, some years older than any of mine, she did encourage her in things I would not for all the world be guilty of, wher a parent especially, which was, to encourage her to writ little billetts-dues and letters to Carnwath, Sir George Lockhart's son and heir ; and by the company she kept by her example, as the Countess of Forfar, Nanny Murray, &c. she had like to a been quite ruined ; and came to that length of impudence, that, dancing with Carnwath in the dancing-school, she squeezed his hand. All which the youth told ; and the girl was sent for home. As you are my undoubted friend, I give you the trouble of all this, though I hope the envious world themselves must acknowledge a father can dispose of his children.

This is designed to go by a flying packet, with a draught of an association, wherein the Advocate, D. Queensberry, and myself, are concerted by L. Murray ; so you may think there is a difference betwixt market-days. This is offered in case the word *association* goes any length in his Majesty's inclinations ; and since, without a parliament, no such matter can be forced, the easier it be, the better ; that
generally

generally it may be complied with, if any such thing be resolved upon. I hear the turn our opposites gives it is, 'That because the pretended Prince of Wales was named, others dissented;' but sure I am its false.

I am told Lockhart demits, and will not go to Flanders, though he will make a show of it, to baulk my brother Charles's pretences, who was, by his Majesty's gracious promise to me, was to have his troop on his quitting it. Pray, mind Sir James of this; with my service to him. I am your's. Adieu.

ORMISTON to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Bond drawn up by the Western Shires.—They would make an Army of 40,000 Men, and therefore not to be slighted.—State of Parties.—Episcopal Meetings Nests of Disaffection.

S I R,

I have none of your's since my last. I gave an account by the express yesternight, how that the people of the western shires were inclined to associate, and had drawn up a bond, with an address to his Majesty, expressing all affection and zeal for his person and government; but, in their great concern for the present church-establishment, they had likewise mentioned that in their bond and address; but, because it was a needless distinction, at this time, to divide them from many others, who, I hope, are equally concerned in this common cause of our King and country's preservation, I expunged these words; and withal desired that they might forbear to proceed hastily in this matter, untill the King's mind were known, since the council had thought fit to stop the bond that they intended, and represent first to his Majesty. But this confirms me still the more, that our bond of association had better not been mentioned, than stop, when so far proceeded; and yet it is most certain, that it had not stopt, if it had not been out of tenderness to his Majesty's

Edinburgh,
March 31.
1696.

jefty's prerogative. Some men may say, that even an association of this nature may be dangerous, and of bad example, and might give this excess in the western bond for an instance; but, since they keep within compass of law, though not of prudence, this argument should be of no weight at this time; especially when they are so tractable, and we have so much need of animating things; for they tell me, that they could make about forty thousand men. I wrote also about money for arms; and that arms might be provided. And all I say to you is, let not the West be jealous, but by all means encouraged.

As for your private affairs; Mr Dawson is in an intimate understanding with 21, which I hope shall do well. Mr Chambers is very sober; only this day Mr Harris and Mr Cameron were like to be a little warm, but it soon past over. 93 is gone out of town, but has promised to mind Carse his desire. I forgot to tell you, that these that were most forward for the association have got up a mark of a blew ribbond; but, though I impute it to their zeal, yet, in so good and general a cause, I like not any distinction, but wish all may be for it; which is the best mark. The dissenting ministers that preach in Edinburgh are most of them taken up by the council's order. The field-meetings formerly were called 'the rendezvous of rebellion;' and I assure you, the conventicles now in Edinburgh are 'the nests of disaffection.' And therefore, as far as law will go, I wish them all banished out of town. Remember my former desires to you for my two friends. Adieu.

LORD

Dawson, Ormiston.
Mr Harris, chancellor.
Carse, Mr Carstairs.

21, Lord Murray.
Mr Cameron, E. Leven.

Mr Chambers, the council.
93, Sir James Maxwell.

LORD ARGYLE to MR CARSTARES.

Imputes the Western Bond, &c. to the noble Drunken Patriots, Annandale, Yester, and Sir Thomas Livingston, when met at a Drunken Club.—Against renewing the Covenant, though a good Presbyterian.

Since I wriet the inclosed, the secretary having asked the advocate's opinion as to the sending up such a draught of an association as I mention in my letter, he was positively of the opinion that it was not proper to offer any, but leave all before his Majesty. We understand further, that this association proposed by them was a concerted thing; for, in the countrey, they have already met, and signed a paper, by which, upon the matter, they renew the covenant. And, as a further mark of distinction, those noble drunken patriots, E. Annandale, L. Yester, and Sir Thomas Livingstone, at a drunken club, resolved the wearing a blew knot of ribbons in the cock of their hatt; and owns that it will disoblige, if people follow not their example. I confesse, I cannot think the King will approve of those marks of distinction, it being a means to make divisions, and not heal them. And, as to those associations in the country, I think, suppose one here for renewing the covenant, it is most improper at this tyme. I acknowledge I incline not the length, though I am presbyterian. What I say is wriet in the Duke of Queensberry's presence, so may serve for his Grace's writing. Pray, remember my brother Charles; for Lockhart has demitted.

March 31. at
noon, 1696.

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of his Brother Charles.—Sir Thomas Livingston intends to represent him as a Jacobite.

I must earnestly desire you will acquaint E. Portland of my pretensions for my brother Charles; for I am certainly informed, notwithstanding

Edinburgh,
1st April.

O o

withstanding Captain Lockhart has demitted, Sir Thomas intends to misrepresent my brother, as being a Jacobite, and what not ; all which is most false. I think his being my father's son, my brother and I engaging for him, it is security enuf. I am much concerned in this matter ; and pray be earnest in it. This night, E. Melvin, E. Breadalbine, Viscount Tarbat, are all arrived. I am your's. A-dieu.

Please to read the inclosed, and seal it.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Against a Militia, as burthensome, and of little Use.—Hints at his being neglected in the Management of Affairs.—State of Parties.

S I R,

Edinburgh
April 2.
1696.

I have little to add to what I have written. We have been these two days upon a scheme of drawing out the half of the foot-militia, which makes ten thousand ; but, when a committee had prepared it, the council could not this day comply with it ; for the countrey hath so often found the burden of this militia, and are so little satisfied with the advantage of it, that very few have any liking to it. The proposal most likely is, that the sensible men of the West should be armed and trained : That the well affected chiftaines and leaders of the Highlands should be ordered to arm and train their men, and have them in readines : And that, if there be any militia, it be only of foot, on the south side of Tay. I told the Secretarie last post, that I was well satisfied with the diligence had been used in imprisoning but that no discoveries were to be expected from me, since I was neither acquainted with the cause, nor called to the examination of any imprisoned ; which, though it be odd as to my station, yet I mistake it not, since I believe it is better done. As to your own business ; Mr Hamilton does very well ; but he cannot enter in partnery with 27 or 37, since Mr Dawson inclines

inclines it not, but likes to trade by himself, assuming only Mr Erskine, without so much as owning Mr Hume in these matters; and Mr Mosman plainly declines even civilities with Mr Hamilton; but 32 promises to do all he can to keep them well together. I assure you 58 behaves well, honestly, and impartially; and I heartily wish that something could be done for both Mr Black and Mr Stewart, for I think it would be to good purpose. 32 is very well with 27; but the displeasure for Mr Wood's affairs estranges hitherto more than should be. The council will be to-morrow on the militia; but I think it will not conclude. I wish Mr Whyte may settle Chambers and his concerns, for it depends too long. My Lord Belhaven remembers you kindly, and deserves to be remembered. I am your's.'

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to MR CARSTARES.

Sends a Paper with a View of the late Proceedings.—Complains loudly of Annandale and his Party.—Solicits for his Father's Place as Extraordinary Lord of Session.—Lays great stress upon Mr Carstares's Friendship in it.

S I R,

I would write more frequently to you, if, both I had not been so very ill for some time past of a cholic in my stomach that I could write none at all, and that I knew any thing I had to say was supplied by my Lord Argyle's writing. I know that, long before this comes to your hands, you have got full accounts of our proceedings here, yet I have sent you inclosed a paper, which will give you a more particular view of them than I can write; which at your leisure you may read, and make what use you think proper of it. I am very sorry to see some who are trusted by the King serve him with such fier and faction, that, I confess, except his Majesty be pleased to shew distinguishing marks of his displeasure against them, it will be impossible for men of honour and quality to serve the King

Edinburgh,
April 14
1690

with that equal temper they incline to. Among those fiery people, my Lord Annandale is now arrived to that height, that its impossible to be in any judicature or society with him. He is absolutely given up to faction and division; and I believe, by his hot humour, he must think to atone for his other faults. I have already discoursed with you so fully upon my desire of having my father's place in the session, that now I think it needless to use any arguments to induce you to mind it; but I write to none else of it; and am confident it will not be forgot by you at this time, which seems to be the most proper. I shall be glad to hear from you, for I have a great regard for your advices, and hopes you will as frequently as you think fit afford them to,

SIR,

Your real friend, and servant,

(Signed) QUEENSBERRY.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to MR CARSTARES.

Inveighs bitterly against the Opposition.—Renews his Sollicitations for his Father's Place.

SIR,

Edinburgh,
April 30,
1696.

I wrote a letter to you some time agoe, which should have come to your hands on Monday was seven-night, and having heard nothing from you of it, I am jealous it may be miscarried; which I should be sorry for, having at that time writ freely to you of several persons and thinges; and I know that trickes about letters are now practised: So I desire yow to satisfye me whether you have got it or not; and, if not, that you would endeavour to discover what way it has miscarried. I wish, before the King goes over, such measures may be taken as would prevent the confusion that must necessarily fall out in his service here, if persones be
continued

continued that preferre ther own piques, and serving their animosities, to his Majesties interest and the good of the countrey: The remedie is easie; and the consequence wold be, that buffinesse wold be done without stryffe and contention; which is very desirable. I most intreat you to mind my pretension to my father's place in the session, before the King's parting: I need not tell you any arguments for it; these you know sufficiently already: All I aim at in the thing is, to have an occasion of improving myself to be more able to serve his Majesty. And, if it be denyed me, people may justly think the King has no great inclinations to have his service done by me; which I shall be far from thinking, having very good ground to relye upon his Majesty's favour and goodness to me. I doe not think it worth giving my Lord Portland the trouble of writeing to him, at a time when I am sure he has so much busyness to doe; but, if yow will let it fall to him, I hope he will not refuse me his concurrence; and assure him, from me, (with my most humble service,) that I would rather owe the obligation to him than any other person. My Lord Argyll is now in the Highlands, and I believe will not be here the first councill-day; but, if any thing fall out worth noticing, you shall know it from me. So this is all at present, but that I am sincerely,

S I R,

Your real friend and servant,

(Signed) QUEENSBERRIE.

LORD MURRAY TO MR CARSTARES.

Of my Lord Portland's Arrival.—Of Instructions to him as Commissioner; which he desires Mr Carstares to get signed, and sent after him.—Expects Mr Carstares will represent things fairly to the King.

S I R,

I have your's of the 20th, and this morning of the 23d. Indeed, July 28. my Lord Portland's coming was a surprise, and made enemies conjecture

conjecture much news; which are already evanishing. I believe his chief business is to provide money for the King, in which I hope he will have success. His Lordship could not have received my letter; but having sent all the papers to Mr Pringle, they might be filled up; in which I doubt not your assistance. If they are not done already, I desire they may as soon as can be, and sent after me. I take journey, if please God, to-morrow. I have spoke to-day concerning the instructions to my Lord Portland, which I had inclosed in my last; he writes to night about them to the King: So I hope they will follow soon. I shall write what further will be desired, after I am in Scot. where you shall be welcome, if you think fit to come; or, if you stay, I know you will represent things that is done fairly; for I know we will have all the misrepresentations invented that's possible; which I know you will prevent; for I expect the continuance of your friendship, who am really

Your friend and servant,

(Signed) L. MURRAY.

Instructions proposed by Lord Murray amended by Mr Carstares.

My Lord Murray hath sent over some instructions, with amendments, which he desires may be signed by the King. I have seen them, and do humbly conceive, that the 17th instruction about the justiciary in the Highlands is in this last draught so amended, that that it seems to be for his Majesty's service, and the quiet of that part of the kingdom, that it be approved of; for, by the instruction as to this matter, as it was first drawn, it seemed to be left to the parliament, not only to continue this justiciary, but to give them instructions for regulating their proceedings; but, by this last draught, all that is desired is, that an act may be passed for empowering the King to continue this justiciary some years longer, it being left to him to give them what instructions he shall judge necessary for regulating their proceedings; which seems to be very reasonable and expedient.

As

As to the 16th instruction, there was no mistake in the transcribing of it, as my Lord Murray conceives ; for all that his Majesty intended in the instruction that he signed was, that the parliament *might either name a new commission, or continue the old one, for regulating of those judicatories mentioned in the instruction; the approving of any regulations that should be made being left to his Majesty.* But the instruction that is desired to be signed, leaves it to the parliament, *either by their acts to regulate those courts themselves, or to appoint a new commission, or continue the old one for regulating of them, the regulations being still to be approved of, or not, by the King, as he shall think fit.* His Majesty may do in this as shall seem good to him ; but it is my duty to lay the matter before him truly as it is, though I do not think the parliament will make any regulations that will give ground of complaint.

As to the 8th instruction, about putting the country into a posture of defence, his Majesty did not think fit to agree to it till he had some information concerning the methods that might probably be proposed in parliament about it. But the instruction that is now sent being more particular than the former, I hope it will be of no bad consequence for his Majesty's service that it be signed.

As to the instruction about the association, it seems indeed to be very fit that the draught signed by the council, and approved of by the King, be enacted by parliament to be the only model of associating ; so that the instruction about it that is desired appears to be very reasonable.

The instruction that is desired about hospitals, seems to be just and necessary.

EARL

EARL SUTHERLAND to Mr CARSTARES.

Of his Son, whom he begs Mr Carstares to hasten home, to preserve the Family from Ruin.

Right Reverend,

Edinburgh,
April 24.
1697.

I came safely to this place on the 17th instant, I thank God, and requests you to bless him on my behalf for so great a mercy. My son is not yet come here; therefore I must request you to persuade him to haste home, since his absence from this is like to ruin his estate; and I can command nothing of my own to live upon, (for you know he is farmer of all that is mine), unless he return here speedily: So that, if the King command him not home, where he can do his Majesty better service than in Flanders, his family will be ruined, and I will be reduced to great hardships, having nothing but my wife's jointure (which was farmed to Mr Watson for six thousand merks by year) to live upon; and, for that part of it, which Jarviswood should pay me for, I cannot command a farthing of it, though there be two years rent and a half due unto us. Wherefore, I must intreat you to make this known to both the secretaries, that they may deal with his Majesty to let my son home; and to send an order to the receivers of his Majesty's rents to make what is due to my wife effectual; and what he pleases to give myself also; for, without that, we have but the name of nothing. My wife is very valetudinary still, yet gives her most affectionate service to your dear consort and yourself. The confidence I have in your friendship, and the difficulties I now lie under, constrains me to give you this trouble, hoping you will forgive my freedom, and esteem me, as I am in all sincerity,

S I R,

Your affectionate friend,
and humble servant,

(Signed) SOUTHERLAND.

P. S.

P. S. Sir, Permit me to give my humble service to the Earl of Portland and both the secretaries. My wife intreats the like favour.

Sir, I hope you will pardon my making use of a borrowed hand, which the weakness of my eyes obliges me to.

EARL OF SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Complains of Earl of Tullibardine's Measures ;—particularly of what he has obtained for himself, being thrice as much as he had got from the King.—Three new Earls, Ruglin, March, and Marchmont.

S I R,

I promised at parting to give you an account of what my Lord Tullibardine obtained before the King went from this. The Duke of Queensberry, he, and I were called together on treasury-affairs; I hope I gave his Majesty a satisfying account of them; I need not resume it to you, for both the D. and I spoke, as I told you we intended. The letter from the Colonels was fully represented by his Grace. My Lord Tullibardine and I are ordered to let them understand, that they are not to meddle in treasury-matters, or to make joint representations; and that what they have done in this matter is not pleasing to the King. We are to concert what we write in this. He did endeavour to have a written instruction to the chancellor, himself, and me, to use our endeavours, that those of the episcopal ministers who have taken the oaths be assumed to a share of the church-government by the presbyterian ministers; but the King gave his orders only by word, and told it was not fit to put them in writing. This is according to what you and I concerted together. The indemnity was not proposed to the King; because I told I did not think it so proper now as after the peace. He has obtained the E. of Argyle an discharge of all his bygone non-entry

Whitehall,
April 27.
1697.

P p

duties,

duties, and of feu, tiend, and blench-duties, preceeding Martinmas last : The value of this is about two thousand pound. He tells me, he did not know that the feu-duties were comprehended ; but, to the E. of Morton, he says he obtained it with great pains and importunity ; and therefore expects my Lord Argyle's friendship. I am well satisfied with what my Lord Ar. has got ; yet the method of obtaining it is somewhat extraordinary. I do think the King ought to have true and full information of all papers presented to him, which I am sure he has not had in this case ; but I do not wish it now to be recalled. We have three new Earls, Lord John E. of Ruglen, Lord William E. of March, and the Chancellor E. of Marchmont. I will by my next let you know the opposition Lord William's title did meet with. The E. of Mar, Buchan, Loudon, and Sir Patrick Murray are added to the council. I think there was no great necessity for making the last a counsellor ; he is an old decaying man ; and you know how he was turned out formerly. My colleague inclines to stay for some time here, or go to the Bath. He will take it ill if I go before him ; and yet I have nothing to do here ; and I can be serviceable in Scotland. If I have the least insinuation from my Lord Portland, I will go immediately ; and, however, I shall not stay long. Kelburn goes to-morrow : I will write with him to the Justice-Clerk and the Advocate. My Lord Tullibardine did again endeavour to have the Advocate turned out ; but the King refused. He did press Whitelaw's business ; but his Majesty put it off. He has obtained the gift of my Lord Lovat's ward in a trustie's name. He has got a power, during his own and his son's life, to present the sheriff-clerks of Perth : This is indeed an incroachment on our office, and a prejudice to our successors : I did not oppose him in it. He has secured me for the advantage by the present vacancie ; I mean my half of it. I am sure he has this year thrice as much from the King as I have got : He will improve all these favours for establishing his own power. I write plainly, because I know this letter cannot miscarry ; but, if you please, you may use your cypher. I am your's with all sincerity. Adieu.

I have written to the E. of Portland nothing of the Earl of Argyll's signature; nor do I desire my Lord now to lose it; he would have an everlasting quarrel with me for it: But the King may easily see that either my colleague did not understand it, or misrepresented it. Let me know how my Lord Portland is satisfied with what I wrote to him; I am sure I do not intend to give any offence by it. I cannot conclude till I let you know, that the Captain of Clanronald's sequestration is taken off, and young Langtoun's confinement; and he endeavoured to have the Duke of Gordon allowed to go to the north: You know Seaforth and Glengarie are there already, my Lord Drummond, and the Captain of Clanronald. This were dangerous enough, if we were invaded. He pressed to have the Earl of Mar in the castle of Stirling. I conceal nothing from you. I cannot approve of all this.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Correspondence betwixt Earl of Tullibardine, or 133 and 74, in Cyphers.

S I R,

I received your's of the 30th of April. I do intreat that you will continue to use no ceremony; I hope it is unnecessary on either side. I have written twice to you; let me know if they are come safe to your hands. I am heartily glad that you have so good hopes of an honourable peace. Little has occurred here worthy of your notice since my last, save that f95, 8dm5nedb45b85 betwixt 74 and 133 is now plain. 133 and 74, c5ff, 2f, 12 y^d4652b6n this morning; but of this we shall hear more afterwards. 133 the last week was resolved fd, 6d5 fd, f95, 32fg, but now alters his resolution. 2b4, 6d5n, fd, 115, db, f9gmn42t. 120 knew nothing of this; but is the less concerned, seeing 159 has before now been with 129. 120 was fully resolved fd, 92p5, 6db5 alone; but 47 will

Whitehall,
May 4. 1697.

not allow of this; and therefore takes ther 2dnb5t, db, cddb42t. I hope there shall nothing follow upon all this; yet 120 thought it needful to inform you of it; and, if 148, 120 shall not give no occasion for them. I know not if you shall understand this, for there is some mistake in the bgm35mn at the D. b2c5n, though in every thing else it's plain: But I shall come to understand this more fully by your next. 120 has nothing to write to 89, but gives him his most humble service. I am, Sir, Y. H. S. Adieu.

If there is any mistake in this, you may help it, by sending to 120, 2b5, b59, a5t; otherways it is needless.

The ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Injustice done him by Lord Tullibardine.———Of Lord Teviot's Patent.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
May 11.
1697.

I have your's from the Hague very acceptable. I see you have left friends at London very well. I am infinitely obliged to your friend; and, though I know not particulars, yet am sorry that other mens injustice should occasion him any trouble on my behalf; but the King is a wise and good master, and him I do and will serve, and give as little occasion or offence to others as possible. I hear that the E. of Tullibardine was to part from London to Scotland last week, and that Secretary Ogilvie was to part yesterday or this day. I hope we shall meet all well in June; and I heartily wish we may have both peace abroad and quiet at home. I think Viscount Teviot's affairs about the patent will quickly evanish; for I am told that he hath writ as much under his hand as that he was content the title of Peebles were changed. I only wish it may be as soon forgot. Your friend Mr Nell is well in the country, an honest, modest, firm man. When any thing occurs, you may expect to hear from your's most sincerely.

EARL

EARL of MARCHMONT, LORD CHANCELLOR, to Mr CAR-
STARES.

*His Son leaves his Bride, that he might join the Army before Action.—
Begs he may be sent back.*

S I R,

You will perhaps be surpris'd to see my son there again an unmar-
ried man. He is contracted; but there was a necessity of sending the
contracts into Ireland, to get the hands to them of these friends
who, by her father's will, must consent for establishing her portion.
Just as they were sent, the news came of the besieging of Aeth,
and the motion of the army's tending to action; which took so
much upon my son, that there was no dissuading him from coming
presently over to his post. I confess I think it harder to leave a
bride one is so much in love of, than a new-married wife. But I
perceive the point of honour is very weighty. I have written to
my noble friend the E. of Portland to tell the King of this matter,
and to request his Majesty for me, that, so soon as his convenience
and service can admit it, he will allow my son to come back and
marry his bride. I know you can consider the young maid's case,
who likes her choice; and I doubt not you will put my Lord Port-
land in remembrance to obtain my suit, as has been your kind cu-
stom to,

Polwarth-
house, May
22. 1697.

S I R,

Your obliged friend,

and humble servant,

(Signed) MARCHMONT.

EARL.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Lord William Douglas's Patent——Annandale at the bottom of its being stopped——Tullibardine's dissatisfaction with Seafield and Mr Carstares.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
May 29.
1697.

I have received your's of the 20th of this month; and I am very much troubled to hear that my Lord Portland has been ill: Non wishes his recovery and hapiness more then I doe; and intreat you may give him my most humble service. I have endeavoured, as much as is in my power, to keep the Duke of Queensberry sure and moderate in that affair of his brothers; but he and all his friends doe, with impatience, expect, that the King will order the passing of Lord William's patent. I judge it needless, now, to give you any further information concerning it; for before now I think it is at an end. Mr Pringle does write, that, by the next packet, I may expect the letter dispatched which I sent over: And now I understand more fully that my Lord Anandale has been at the bottom of this matter. He is just now at Dumfreis, where his new commissioners of assessment are to be received. This is an affair will certainly occasion us trouble; however, I shall doe what I can to prevent it. I believe 20 writes more fully of this to you this night. I understand that 106 is intirely dissatisfyed with 47 and 119, because of Bailie Brand's affairs; for he thought them the principall cause of prosecuting of it; and it seems he had a greater concern in it then he desyred should be known. He spoke most maliciously of them both to 20; but especially of 47. So I hope 33 will take care to let his designs be understood, least what he informs may doe prejudice. 133 is gone to the countrey; and ther can be nothing done as yet in the King's affairs; for neither the chancellour nor the Lords of Theasurie are in town: And our first

106, Tullibardine.

47, Mr Carstares.

119, Seafield.

20, Advocate.

33, Mr Carstares.

133, Tullibardine.

first councill-day will be upon the eight of the next Month. I have no time to write much this night, but shall endeavour to write more fully by the next post. I am your most humble servant.

SIR ROBERT MURRAY TO MR CARSTARES.

Of the African Company.—Secretaries blamed.—Both Nations enraged.—L. 4000 the Bribe.

S I R,

All our expectations are from your side ; there is little or nothing here worth your knowlege. There is much talk of the Scots East-India-company's affairs with the Hamburgers; by some the secretaries are much blamed; the English talk angrily one way, and the Scots as angrily the other. You know whence the *origo mali* was; but four thousand pound is a good reward for putting two nations by the ears. The preliminaries will never make satisfaction for the bad consequences this is like to have. I am sorry to hear that the Earl of Portland is ill; when you write to me, let me know how he does. I am now going for Scotland; I shall part this next week. You will do me a great favour to let me hear from you when I am there; direct your letters for me, to be left with Baillie Murray at Edinburgh: If there be any thing of moment I shall give you the trouble of a line. I have the great satisfaction to have Mrs Carstairs here with me. My little chife and his governor are here likewise, whose company would have been more acceptable at another time, lest we (through his trouble) pay not those respects to Mrs Carstares we would. The Earl of Arran is your true friend; of which you shall know more after. We long to know what progress the peace makes; and what we may expect this summer. If there be any thing that I can serve you in when in Scotland, do me the favour to
lay

May 29,
1697.

lay your commands on me; and none shall serve you more sincerely than,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

(Signed) ROBERT MURRAY.

EARL of SEAFIELD to MR CARSTARES.

Duke of Queensberry satisfied with what the King has done in his Brother's Affair.—Portland has a great many Friends in Scotland.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 1,
1697.

The Duke of Queensberry is very sensible of the justice done him in his brother's affair, and to whom he owes it. He did very fully express himself to me on this occasion; and he submits to his Majesty to do what further he pleases for the discouraging of heats and faction. We are all in great peace here at present, none of the judicatories having met since I came, except the session, which did meet this day; and all that was done was, to admit James Hamilton one of their clerks. The council does not meet till the eight; and then I believe we shall be fully convened. I hope there will be no more debate concerning Lord William's affair. We shall go on with diligence to bring our threasury affairs to some order; and I hope there will not be great difficulty in the doing of it. I have much need to be in the country; but, seeing it will be of ill example to others, if I should prefer my own affairs to the King's, I am resolving to attend; and therefore has sent for my wife and family. My Lord Fountainhall is chosen president for the first fortnight. I will not write of any particular business this night, for I have had but little time; only, you will deliver the inclosed to my Lord Portland. He has many true servants in this place. Adieu.

Pray

Pray continue to write every post; it is great satisfaction to us, were it but to hear that the King is well; for, so long as it is so, we will not be discouraged. My Lord D. of Q. would think himself fully repaired, if his brother were made a privy-councillour. You will soon know if this is the fit time to move in it or not. Adieu.

EARL OF TULLIBARDINE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of an Office Mr Carstares was soliciting for one whom he had recommended.—My Lord Portland has retired to Brussels.

Kind S I R,

Last night I came home from the Bath, &c. where have been for three weeks or more; and, being sacrament-day next Lord's-day, have not been in the city this day to see Mr Howe. Your two letters to me (very welcome to both) my wife conveyed to him, and sent me an account of them to the Bath. I hope he wrote you his thanks, as I now do mine, for your friendly care and diligence in that affair. Mr Hook is an honest man; and I wish no worse may have it; but the place is so considerable, that, if I had thought my Lord Chancellor would not oppose it, I would have urged for a nearer friend of mine, whose name you mention in your's, and I have often to you. I still doubt my Lord C——'s recommendation of him, though you have done your part faithfully, and in a manner very obliging; and I could not refuse to join with Mr H. when earnestly requested. Pray, assure my Lord of my humble duty, if you have a fair opportunity. I shall now write you, in a post or two, more fully. I was sorry to hear, by the public prints, of my Lord P.'s retiring to Brussels, on the account of his bodily indisposition. I pray God give a happy event to the great things depending upon

London,
June 4.
1697.

Qq

what

what is done in Flanders this summer. I pray God watch over the King's life, and succeed him, &c. keep you in his love, and enable me to serve and please him. I am, with respect and affection, your's.

Sir JAMES OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Aith still stands out.—Lord Portland preferred.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 5.
1697.

I have received your's of the 27th of the last month. It is very good Aeth stands out so long; for, before the French can make any further attempt, I hope the A h and Germans will have joined his Majesty's army. And then I hope there will be no more danger. We have no news here. The council is to meet on Tuesday next; and then the letter in favours of Lord William Douglas will be presented; and I believe there will be no opposition to it. I could write you some accounts that would be satisfying; but I will make use of my cyphers by my next, and at present only desire you to continue to write to,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

(Signed) J A. OGILVIE.

I give my most humble service to the Earl of Portland, and am heartily glad of his preferment.

SIR

SIR JAMES OGILVY to MR CARSTARES.

Lord Mar, Kelburn, and Sir Patrick Murray, admitted Privy-counsellors.—Militia.—Begs Mr Carstares to support him against Tullibardine.

S I R,

This afternoon the council did meet; which is the first time since I came to this place. The Earl of Marr, Keilburne, and Sir Patrick Murray, were admitted counsellors. The Earl of Annandale and the Justice-Clerk were not there; but the rest of the counsellours were well conveened. The King's letter concerning the militia was presented by Secretary Ogilvie; and he did give an account, that it was the King's pleasure that something should be done effectually in that matter; whereupon an committee was appointed for preparing some overtures concerning it. Thereafter, the letter in favours of Lord William Douglas was presented; and, immediately upon the reading of it, the patent was ordained to be past, without any contradiction; and, it being in readiness, it was presented in council, and read, and thereafter delivered to my Lord Morton, who received it for my Lord William in the usual form. I do believe that 106 will be dissatisfied with 120, and will no doubt do him all the prejudice in his power; but 120 does not doubt but 33 will do him the justice to inform 90 that 133 and he did agree in the information they gave; and 120 is resolved to establish himself upon no faction and party, but upon serving of his master faithfully. He is well enough received in this place; and he has good hopes, with the assistance of some now in town, who seem to be very willing, to bring the affairs of the treasury to good order. He has drawn up a scheme of them already; and I spoke of it with 20 and 47. They are entirely well satisfied with it. I am hopeful that, some time

Edinburgh,
June 8.
1697.

Q q 2

the

106, Tullibardine. 120 Sir James Ogilvy. 33, Mr Carstares. 90, Earl of Portland, or the King.

the next week, we shall be able to give a satisfying account of what is past to the King. If an exact plan were not laid down, and if it be not exactly followed, there would be great difficulty in getting the founds to last so long as is absolutely needful. Some of 33 friends and 120 have been considering what will be the easiest method to doe something effectually for 33; but, since they have not as yet come to a full conclusion, I will wriett nothing of it this night. I understand 33 has a letter this night from the Justice-Clerk; I shall be glad there be good correspondence there. 70 has good hopes of it. I have had severall particular conferences with him, and he is enough my friend. I hope we shall all agree, and take joint measures in the King's service; and, if three or four will pretend to create faction or opposition, it will evanish and come to nothing. 133 will not have many of the 8y93 for him. Of this I will fully convince you at meeting. And if 75 give but the least countenance, there will not be the least difficulty in managing a 65 e2my-2c56f when it shall be found needfull. It is a great satisfaction to us all that 90 is preferred. I am sure he deserves well his Majesty's favour; but some, whom you know, began to say, when 155 was preferred, that 90 was to give over business; but their hopes were soon blasted. I saw a letter to this purpose from one that is an entire confident to 12; it was from K2n92. It is now late, and I can give you no furdher account, save that this night an Orkney minister, who was unqualified, was deprived; and, for words declared against him by one witness, which he said can be proved by severall others, there was an order given to the Advocate to insist against him for high treason. It is fit to give discouragement to the disaffection that has appeared so much in that countrey. So adieu.

I did not receive the letter from 90 that you mentioned in your last; nor have I had any from him since I came from London. I long to hear of his being perfectly recovered.

SIR

8y93, club.

75, the King.

e2my2c56f, parliament.

SIR JAMES OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

He depends wholly on Lord Portland.—Fountainhall chosen President pro tempore.—A Riot at Dumfries, &c.—Complains of Redpath the Publisher of the News Letter.

SIR,

I meet so frequently upon treasury-affairs, that I have not time to write so fully as I incline. I am very much concerned to hear that 90 95m 355bnd 2yy, 120 repofes all the fatisfaction of his management upon 90 his affiftance. What 33 writes concerning him is indeed very fatisfying. 133 has not yet been in 31; but this I can affure you, that fome of his friends are endeavouring fdgb 2f f95, (8yg3; but all these endeavours won't do; and even these that are upon it carry very fair with 120. 127 is at present em58245bf: It was designed that he should have continued f95), k9dy n5nn2db. 30 did plainly propose it; but it did not carry: However, they are strong there; for, in 31, or in any other of f95, 2g4, 282, fdm, 25n, they signify nothing. But 120 shall look to nothing but the true interest of 77, and shall shun all faction. The treasury are doing very well; they have audited Bailie Menzies's accompts, last post-master; and now they are upon Barntoun's accompts; and I am sure neither they nor I shall take much rest till we go through all, and reduce the King's business into clearness. There has happened an affair at Dumfries, which we are to enquire into immediately. It is said that James Muirhead, who is an apothecary in this place, being accidentally at Dumfries, and having occasion to visit some friends in that country, some of the Jacobites there being at an ale-house, did force him to drink with them; and, after the drinking of some private healths, did begin King James's, and confusion to all his enemies; and he having refused to do it, some of the company did fall

Edinburgh,
June 18.
1697.

fall upon him and beat him : If this be true, and if it be not severely punished, we deserve not to be trusted by our master : This shall be pushed to the full. The Chancellor and I have examined Mr Muirhead ; but he does not tell the truth fully. We must bring those who were present at that time prisoners to this place. Of this I shall write more fully by my next. Mr Bernard M'Kenzie is also come to town, and informs me, that one Conn, who was a priest, and did turn protestant, was seized by some of my Lord Seaforth's people some years ago, and is detained prisoner in the island of Heres, and is entertained with bread and water, and is lodged in a house where he is exposed to the rains and cold. The Chancellor, Advocate, and I, are to meet upon this to-morrow ; and we will take effectual methods to have this redressed, and with which you shall be acquainted. If we do not show vigour upon some such occasions as these are, it will encourage our enemies too much. Continue to write to me fully ; for I do believe nothing but what is contained in your's. I find the Jacobites somewhat insolent ; and there is a report in town that the Prince of Conti is King of Poll ; and Basselona is besieged by a numerous army ; and that the confederates are casting up lines for covering Brussels. Reidpath, who writes the flying post, is too rash, and gives too much occasion for discourses of this kind ; and I am sure they are intirely false, since I hear nothing of all this from you. I have written to him to be careful of what he writes for the future ; for I find that his letter is used almost by all of both sides. Give my most humble service to the Earl of Portland. Let him know as much of this as you think fit ; and I am your real friend. Adieu.

SIR

SIR JAMES OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Militia.—The Advocate and he are to follow Mr Carstares's Advice, and are sensible of my Lord Portland's and his Friendship; and, whilst this is the Case, do not value Tullibardine.—Annan-dale not yet reconciled to Tullibardine.—Diligence in seizing suspected Persons.

S I R,

I received your's, and has little to write this night. My Lord Tullibardine is as yet in the country; and the Lords of the Treasury continue to audite the old accompts. There does happen no difference amongst us. The affair of the militia is still before a committee of the council; and there is difficulty to get it right adjusted. Your last to 20 and 119 were very full and satisfying: They will follow your advice, and are very sensible d7 fg5 7m5zb4ngze they receive from 89 and 33; and, so long as it is so, they do not value all that 106 can do. I can say nothing of 133; for it is uncertain what he will do; for though 30 does not meet with 119, yet he is not as yet m58o68zy54 fd 133. You shall have full accounts of what passes; and, if any of our proceedings here be misrepresented, I know you will acquaint me; and I hope we shall be able to give satisfying answers; for I am sure we design to serve our master honestly. Sir Thomas Kennedy's cause with the King, for an abatement of his tack-duty, is to be called to-morrow; and we have taken all the diligence we can to prepare the Lords for it; and yet I know not what success it may have: It has already proceeded too far. We have caused search for letters of bad correspondence; and we did seize a packet, the covert of which was directed for Mrs Reid; but we could find no such person; and therefore we caused write upon the table of the post-office, that there was

20, Advocate.	119, Sir James Ogilvy.	89, Portland.	33, Mr.
Carstares.	106, Tullibardine.	133, Tullibardine.	30, Annandale.

was a letter for one of that name ; and gave order to seize the person that should call for it ; and he that did call was a papist, and is in prison : We have examined him, but he is not ingenuous ; and yet confesses enough to convince us, that he has carried on a bad course of correspondence. The letters we have intercepted does certainly contain nothing of great consequence ; and yet it is fit to discourage such practices. This is all at present. Adieu.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

*(Of the African Company's Intention to address the King about the
Hamburgh Memorial.—Their Application to the Privy Council
refused.—He is resolved to follow the Measures most pleasing to
the King, though deeply interested in the Company.—Lord Tul-
libardine will probably claim the Merit of dissuading the Council
from yielding to the Company.—Accuses Queensberry of cabal-
ling.*

S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 29.
1697.

I thought to have writt to you by last post, but was a little indisposed. Sir James Ogilvy and I were together, who I believe gave my Lord Portland and you account of the intentions of our African company, who were resolved to address the King about what was done against them at Hamburgh ; and, at the same time, to make application to the council to second their address. It was impossible to hinder their address to the King, which I believe will be sent by this post ; but, for the designed application to the council, we thought it would be displeasing to the King, and might have bad consequences ; for which reason Secretary Ogilvy and I did all we could to prevail with them to forbear it ; which they have done till some time in August.

The matter is of universal concern ; and I wish that something may be done to quiet the people, who make great noise about it, and other prejudices they think are imposed on them by England.

land. I am as deeply ingaged in this company as any in the kingdom; yet I am resolved to follow the measures that I think will be best pleasing to the King; and, that I may know them, I intreat that you would prevaill with my Lord Portland to be so good as to give me his commands, either by himself or by you, which I shall endeavour to obey.

My Lord Tullibardine came to town two or three days agoe; and its like will take to himself the diswading from the council-application: But I do assure you it was agreed to before he came to town. They were at first very hot; and ther does not want some amongst us very industrious to blow the fire, and to brand others of milder temper with the reproach of ill country-men. Tomorrow I goe to the country, to order some things about my works at Drumlangrig, where I have been long absent; and the business I have to doe cannot well admit of delay: But if I keep my health, I will be back again before council-time, this day seven-night. My Lord Tullibardine accused me to-day of caballing; I know not his meaning, if he intends not possibly to make Secretary Oglivie and my frequent being together, when he was absent, a ground of breach, to excuse his joining with others: I am sure he has not the least reason on our part, except this be it, that the secretary and I dined and supped often with one another, and minded you and other absent friends. I wish you a successful campaign; so, without ceremony, adieu.

I thought needless to trouble E. P. with a letter, since I know you will communicate what you think fit of this to him, with my most faithfull service.

R r

SIR

SIR JAMES OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the African Company, and the Memorial given in by Sir Paul Ricault to the Senate of Hamburg.—He consented to transmit the Company's Address as Secretary of State, to prevent their insisting that the Privy-council should do it.—Anxious that the King should understand he has no Interest in the Company.—The Opposition given to it by the English is the Reason why the Company was not dissolved before this time.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 1.
1697.

All your's have come safe to my hands, and are very satisfying. As yet there is no difference amongst us; we all agree: And, though some processes did occur, wherein party and faction might have appeared, yet we have shunned it on both sides; only so does not visit me, nor I him; but at all occasions we converse civilly. There has nothing occurred has given us trouble, but that of the East-India company. I wrote to you formerly concerning the memorial given in by Sir Paul Rycoalt to the Senate of Hamburg: Those of the company did always show repentment; and my Lord Tullibardine told me, he found more of it in the country than here. But, when their commissioners returned, and that their general council met, and got the account of the prejudice they sustained by the memorial, they past a vote, *nemine contradicente*, that they would presently address the King, and petition the Lords of privy-council for their concurrence. My Lord Tullibardine was all this time in the countrey; but how soon I was acquainted with what past, I met with the Chancellor, the D. of Q. E. of Ar. the Ad. and some others; and we all resolved to do our best to hinder the petitioning of the council. After this, my L. Tul. came and concurred: So we, all acting jointly, prevailed this far, that they delayed to petition the privy-council, and did not send any of their number to the King with their address, but gave it to my colleague and me to transmit. It ought to have been by way of petition, and in more submissive terms; but they are in so great fervor,

fervor, that we thought it much when we carried those two points, that they sent none with it, and made no address to the council. I wish the King may give them as satisfying an answer as may consist with his true interest; and the sooner the better; for their council meets again the 2d of August. Pray let it be understood, that I have no interest in this company; neither are any of my family concerned in it: And, if it had not been to transmit this in the quietest and most submissive manner, I would not have concerned myself in the least. I have sent a copy to the E. of Portland of their address, and of my letter to the King. Let me have your thoughts fully of this matter. I can assure you, this company had been ended before now, had it not been for the opposition made by the English, which picks them on point of honour. Let Mr Pringle know what I have written on this subject; it was needless to write to you both. Your last news were very acceptable; the King is much commended for his regular and speedy march to Bruffells. Adieu.

LORD TULLIBARDINE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the African Company.—That the Privy-council's refusing to transmit their Address was owing to his coming to Town.—Urges a speedy Answer from the King.

S I R,

Being very wearied with writing and other business, I am not able to say any thing to you, but acknowledge your's of the 1st. I thank you for the particular account you give me. We have been in no small anxiety here concerning the council-general of the East-India company, who would not satisfy themselves only to address the King, but apply to the council to concur with them in it. And this is not only what was resolved on, but voted two days before I came to town; but I made use of my interest to get it delayed to the second of August next; against which time I hope we shall have the King's answer. The Chancellor and Sir James Ogilvy did concur in this matter; and I assure you it was no small difficulty,

Edinburgh,
July 1.
1697.

and by a majority only of four votes, that it was carried. I believe it will not be disowned, that, if I had not come to town, it had not been stopped. Its most necessary that the King give a satisfactory answer, and that it be dispatht as soon as possible. Being very weary with writing, I refer you to Mr Pringle's letter: So shall only add, that what you acquaint me Hugh Cunynghame did write that I told him concerning you, was true. I have spoke to the same purpose with my Lord Halcraig; who is truly an honest man. I am your affectionate friend and servant,

(Signed) TULLIBARDINE.

I long very much to hear good news from you, since the armies are so near.

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Friendship betwixt Tullibardine and Annandale.—Tullibardine's Jealousy of Queensberry, Philiphaugh, &c. because they took a Glass together.—Vindicates himself and them.—Blames Viscount Tiviot's Conduct as Commander in Chief.—Sollicits for the Clerkship of the Treasury to Duncan Ronald.—Anxious lest Tullibardine should apply for some of his Friends.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 10.
1697,

I wriett some days ago at length, (which I hope is come safe to hand,) in relation to our African company; and I must acquaint you they are very impatient of a return to their address sent at that time. The news of this place is the friendship contracted betwixt Earl Tullibardine and Earl Annandale. It is the more taken notice of, the former grudges were betwixt them; and that none other has given the least cause of offence to cause him, (I mean E. T.) fly for shelter; but, however, one advantage we know of the man's nature. Lord Chancellor, by what I can perceive, will embarkue with them. Their other confederates I need not name; you'll easily judge. At E. Tul. first coming down, he owned some jealousy to D. Queensberry, to L. Philiphaugh, to L. Halcraige, and some others:

thers: Told he heard their was caballing, what not, without acquainting him. He said nothing to me of the subject. Indeed there was not the least cause for his jealousy, unless he took it amiss, that, without writing to him for leave, some of us took a glass of wine one evening at L. Philiphaugh's lodgings; another time at Secretary Ogilvy's; where, upon my word, we mentioned not his name: Yet it is certain, upon this presumption, he builds his politicks; and being blown to it by E. Annandale, whose nature it is to breed discord, we may easily see what the event will be, though all of us endeavour peace, proceeding calmly and equally in his Majesty's service. And we may the more easily be believed, since it is not our interest, besides not our inclination, to make division; we are all satisfied with the posts we are in; we inveye nobody. I love not to make complaints; I wish there were no reason for it: We dare appeal to the kingdom if we pursue or resent what is past; but, on the contrary, can give several instances. I thought it necessary to give you this advertisement. Certainly you will have the same account from others; perhaps more full, though not plainer; for I conceal no name. Now, in Viscount Tiviott's absence, it falls me to command the forces. It is true, it is by chance; and therefore I meddle the less. The King is pleased to give him such entire trust, in relation to our Scots army, that, unless I were called to it, I shall not say much; only this I must tell you, that the disposing of places upon gratuities will in a little time make our army of little use for his Majesty's service. I design to review all the regiments, and shall take what information is proper. I shall know the strength of each troop and company, and how they have paid their quarters in time past; so that upon occasion it may be of use. In short, I can tell you already, the army is in a mean condition, even as to the number. I shall not trouble you farther with this, but shall be perfect in it, in case need be. Its probable that you may hear from others, that Sir Thomas Moncrief clerk to the treasury is sick, and in all probability will not recover. No doubt many will be compeating for his employment; and E. Tull. certainly will have his eye upon it.

it for some of his friends. I have never yet had the interest to get any man in upon my recommendation. The only thing I askt was to have Lord Abruchel on the council and exchequer; which was at last waved, upon considerations, at that time. If it were possible to get, upon Sir Thomas's death, that employment to Duncan Ronald writer to the signet, I should be mightily pleased: He is an honest man, a mettled man, and one would be useful to us all: And it will be a means to strengthen us, and a favour to me. Pray endeavour it; for there is much in taking the first word. That which I am afraid of, unless timeously cautioned, we shall splitt amongst ourselves; every one having a particular friend. This man I am sure of, and none is more capable, few so fit for it. I need say no more, since I have owned my concern to you. More I could say, were it not at this distance. I have writt to Mr Cunynghame to lay aside any thoughts he had for some time yet of leaving my son. I am your's adieu.

SIR JAMES OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Jealousies and whispers among them.—A Duel fought in St Anne's Yards.—The Commissary of Peebles killed by Commissary Wishart's Son.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 17.
1697.

We have got our letters from London; but there are due from abroad four maills. I can give you little account of business here: My Lord Treasurer-Deputt, and Sir John Maxwell, are still in the countrey; and Sir Thomas Moncrief continues ill. There are still jealousies and whispers amongst us; but in all the judicatories we have behaved with calmness. The Commissary of Peebles was killed yesterday's morning in St Anne's yards, by Commissary Wishart's son, in a duel. It is said that Wishart is since taken at Lauder; but we are not certain of this as yet. Let Mr Pringle know that I have nothing to write to him; and, when any thing occurs that is necessary for his Majesty's service, you shall both be acquainted. Adieu.

SIR

SIR JAMES OGILVY to MR CARSTARES.

A Letter of Apology.

S I R,

I received three from you last night, and was resolved to have answered them very fully; but we sat late at council; and since 47 and 11 have been with me. 122 is not in town: 119 is in friendship enough with him. This is only for an apology; and, because I have not written to-night, you shall not complain of my writing fully by my next. I hope Mr Pringle shall have his money paid him very soon: I have not time to write to him; but has ordered my servant to do it. This is all from, S. your H. S. Adieu.

Edinburgh,
July 20,
1697.

SECRETARY OGILVY to MR CARSTARES.

Cautions Mr Carstares against Tullibardine, who professes Friendship for him.—Hints that it will be more for Mr Carstares's Interest to keep by him and his old Friends, who will follow his Advice.—Tullibardine and he concur in public Business.—French Prisoners.—Tullibardine has bought L. 500 Share in the African Company.

S I R,

This last week I have been very much taken up in attending the committees of council and treasury: This has occasioned me not to write so fully as I used to do: All your's hitherto have come safe to my hands: Your last was in answer to that I wrote by the flying packet, with the address of the East-India Company: You was very much in the right to desire that the answer to it might be sent as soon as possible, for their general council meets again the first week of

Edinburgh,
July 24,
1697.

of August. 132 does pretend friendship for 33; but 33 I believe knows him well enough. He was once in greater enmity with 30; but now 30 is his only confident. If 33 will concur for 127, and to put 32 in the same station he was in the last year, and leave off to be in friendship with 11, 47, and 119, there is no doubt the friendship will be surely established: But otherwise, I believe 33 will do best to trust to his old friends, who will take his advice as much as he can desire, and are willing to make all their access to 76 by 89. I can assure you 119 would soon give over, if it were not for the protection he has there, and, while he lives, will be faithful to him. 106 is most ungrate to 89; but I am sure 33 was advertised of it before he went from London. 157 does well to keep his ground with 106: It shall make 119 more his friend than ever; but I shall not take notice of what you write of this to any person else, since you forbid me to speak of it. 133 is a very avowed enemy to 20, and has, upon several occasions, neda zbndy5b fyt fd 9zc; but 20 has resolved to suffer no more that way: He will write fully this night himself, and will give you an account of what past last council-day. There has two or three council-processes come in, wherein there has been difference in all of them. 119 was on his guard, and 33 his friends did 2ee52m firm; but I think it needless to trouble you with an account of them till meeting; only I must tell you, that 132 did call at ydm4 m96y5b and 119 to his lodgings, where he told 119 that zf, 4z4, bdf, 358gc5 him to make opposition in any thing; neither was it expected of him: 119 answered zb z946zb6, he would do what he thought right, and would stand in awe of none. I do not love to write storries; but, if any be written by others, if 119 be but acquainted, he can give full satisfaction; he is blamed for suffering too much. The Earl of Tullibardine and Secretary Ogilvy do concur in all public matters
toge-

132, Tullibardine.	33, Mr Carstares.	30, Annandale	127,
Fountainhall.	11, Queensberry.	47, Argyle.	119, Secretary
Ogilvy.	76, the King.	89, Portland.	106, Tullibardine.
20, Advocate			

together : They have been most of this afternoon endeavouring to expiscate and discover the projects of the three French prisoners: We have good ground to think that they have not given a true account of themselves. Mr Rodoway did endeavour to speak out of the window of the prison to one Mrs Hamiltoun, and did throw some billets over the window to her, which she caused her servant take up. Three of them are now in our hands ; but in one of them he mentions a fourth, in which he says he gave a full account of what he was ; and he was in great trouble about it ; for he writes, if it fall in the hands of any in the government, it will make him be more severely treated. We are again to examine this matter more fully on Monday : She does pretend to be very innocent. If any thing shall happen to be discovered worthy of the narrating, you shall hear of it. The Earl of Tullibardine is now acquainted by Principal Dunlop of the project for procuring you 1000 l. He told him that he had spoke of it to me ; but that I had given him no positive answer. He told the principal that he would write concerning it to the King ; but was not positive whether he thought it would be obtained or not ; and made some difficulty : Therefore I wish that whatever 89 does in that matter, may be done quickly. The Earl of Tullibardine has bought a share of the East-India Company, from Sir Thomas Burnet of Lies, for 500 l. Sterling, and was this day received one of the company. I believe it is that he may be in a condition to know their proceedings more distinctly, and that he may be more in favour with those of the company. I resolve to go from this, about the middle of the next month, for London ; for the judicatories will then adjourn ; and I can signify no more here. I do not resolve to go to the north, for my wife has been here with me ever since I came to this place. Adieu.

S^r

LORD

LORD TULLIBARDINE to Mr CARSTARES.

Longs for the King's Return to the Company's Address.—Has subscribed L. 500, to give him Influence in preventing Designs that may be uneasy to his Majesty.—Is going to Hamilton.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 24.
1697.

I have your's of the 12th in answer to mine. I long extremely for the King's return to the African Company's address, which I hope I shall have next post. I have subscribed for L. 500 ; by which means I shall have the more influence to hinder any designs that may prove uneasy to his Majesty. Things are kept yet quiet, in expectation of the King's answer : After it comes, I intend to go to Hamilton, where my wife is, and received the sacrament there ; which good occasion I was very sorry to have missed. Mr Dunlop will acquaint you, that he has spoke to me of your concerns, of which there can be nothing done till meeting ; so that I shall not insist on it here, who am

Your affectionate friend and servant,

(Signed)

TULLIBARDINE.

————— to MR CARSTARES.

Mostly in Cyphers ; to which no Key has been found.

S I R,

July 26.
1697.

I have your's of the 10th instant, and I have not wrote since that of the 29th, which I see you have received. I had wrote sooner, but I know Mr Hay writes frequently ; and I was waiting till Mr Erskine should come to town, that I might give you a better account of your business. Hume tells me that 21 is not yet come,
and

and that 35 hath all credit with Chalmers, which it may be makes 21 more indifferent. When 3 received Mr Whyte's letter about Mr Moasman's business with Mr Lie, Mr Thomson and Mr Dawson were absent; and Mr Whyte's letter was close enough. 37, as Carse says, is of late unaccountable; and 32 thinks he can scarce purpose to return, since he hath carried so towards 10 and 55, and is so ill liked by 94; but 33 knows how kind Mr Fall was to him, tho' it be now said that he hath the kindness of another. 13 and 27 have said little to Mr Chalmers of late; and they and 4 have little or no dealing with 35; but 32 tells me, that upon occasion their resentments appear warmer. It is also said that some of Mr Erskine's friends or partners would take in Mr Foster; but for what share is not known, nor doth the thing much appear. Mr Neill and your friend 32, 37, 31, 40, 22, 25, 29 do, and are well; and it is not here doubted but that 9 may do by 35 what he thinks fit with 5, 3, or any of their partners; and, if he would have his business done more quietly, it is wholly in his power; for Stewart, Thomson, Dawson, or any other, signify no more than Mr Whyte pleases: But it is still fit that Mr Murray be better settled, as 35 is very sensible; and, to dispose of him and Mr Campbell well, would be an acceptable assurance to all Whyte's friends, and likewise have the greatest influence on Mr Foulter. Mr Hay understands Mr Watson's business so well, that I need give you no account of it. 31 will not mistake 10's heat in the matter of 37 and 13; for he was much provoked, and it is not his temper; nor is any man fairer in all 9 concerns. Mr Scot doth not wait on 26, which offends some; but 32 wishes 9 well and safe; and, when Mr Hay shall meet with Mr Whyte, he knows he will give a satisfying account: And 35 hath said to 32, that he would have him present, that good advice may be taken in order to Mr Murray first, and then in order to Mr Foulter: But there is time enough for that business. It is said that Mr Mill is not in good case; and, it may be, a particular order to three or four of Mr Whyte's best friends, might do well to consider

it, specially in this interval. Several with 41 are thought not unfriendly to 19; but this you know: And if Mill do little good, he can do as little hurt, as matters now stand. Adieu.

Hume thinks, with you, that Erskine hath done him no hurt; but, if 32 had the opportunity, he would fairly clear himself with 9; and, in the mean time, he knows, that 21 credit as to him will go but a little way for hereafter. I intreat you forget not Carle's own business. Hume had almost wrote to Mr Fall about it when the letters were sent; but he would do nothing without 33 advice; and he knows that Mr Hay has recommended it.

LORD TULLIBARDINE to Mr CARSTARES.

Is to prepare the Company for giving a proper Reception to the King's Letter, which Mr Carstares had sent down.—Peace near concluded.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 31.
1697.

I received your's of the 15th, which came with the King's letter, in answer to the African Company's address, which I hope will prove satisfying; and I am doing what I can to prepare them to receive it so. They meet on Monday next: It is very acceptable that it has come before that time. I am glad of the good news you send of the peace being so far advanced. I hope we shall hear soon that it is concluded: I doubt not but the terms are adjusted: I hope it shall prove much to the advantage of these kingdoms. All here continues quiet; and, whatever inclinations may be for factions, they are kept from breaking out. I shall endeavour to write again to you by the next post, who am,

S I R,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

(Signed)

TULLIBARDINE.

— To

—————To MR CARSTARES.

State of Parties, all in Cyphers.

S I R,

Yow will understand from Mr Home how Mr Murray hath ^{July 31.}_{1697.} behaved of late; his motives I think were kindness to 24, 33, 25. 23, 34, 28, 30, 41, 24, 32, 3729, 2937, 38, 20. and some prejudice also against 32; for 13 was very very forward, tho' he be a friend of Mr Watson's, and should be for 9: But the matter is palpable 22 25 28 29 35, and the thing must and will be helped, tho' with some delay. Mr Erskin and Mr Thomson are so well, that 13 cannot be enough concerned in any thing 21 appears for. If Mr Chalmers had meddled in that business betwixt Mr Blackwood and his elder brother, he had done right, without stoop: But Mr Erskine being of another mind, it was not fit that 21 should have it to say, that he only had preserved 77 for 9 interest, by taking part with Mr Blackwood: 21 is also displeased with 37, 38, 33, 29, 40, 22, 25, 35, 34; and said plainly to his principal manager, that he was so. It is an advantage, that tho' 3725, 24323329 conceals his methods, by all the disguises he can; yet he cannot conceal his principal purpose. 32 hath advised Carse how it stands with him; and if Mr White help it not, Mr Home tell's me plainly he had rather be where he was; for you know non can stand against 37, 29, 22, 20: And therefore he desires to see 33, and to clear with 9; for if White doe not settle Mr Murray, and order Mr Foulter aright, with another factorie, and at least ballance Thomson's, Stewart's, and Erskine's accounts, 32 does not care for trading any more with them: And this is soe easie to be done, when you have Mr Hay, with 10 and 55; and some others, that can doe your business to a hair, that I shall be sorrie you miss the opportunity. What 35 did communicate, by your order, to 32, concerning 4, I say 24, 3325, 2741, 23: 3422 3037, is a meer fable: But if Carse, or any other, listen to such, he
may

may have ten times more of that kind ; for some (a man might think) did willinglie see Mr White wronged, that 34223037 might be blamed for it ; but 32 tells me he is at a point, and shall be carefull of 9 concerns, and be advised by 33 and 31, as they think fitt. Adieu.

————— to MR CARSTARES.

Correspondence begun betwixt Armstrong and him.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July last,
1697.

In my last I wrote to you freely and plainly, as you desired ; and I am longing for your return. The inclosed is, I understand, much to the same purpose ; which gives me more hopes you will give a good answer : And I shall urge no more on that head untill I hear from you. The session being at an end, we have brought your affair anent Kinnewhar a good length ; for Mr Melvill, who is in possession of an part of his estate, is to compt and reckon ; and we have reason to think he is near payed. And my Lord Rankiler, who has a great guiding of him, and John Carstares, who is married on his near friend, we hope, will advise both to end with you. If you please you may cause Mr Pringle write to my Lord, being his uncle ; which I think will do you good. I was in company with the L. J. C. and his Lordship, who writes the inclosed, with your brother the principal ; and we minded you very kindly. And it is hoped that the old friendship is well begun. I am to get payment of the L. 300 sterling next week ; and I will take care to remit the remainder to your Lady. Adieu most heartily.

EARL

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

*About his Son.—Tullibardine's haughty Carriage to Secretary Ogilvy.
—Lays a Snare for the Advocate.—Style of soliciting now.—Asks
a Majority for his Brother James.*

S I R,

I am two in your debt. I thank you for giving me an account of my son. I have heard from himself since, but not of his being with E. Portland; which I long for an account of from himself. Matters continue amongst our statesmen as formerly; only E. Tull. has appeared mighty high upon some occasions to his partner in office. I advise the latter not to diminish his character; for big words shall not fright us all. I doubt not but you have particular accounts of those transactions, and how E. Tull. was laying a snare for the Advocate. The ordinary stile in soliciting now is, 'What, will you oppose the family of Hamilton?' This is truth, upon my word. I have writt by this post to Mr Pringle: If you see his letter, a part of it, in relation to V. Teviott, will divert you. Sir Thomas Moncrief is recovered, who deserves his place very well while he lives. All care is, and will be, taken possible, as to the pacifying the East-India company. The Lord Carmichael's Major is dead. Its probable he will recommend the Laird of Poge Major to Tullibardine. I have employed Secretary Ogilvy to speak to him for my brother James, who is the oldest captain amongst all our dragoons. He bought his commission, which deserves consideration: But I shall only represent, not press, in this case. I am your's. Adieu.

Edinburgh,
August 3.

MAJOR

MAJOR JAMES WOOD to Mr CARSTARES.

Solicits his Interest to succeed Lieutenant-Colonel Young, in the Event of his being broken by the Court-Martial then sitting.

SIR,

Bruxells,
Aug. 8.
1697.

At last, the affair depending between my Lord Strathnaver and Lieutenant-Colonel Young has been heard; and this day the court-martial has ended, and come to a sentence; which, by oath taken by the members, is not to be known till the King or generals is acquainted therewith: And therefore, no positive account can be given by me of the issue; but I have very good ground to believe that my Lord Strathnaver is entirely vindicated of what he was accused; and Lieutenant Colonel Young having failed to prove what he alledged, cannot fail to be very severely reprimanded, if not broken. It is but very reasonable for me to expect to succeed, having served as captain in Scotland, England, and Ireland, and Flanders, for five years; and in Flanders for four years more, as major: Yet the unjust representations of me by some, because I would not concur with them in false things, makes me fear to meet with more trouble than otherways I would, and makes me even ashamed to beg your favour in my case. But, after considering your honour, as well as justice, I take the liberty to entreat your assistance in my just cause; which, if you give me, will put me above the pretension of my rivals, and oblige me to be for ever,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) J. A. WOOD.

I assure myself of Mr Pringle's friendship, though I give him no trouble of a letter.

MAJOR

MAJOR BRUCE to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the same Subject with the former.

S I R,

The assurance I have of your kindness to me makes me trouble you with this line. I am informed that Lieutenant-colonel Douglas his commission to be lieutenant-colonel to Colonel Murray is stopped, and that Lieutenant-colonel Leith is to go to the guards, and Douglas is to come in his place. If it was not thought reasonable that he should be put over Major Cunynghame, it will be as unreasonable, if not more, to put him over me: Wherefore I entreat you, if there be any such thing, to use your endeavours to hinder it. There are more Lieutenant-colonels in the army, with whom Douglas may be changed. But, if it cannot be hindered, I have another thing to propose to you, which is this: Lieutenant-colonel Young, of Strathnaver's regiment, is broke by a council of for which I am very sorry; and wishes from my heart that he may be reponed: But, if all means which are used should prove ineffectual, I entreat you to use your utmost endeavours to get that place for me; for, although it be a new regiment, yet I will take my hazard: I have been long enough a major already. I shall say no more, since I know you will be ready to endeavour the good and advantage of,

Brussels,
August 10.
1697.

S I R,

Your most humble and most obliged servant,

(Signed) R^O. BRUCE.

Pray let me have an answer.

SECRETARY OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

About to set out for London.—Parts in good Terms with the Justice-Clerk.

S I R,

I have this night written to the Earl of Portland, which you will be pleased to present to him. I am now resolving to return to

Edinburgh,
August 10.
1697.

T t

London,

London, and resolve to part from this privately. I go the first night to the Justice-Clerk's house. He and I parts in very good friendship. I hope to give you a satisfying account of treasury-affairs at meeting. The Lords of Treasury have written to the King; but their letter refers to extracts and memorials given to my Lord Tullibardine and me. I had difficulty to procure this; but it will be of great advantage, as I shall convince you when we meet. There is a letter from the admiralty to the King went off the last post, with which I was not acquainted; but now I have got a double of it. The Advocate writes of this matter to-night; but I will write no more of it till Saturday's night. It is now late; and therefore I only add, that I am, Sir, your most humble servant. Adieu.

I have none either from you or Mr Pringle the two last posts.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Complains bitterly of Tullibardine's false Accusations of him.—Vindicates himself from the Aspersions thrown upon him for taking unduly; for accusing the Hamburgh Memorial; and Lenity in prosecuting the disaffected: This last agreeable to the King.—Of Ships fitted out by the Admiralty.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
August 10.
1697.

In my letters of late, I have given you accompt of several things. How I have been attacked, and openly maltreated, I leave to yourself. But none of these things will be strange to you, who knows what past at London. He muttered that I was guilty of takings. But, is it not a vexing thing that a man should be thus accused in general, without any condescendence, specially when I know my innocency, and that my mein estate, not the half of what its supposed to be, can testify for me. And you may also be my witness, how I have said, That I wish, either that I were in a station where all takings were forbid, or that, even in this station, taking should be forbid

forbid in any case: For I protest, in the private station of an advocate, I lived better, and with more profit, than ever I had since. But you see I have been attacked, as if I had licensed the Hamburgh memorial, and the printer's boy's declaration taken signed against me; albeit there be nothing more false: And that nothing can prove licensing, save the licenser's hand: And that, if a man be allowed to excuse himself by throwing the blame on another, no man can be safe. But my relief is, to be attacked where all see my innocence; for I have no dealing with our African company, and many of them reckon me an unfriend. And you know how warm I was in condemning the printing of this paper. But again, I tell you in sincerity, that I knew nothing of it untill I see it in print. He also said of me in council, that I should have pursued all come from France as traitors: And so I have done. But, if men compare not, and, after, be admitted to bail, what can I help it? Captain Dalyell is come from France, and was taken lately, and committed for the Dumfries drinking, (which yet proves nothing, as I told you.) But, though the council was told that ill letters were found upon him, and both the secretaries were for his continuing in prison, and I craved warrant to pursue him, yet the council, by a clear plurality, voted him out on bail, because he was on bail before. And the truth is, that the wisest part, where there are so many delinquents, and all willing to live quietly, is, to connive and watch. And I know it is the King's own mind, to make his government easy to all, except where justice and example require severity. But my friend says the King's business is neglected by me. This I cannot answer, unless I knew particulars. But, too much on this subject. When Secretary Ogilvy sees you, he will give you the best account: Only I must say, some men are very uneasy to live with. All this to yourself. The Commissioners of the Admiralty ordered ships to be built at London. They proved excessively dear, above L. 17000; and, before we could relieve them, the Lord Chancellour and Lord Rankeillour, Sir Francis Scot, George Clerk,

and I, were necessitate to oblige our credit for L. 18000 sterling. And, because the found of the pole did not answer, we applied to the treasury for their help; but, first, they had no money; and, next, they said they had no warrant. We told, the excise was given for the ships, as well as for the forces; and at length prevailed for a precept of L. 4000 sterling on the excise, payable March 1699, for clearing what is owing, and keeping the ships, if possible, at sea a small time. But you may judge how this remote fund can answer. But, upon the whole, we have writt to his Majesty a letter, whereof the copy here inclosed; and pray get us a favourable answer: For we must not only have his Majesty's allowance for what the treasury hath done, and his warrant for what is yet to be done, but also, the admiralty must have his allowance to borrow money by advance, for such rates as we can obtain it. Thir things may be fasheus to you; but I know Secretary Ogilvy will write fully. And I assure you, our ships, if kept out at sea, would be more profitable and pleasing to the nation, than any regiment we have. Secretary Ogilvy hath been at great pains to have our fonds and the publick charge stated, and to have publick accompts closed: And I am sure he hath done service in this matter, that his Majesty will judge very good and acceptable. And, next, I shall send you the state of our fonds. D. Queensberry's sister is to be married to the L. Elcho. The Dutcheffs needed some things from London, and Secretary Ogilvy sent an exprefs; but wrote none with it. This E. Tullibardine offended at, because not acquainted; but it was a pure omission, wherein I believe his Lordship was satisfied. I am your's.

DUKE

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Letter received from Portland.—Treasury-business.—Advises that the King should not be hasty in following certain Schemes, but keep by his old Friends.

S I R,

I have received several kind and obliging letters from you since I wrote any to you, which I hope you will excuse; for I was for some time troubled with a rheum in my eyes, so that I could hardly look on paper; and have been since taken up with marrying my sister. I am very sensible of my Lord P.'s kindness to me; and shall, upon all occasions, do my utmost to deserve it. I have not troubled his Lordship with a letter, not knowing where it may find him; for we have a report here, that he is immediately expected in England. I know some of our friends have wrote you an account of what passed here; and how far we have proceeded in the King's affairs. I shall not trouble you with repetition, but will assure you, that we have been this session as busy in the treasury as we could; and I believe have done more than has been done for some years past. Secretary Ogilvy (who parted from hence on Tuesday last) has carried up the account of it, to be laid before the King. I hear there are great projects and schemes to be laid before his Majesty, upon the conclusion of the peace; but I hope he will think it his interest not to be hasty in following them; but rather look about him, and make use of his old servants, at least for some time: But these things are not so fit to be writt as discoursed of: So I leave it till I see you, which I hope shall be ere long; for I intend to carry my wife, who is now big, to be brought to bed at London. And, since there is no body discharged to come up, I hope the King will allow me to come along with her; and, if his Majesty's service does require my being here, I can very soon return. I desire you may acquaint my Lord Portland with my resolution in this, and give my most humble service to him; and believe me to be sincerely your's. Adieu.

Edinburgh,
August 21.
1697.

CLO-

CLOTREL UPTON to MR CARSTARES.

Intreating his Interest to be made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland.

Reverend SIR,

London,
Aug. 30.
1697.

Your's of July 12th going first to Ireland, and I being at Tunbridge when it came back, I received not till now. As to our old affair, it stands just as it did, my Lord Galloway not being willing, as I apprehend, to meddle with a thing of that nature on his first entrance on the government: His coldness in it, and delays, at last makes me believe he never spoke to the King about it; or, if he did, that his Majesty was of opinion with his Lordship; but was unwilling to give a denial to so considerable a body of his faithful friends; therefore we are put off with courtiers promises; and, in the mean time, we lie under the lash of severe laws: However, I hope by next sessions of our parliament, for nothing can be done this, that we may have better success. As to the bishoprick of Derry, his present Lordship is very well recovered of his illness, which was once believed would have eased that corner of his tyranny. I wish with all my heart I could in the least have been instrumental in the exchange you propose; which, from the character you give him, must have been to those people in particular, and to all of our persuasion in general, as a new delivery from slavery: But, when any occasion offers, you may be assured of my readiness to serve you, and that worthy person, to the utmost of my power. Now, Sir, I must desire leave to beg your favour in what relates to myself and family, a favourable opportunity now offering: How I and my family has endeavoured to serve his Majesty, with eminent hazard, great charge, and the great destruction of our estate, to the vast damage, nay, almost destruction, of our family; and this not from private interest, continuing still the same, though no regard has hitherto been had of us, but from a principal,

principal, and zeal to his Majesty's service : And how considerable our interest is in the country, I shall not trouble you with ; but desire that you may so use your interest with my Lord Portland, that I may be made one of the commissioners of the revenue of Ireland, in the place of Mr Lowther, now dead. Did I not know I was capable of performing it, I could not be so impudent as to desire it ; and I think myself as justly intitled to some part of his Majesty's as many others. The management I wholly leave to you, not doubting of success, if my Lord heartily espouses my interest. Being here, I cannot so well make use of my Lord Galloway's interest, who I fear is engaged already ; but I wrote to his Lordship of it. I know I shall have courtiers promises at least, which I little mind till I find the effect ; but what I have from you I may more intirely rely upon. I desire your answer as soon as may be, that I may know what to trust to. Direct for me at the Blue Ball in St Albane's street. Our government in Ireland pleases all sorts of people extremely ; and I doubt not but my Lord Galloway's wisdom and prudence will continue it. I remain,

Reverend S I R,

Your faithful humble servant,

(Signed)

CLOT. UPTON.

SECRETARY OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Rectifies some Mistakes with respect to what he and the Advocate had written of Tullibardine——Professes great Friendship to Mr Carstares and Lord Portland.——Account of what passed between him and the Justice-Clerk and Chancellor, on his Way to London.

S I R,

I came to this place this morning, where I found three of your's, which were very acceptable. Before the packet came, we did expect to have had an account by it of the conclusion of the peace ;

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Whitehall,
August 31.
1697.

however, I hope we shall have it before the King returns ; and, if not, it is a great encouragement that the money does circulate so well as I find it does ; for every body here informs me, that all the difficulties in that matter are now over. 119 did never doubt of 33 friendship ; and what he or 20 wrote concerning the discourses of 133, was only for information, and not at all by way of challenge. 119 will always take his measures from 89, and is very sensible of the obligations he owes him, and shall never be ungrait. If 89 do not give his friendly assistance as formerly, it will be a great misfortune to Scotland ; for I am sensible he has done more for it than all that serves 76. He shall know fully 119 his thoughts at meeting. I wrote to you upon the road, that I was at the Chancellor's and at the Justice-Clerk's. It is needless to inform you of what past there until we meet, only this much in the general : (I think I need not make use of the cypher, since there is no hazard of the miscarrying of our letters.) The Justice-Clerk did tell me, that Tullibardine's friends were speaking to him to think of coming up to London this winter ; and, at meeting, you shall know upon what design. I told him that I should be very well satisfied he did, and that he should be very welcome to me : But it would be proper for him, in the first place, to ask leave of the King ; and I should be as ready to do that for him as any. He said, what he had told me was in confidence ; and he intreated that I might hinder his coming ; and, if he did come at all, it would be in obedience to the King's commands, which he thought might be easily hindered. I told him I would do in that matter whatever he desired me, and that he might be assured that I would join in doing for him any thing that is in my power. A great deal did pass betwixt us, which is not fit to be communicate now ; but you shall know it in due time. It is not fit that you mention any thing of this to any body, not to the Lord Justice-Clerk himself. I found the Chancellor very free ; I thought he was more so in some particulars than I could well desire ; and therefore I was the more upon the reserve with him. I know Whitelaw's business will be pressed when the King returns :
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He is our master, and may do in that or any thing else as he pleases: When my opinion is asked in that, or in any thing else, it shall be given very faithfully. The Duke of Queensberry is to be up within two or three weeks. The Dutchess is big with child, and is to lie in here. Argyle is now at his house near Newcastle, and is likewise coming up for his health. As for 20, he would willingly come, but thinks that he cannot well leave his post without liberty from 76. He does not question but 133 will push at him this winter. As for 85 and his family, they are in entire friendship with me, and are, after their old manner, complaining of injuries. I have a full account to give of treasury-affairs, and I hope it will be satisfying; I am sure I spared no pains in that matter: I did not stier from Edinburgh all the time I was in Scotland. If you think it necessary, I can send to 89 or to 33 a copy of the treasury's letter to the King, and of the memorial containing the state of treasury-business; but I think you will understand them best when we meet. Though I have written a part of this letter without cypher to you, because there is no hazard, yet I must intreat that you continue to write as formerly, because 132 will be here within three weeks. The admiralty is much concerned in that matter, of which they have wrote to the King. They have got a precept from the treasury for L. 4000 Sterling, to be paid out of the last quarter's tack-duty of the second year's excise. No body would accept of this without a considerable allowance, both upon the account of the hazard that they run, and of the lying out of their money. They desire that the King will impower them to transact and manage that precept to the best advantage. I have written of this likeways to Mr Pringle. If this be not done before the King returns, it will occasion a great disappointment to the factors and merchants, who did advance the price of the ships, and what was due for the provisions. I know the Advocate has wrote to you of it very fully; so I need add no more. Excuse the informality of this letter;

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I have observed no form in it, but did write of every thing as it occurred. Adieu.

LORD ADVOCATE to MR CARSTARES.

A curious Interview betwixt him and Earl of Tullibardine.——A particular Vindication of his conduct both in private and public affairs.——Tullibardine irritated on account of his being disappointed in getting Whitelaw made President of the Session.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 4.
1697.

I told you in my last, that Secretary Ogilvie parted from London, so as he might be here about the last of August. E. Tullibardine came to this place the 27th August; but a fitt of the gout hindered me that I did not see him till the 31st. We came over some things had past, such as what he said to me in council, that I would have spoken sooner, if I had got money; and my angry answer. I told him, for my anger, it was a surprize; for I expected not such a challenge. He said, that others had said more to me in that manner. I said, never any spoke so to me in council, save another; to whome I gave a severer answer: But I said, it was strange I should be so much reproached for taking, when I had so often, and did still defie all men as to particulars; and prayed him to condescend upon one. He said, that it was not his work to enquire; but even my friends said I took from both hands. I told him, if any man would condescend where I had taken durtiely or unjustly, either from one or both, I should take with it: So we spoke of a cause betwixt Salton and Boine that was agitate this summer; and I told him, that was none of the King's causes; and all in it was this: Salton, three years agoe, consulted me on some queries, and owned me no more; whereupon Boine engaged me a year thereafter; but in a different question: But, when the cause came to be debated this summer, Saltone, who had Commissarie Dalrymple for him, and had only engaged me by a querie, to keep me from being for Boine, came
and

and shewed me my answer to his querie. I told him, his dealing was not fair; for that querie was, three years agoe, upon a different question; and since that time he had not employed me: But since he had Commiff. Dalrymple, I prayed him to for the L. Boin: But he refusing, I told him, then I would be for neither; and sent back the L. Boin's consultation, and refused his. So I told my Lord Tullibardine, that for this I should rather be commended; for the tuth is, the Lord Salton had only put a trick upon me. This I was full in, because I knew his Lordship had spoke of this on several occasions, how justly you may judge. Then I spoke to the E. of the taking of the printer's man's declaration about the Hambugh memorial. He said E. Portland desired him to enquire how it came to be printed. I told him, why not: But, since the man had declared falsly against me, I should have been acquainted, and he not been admitted to sign his declaration, which was both false, and could neither charge me nor excuse himself. My Lord said, he believed that, if I had looked into the paper, I had not licensed it. I told him, I had not licensed it; for that must be by write; nor had I ever seen or heard of it, untill it was crying on the streets, and was the first and only person that challenged it: So that I was here attacked where I was must innocent. Then his Lordship was pleased to tell me, that he loved to be friendly where he met with friendship; but I did oppose him in the matter of the L. Whitlaw, wherein his honour was concerned, since he brought down his commission; and it was stopt, tho' Sir James Ogilvie was once for it; and he knew none had greater influence on Sir James then I had. I thanked his Lordship for his freedom; told him how willing I was to have served him in the parliament; and was not conscious wherein I had disobliged him. As for L. Whitlaw, I told him my esteem of his abilities; and that, when at London, I had said freely to his Lordship, that I desired not the chair; and that Sir James could witness for me, that I had not solicit him against Whitlaw: But his Lordship knew well enough where that matter stuck; and that I was not to be charged

with it: And all I had said as to the session was, and would say it still, that the session needed a ballance; and that tho' the L. Whitlaw were in the lowest seat of the bench, he was too strong. So he asked me how I would ballance it? I said, I was not to advise in it; but thought Commiff. Dalrymple a verie able man; and he also commended him. But, says I, my L. Whitlaw has himself most to blame; and, for me, I have endeavoured to serve the King faithfully; and would do so, while he allows me: And, as to all others, I was for living, and let live; and wish't that great men would live in peace. He said, he hoped he had served the King well; and that the King understood it so; and that he was no farther sollicitous. I offered him my service, and to correspond with his Lordship, if he pleased: This last he accepted: And so we parted. This is the substance of what past, tho' I may fail in words; and I only report it, to prevent mistakes. We spoke of other things, as about the persons come from France. I told him he was also at me there; but they stood most of them demured in the criminal court; and on occasions they had been called in, and searcht: For, as appears by proclamations, that, when any of them came in hands, I told the counsell the King's pleasure, to have them sent back. So that I had done all, save to prosecute the remitt of parliament, which, I said, was a measure of government wherein I was not to move, without expresse order: But I added, that his Lordship saw how low and tame that partie now was; and that, to keep them in awe and quiet, I believed would be judged the best course. He ask't, how I came to raise a criminal pursuit now, upon the remitt of parliament? I said, I had the council's order for it, he present in counsell, and, as was understood, by his motion; but I was to be ruled in it as I should be advised: (But the truth is, tho' I said it not to his Lordship, if God give us peace, I should think a well qualified generall indemnity the wiser course.) He asked me, who was going to London? I said he knew better; for I heard of none, save of D. Queensberry; and that E. Argyle was minded to

to the Bath. His Lordship parted from Edinburgh Thursday morning, Breackfast at Ormiston, and came to Yester to the Marquis Twuedaill's buriall (where I also was;) and went with my Lord Chancellour to Bellhaven's house all night. I am not pleased that it should be said in Edinburgh, that my L. Chancellor did not come down his own stairs with Secretary Ogilvie; but parted with him in his hall: This I believe not; but denies it. I have nothing else; and it is too much, were it not closs vacance. I am your's.

My Lord Tullibardine spoke to the Lord Hallcraig about your letter of gift, and that you had wrote to him about it; but, because L. Hallcraig could not tell him who had the letters, I told the E. that Secret. Ogilvy had left them with me, with orders to tell his Lordship so much. He askt if I had doubles? I said, not. He askt if I knew the contents? I told him what I supposed. He askt if the tack would give the university right to entries of vassals and tacksmen? I said I thought not; but the treasury would order that in drawing of the tack, and that it might not interfere with Mr Johnston's letter and gift. L. Hallcraig told me, that, in the west, I was also charged for an obstrueter of Whitelaw's affairs. I am again your's.

SECRETARY OGILVY TO MR CARSTARES.

Glad to hear from Mr Carstares that Earl Portland has so great a Hand in the present Treaty.—Earl of Tullibardine arrived at London.—Suggests that he is against the King's Gift to Mr Carstares.—Of a Project to translate the University of St Andrew's to Perth.

S I R,

I received your's of the 6th from Loo; but I had none from you by the last packet; neither did I write any to you, because, when the packet went, I was at Ipsum, and from thence I could acquaint you of nothing worth your noticing. It is an great satisfaction to me,

Whitehall,
Sept. 10.
1697.

me, that the Earl of Portland is so much concerned in the making of this treaty, which we here think to be as good as concluded: And all own that he has been very diligent and active in this matter. The Earl of Tullibardine is come from Edinburgh; he did breakfast at the Justice-Clerk's, and went from thence to the Marquis of Tweddell's burial, and was that night at my Lord Balhaven's house. 120 received a letter this day from 20, wherein he gives him an account, that the speaker had cleared accompts with 133, but is not particular as to the balance: But it is like you may have satisfaction in this; for I understand he has written to you himself. He is blamed for hindering the settlement of 128; but he did clear himself of that. 133, at parting with 129 told him, that he would use his interest to make him of 595, from 590m25. 129 writes of this to 119, who will show 33 the letter at meeting. Both he and 20 writes, that 133 is dissatisfied with what is done by 76 in favour of 33; but I hope you will not write to either of them that you hear this, unless they give the arise for it. 133, if he meet with encouragement, will improve his trade this winter. The great objection I hear is made against 33 business is, that it interferes with the project of 119. It is thought by these who understand, that 76, if he design any advantage for 33, can do nothing more easy. The Advocate writes to Secretary Ogilvy, that the members of the university of St Andrew's are resolving to translate their college to the town of Perth; they advised with him in the matter. I think nothing should be done in this rashly; for our history gives no instance of any thing of this kind; and they being settled by virtue of charters, and by ratifications of parliament, my first thoughts of this is, that there can be no translation without the consent of parliament; especially seeing the adjacent country and shire of Fyfe are concerned. You will hear of this no doubt from others. This is all at present. Adieu.

LORD

128, Whitelaw, or President.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Admiralty ; begs Mr Carstares's Friendship in getting the Affair dispatched.—His Aversion to carry on certain Prosecutions appointed by the Treasury.—Offers to return to the Bar, if it could bring about a peaceable Settlement of Affairs at Home.

S I R,

I acquainted you with the case of our admiralty, and how five of us commissaries were necessitat to engage our credit to get home our ships ; and that at length we have got a precept from the treasury for L. 4000, payable April 1699. We have sent the draught of a letter to be signed by his Majesty, approving this precept, and allowing us to raise money upon it. Pray befriend us in the dispatch of it, for it would make our precept more valuable, and the raising of money upon it more more easy. I also acquainted you how I was ordered to prosecute the process of treason remitted by the parliament 1695 to the justice-court, which was not my inclination at this time : But now that I move in it, it much alarms the Lady Skelmourly for her husband's memory ; for she says it will waken his creditors : and I truly think, though the thing were advisable, the King would not order dead mens memories, as E. Laud. and Skelmourly, to be meddled with. The Countess of Argyle is also much troubled for her son Balcarras ; she says it will waken his creditors, and mar his daughters marriages. I told her, that her son, if he pleased, might now apply to the King at the Hague. I think this order might have been forborn in the present juncture ; for even the like remit made of persons in the year 1690 was never after meddled in ; these remits being indeed made more to keep men in awe than for any thing else : But I told you where the motion pointed, and what was answered. I very much wish the session were settled again November. To do this well, and balance all right, would be very satisfying, and may be end a strife that has
grown.

Edinburgh,
Sept. 14,
1697.

grown too long. You know all my concern in this matter is for justice and peace; and I assure you, if my returning to the bar might procure it, it would make the change very easy: But you have my mind fully, which would make us more quiet and happy than ever I think to see. I heartily wish the King safely and quickly back, with a good peace, and then a small correction might set us here in a good case. I am sure the Jacobites are at present more quiet and tame than if they had been prosecuted with the utmost rigour: And our church-differences make very little noise. I should be sorry to find a peace produce worse. Adieu.

SECRETARY OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Manner in which the Peace was intimated to him.—His private Thoughts of the Treaty.—Tullibardine's Schemes about settling the Offices in Scotland.

S I R,

Whitehall,
Sept. 21.
1697.

I wrote to you in my last that we had got no account of the conclusion of the peace either from Mr Pringle or yourself; and the wind being cross, we have had no letters since. The Lords Justices did send Mr Ward for me upon Friday's morning, and, when I came, did treat me very civilly. After they had caused me sit down in a chair, set at a little distance from their table, my Lord Chancellor made a kind of apology to me that they had not sooner intimated the peace to me, and desired that I might acquaint those in the government of Scotland with it. I told them I had done so by an express, immediately after I received the certain account of the peace; but would do it again, if their Excellencies had any thing in particular to inform. They said they had nothing but what was contained in the articles, which they had ordered to be transcribed for me: And accordingly I received them. My Lord Sunderland said, he believed that the peace would be very acceptable news in Scotland. I told him there was no doubt of it, for the peace was
very

very honourable for the King, and advantageous for all his dominions. I have now considered all the particular articles; it's true Scotland is included; but some observe that it is not so much as mentioned in any of the articles, except in general as a part of Britain. The Scots privileges in France before the treaty of Nimeguen, and after, were greater than that of the English: However, this is but the critical observes of some. But I heartily bless God that we have the treaty as it is; and Scotland may be more particularly minded when the commissioners meets for regulating trade. You need mention nothing of this; for, the treaty being now past, it is out of time to insist upon it: And what I have written is only for information; for I am sure none speaks with greater satisfaction, or more honourably of the treaty than I do to every person. 133, when he parted with 102, did speak to severals what I think necessary you should be informed with. You know already what was said to 129; and 20 writes to 120, that 133 had a long conference with 139; he asked him if he would be 162, meaning if 162 were made 20: His answer was, that he would not be partner with him; but could have been so most willingly with 120 or 20; and said a great deal more upon this purpose, which you may guess. Then 133 asked him, if he was not willing to be 20, 2b4 d7 f95 n5nn2db? He answered, not with 127, if his design succeeded; but if 20 k5m c524 em58245bf, then he would accept; but would do nothing to his prejudice: So that you see, without speaking to 76, 133 makes 92n n852cn. 120 will shew you 20 letter at meeting; for he is most positive of the truth of this, and of a great deal more. It was said likewise to 139, that 120 was bd7m25b4 to 133, and gave this reason, because he was so to 47, and designed that 76 should make him 8dc2nn2db5m; and that 47 had said, that he would undertake to procure to 76 a pension during life. This 47 swears he never spoke to any body; and I can assure you 120 had not so much as any thought of that matter; for he hopes that 76 will be in 102 himself before he will need a pension. I thought it necessary you should know of this; because now, after the peace, it is probable measures will be taken. I

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write

write nothing to you of the circumstances of the treasury, nor of any thing else that is necessary to be proposed to the King concerning the keeping up or disbanding the forces in Scotland; for I hope his Majesty will be soon over, and I shall have occasion to speak of all this to himself. I would willingly write to the Earl of Portland, but I am affraid to trouble him; and you can inform him of what I have written to you. You may call for Mr Pringle's letter, because I have written to him of what concerns the admiralty: I wish you may be assisting in it. I will not trouble you with what 133 says of what is done in favours of 33; you know a little of this formerly. This is all at present. Adieu.

LORD TULLIBARDINE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Gift to Mr Carstares from the King.

S I R,

Kenfington,
Sept. 21.
1697.

I received a letter of your's a little before I left Scotland, acquainting me of a gift that the King had bestowed on you. I am very well satisfied with what bounty the King gives to you, or any of his servants that serves him well. I have not seen the gift, so I do not well know the nature of it. Sir James tells me he has not seen it neither: The Advocate gave me the most particular account of it; but said that the copies were not sent with the letters. I do not hear whether they were presented to the treasury when they last met, which was since I came away. I had writ to you sooner, but expected to have met you here; for I was told the King was to be over about this time. I came here on Saturday last, and was in great joy to hear the happy news of the peace. My Lord Halcraig was at Edinburgh just before I left it, of whose probity I am fully satisfied; but I shall not insist as to what past betwixt us till meeting, who am,

S I R,

Your affectionate humble and servant,

(Signed)

TULLIBARDINE.

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SECRETARY OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Intimation of the Peace to the Privy-council in Scotland.—

Of the Tack of the Customs.—Of one Ogilvy apprehended upon Suspicion of corresponding with France.

S I R,

119 is extremely obliged to you for the kindness you are pleased to exprefs for him; and 33 fhall not find that his friendship is misplaced. I was refolved to have written fully, but ij did make me a vifit, and did fit long with me; it being the firft time I have feen him fince I came to town. He looks very well, and has a fplendid equipage. 47 will be in town very foon. 133 and 119 have as yet had no occafion of difference. They vifit one another; and the laft will take care to give him no juft caufe of complaint. Secretary Ogilvy, as foon as he got the King's letter, directed to the privy-council, did acquaint Tullibardine with it; and told him, that it fhould be fent with a flying packet. And we did agree upon what was to be written; particularly, that there fhould be no proclamation upon it until we heard of the ratification; which we very foon expect. We likeways wriett, that their fhould be no day of thankfgiving till they fhould hear again from us. The public folemnities have been ufed of firing the guns of the caftle, ringing bells, and bone-fires; but this is all has been done there; and the like was done here; for the guns of the Tower and Weftminfter were fired, and there were illuminations. I hope you will take care that the council be again acquainted when the peace is ratified. I am forry to find by your's, that the King is not like to return foon; for it is neceffary that he knew the ftate of his treafury-affairs; and, particularly, that a new commiffion of auditors be appointed. The tack of the customs does alfo now fall, by reafon of the peace. They may certainly be now fett to much greater advantage. I have letters to this purpofe already. But the prefent tackfmen will pre-

Whitehall,
Sept. 28.
1697.

tend that they are losers if they do not get one other year of it; but this first year of the peace will be very considerable, taking in November and December, which are the months when our wines returns. The Justice-Clerk writes to me of this, and so do others that would be satisfied to be concerned. The regiments were providing their clothing; and they will certainly be the more remiss, since they do not know whether they are to stand or to be broke. And yet I could heartily wish that nothing were done in this matter until I have the honour to waite of the King. These are but a few of the many things that are necessary; but I shall forbear to write of them to-night. There is one of my name, who is a merchant in Edinburg: He is a remote relation of my Lord Boyn's, who came over from Holland to this place at the same time we had an account of the peace. Some days after, he came here, to ask if I had any commands for Scotland; and by his discourse I began to suspect he had been in France; so I put him to it: And, though at first he denied, yet at last he confest; but thought he was in no hazard, since the peace was now concluded. And, besides, many merchants has gone there since the act of parliament. I told him he was in a mistake; and that he was under the reach of the law; and desired him ingeniously to give an account of what he had been doing there. I did not trust him that he had told me all the truth, though I was at pains enough with him; sometimes threatening him, and at other times giving him encouragement to expect favour. So I put him under security, to appear at my Lord Tullibardine's lodgings at Kensington the next morning; and we did for two hours examine him very closely. He did give us an account why he went to France; but we still suspecting that he might have carried intelligence thither, or that he was carrying back intelligence, did put him to his oath, and did swear him deeply; and I here send you a copy of his deposition, which both my Lord Tullibardine and I signs. He did positively swear, that he did not meddle with any thing that concerned the publick. And you will find by his deposition that he was very particularly interrogate. And, after all, we took a bond of him,

him, to present himself at Edinburgh to the Chancellour or Advocate, under the penalty of L. 200; which I believe is as much as he is worth. This is the true account of what past in that matter. I believe there is no proof against him except his own confession. Neither do I think that I could have discovered his being in France, if he had not thought that the peace made him sure; which made him take the less notice to what he discoursed. I am sure I have done all that was proper for me in the matter. I thought it proper to inform you fully of this, least you may not hear of it from others. And I think you have not wanted information of every thing has past since we parted. This is all at present. Adieu.

If we do not obtain a commission to be Major to my Lord Carmichael, he will take it ill; and think neither you nor I have been so diligent as we might have been.

SECRETARY OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Troop of Guards upon English Pay.—Private Consultations about disposing of Places in Scotland.—Desires that Mr Carstares would order Matters so, as to meet with him before he sees any of the other Scottish Ministers.—Wishes Mr Carstares would come over before the King.—Of the Mr of Forbes's Regiment.

S I R,

The Earl of Argyle and I have been together a considerable time this day; and, amongst other things, I find he is in great concern for the providing of the troop of guards: Our commissaries will provide them nothing. You know they are on the English establishment; and the treasury here will not order payment of subsistence to them, as they do to the other regiments: So my Lord has been necessitate to advance already L. 400 of his own money, or else they had been entirely in disorder. We must keep them as long on English

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English establishment as possibly we can. And I believe, if the King would order any person about him to write to Mr Montague, money would be ordered. There is no fond provided them in Scotland; and if, after his Majesty comes over, he resolve to put them on the Scots establishment, there must some of the regiments we have there be disbanded. I have written to Mr Pringle, that there be another letter to the council obtained when the peace is ratified. I have sent to him a copy of the proclamation was issued out upon the conclusion of the treaty of Nimeguen. I am resolving to write of this to my Lord Portland. I would have done it this night, but there is a report here that my Lord is coming over; but the next packet will give us the certainty of this. 12 was with 11 this day; and, after passing of a great many civilities and compliments, 12 did offer to be in strick friendship with 11; but 11 told him plainly, that, though he had all the honour possible for himself, yet it was impossible to go alongs in every measure. He owned himself to be in friendship with 47; and he saw no reason why 12 might not be so too. But, when they descended more closely to particulars, all recurs to the establishment of 128. And 12 said, that, if that were but once done, there could be no more occasion for difference. 11 did not fully tell me what he said in this matter, but I know he is positive against that project, and is for making him 129: And at meeting I shall give you an account what he projects for him. You may be sure I will never condescend to any thing to his prejudice, for, for what I know, we are in very good friendship. But I am sure it will never be the interest of 76 to make 128 independent. He is a good servant; but, when he is a master, he is furious; and, in that case, either 139 or 20 might be settled. It will not be amiss that 33 and 119 meet before he speak with 47, 11, or 133; which may be easily contrived, by meeting in some tavern. I would write more fully, but I think it unnecessary, because I am still in the hopes that you will be here soon: And I think it were not improper that you came a little sooner than the rest. But you will be best judge what

what is to be done in this matter ; and I have not spoke of this to any body else. I am positive of the opinion, that, if you had but an opportunity at leifure, and thereafter came here, your absence might be well supplied by your writing ; and Pringle would supply those things which go of course. I send you this night my Lord Forbes's letter, which I got from him by the day's packet. I intreat you will take care of him, if there be thoughts of disbanding any of our regiments. I give my most humble service to the Earl of Portland. I thought to have concluded, but, before I do, I must tell you, that I have considered the letter in favours of the university of Glasgow ; and it is exactly right, and is noways prejudicial to the gift in favours of the person you know of ; for it is only the rents are to be set ; and there is no power granted to set tacks ; so that runs in its ordinary course. Therefore, there will be no difficulty in this matter, if 89 stand his ground. This is all at present. Adieu.

SECRETARY OGILVY TO MR CARSTARES.

Of the Duke of Queensberry's Arrival.—The African Company's Surprise that the King had never given any Orders with respect to their Affairs to his Resident at Hamburgh.—A Scheme for settling Scottish Affairs sent over to Mr Carstares in great Secrecy.

S I R,

I do with all my heart wish that this embassy of my Lord Portland's may be for his advantage. It is certainly a mark of great trust ; and perhaps it may be profitable enough. All I dislike in it is, that he will be so long absent ; and I am sure the affairs of the Scots nation may come to suffer by it. I had always full time allowed by him for giving him information ; and I found his opinion very just in every thing I proposed to him. I resolve to speak to him fully of every thing that I think may come under consideration this winter. I have received a letter for the East-India company

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ny of Scotland; wherein they give an account, that, since they have received the answer to his Majesty's address, they did intimate the substance of it to the King's resident at Hamburgh, who declared, he was ready to obey what orders he received from his Majesty; but that as yet he had got none in that matter; which they seem to be surpris'd with. I thought it necessary to give you this intimation; but as yet I have not met with my colleague since I received the letter. But, by my next, I shall send you a copy of it, and shall write more fully. The Duke of Queensberry and his Duchess are arriv'd this night. He has been very ill of a plurassie, but I hope is recovering. Her Grace is big with child, being within a month of her time. He would not have been here, had it not been that his children have all died in Scotland; and that he is in hopes this air may do better. You may understand from the inclosed, which I received from his Grace on the road, what probably will be the subject of our discourse with the Earl of Portland. Pray, let no body know that you have seen it; but, after you have read it, you may return it again to me. You see I have no reserve with you; and I am very sensible of the friendship you have done me with the King and the Earl of Portland in my absence. There will be no difficulty in your own affair. We are longing to hear that the ratifications are exchanged, and that the Emperor has signed; but I don't doubt but both will be in due time. Do not take notice, even so much as to the Duke of Q. himself, that you have seen his letter. No more at present. Adieu.

SECRETARY OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Anxious to have a Return from the King to the Letter of the African Company, and that he will give the Orders to his Resident which he had promised.

S I R,

The wind is so unfavourable that we hear from one another very seldom. You complain, in your last, that there were three mails wanting :

Whitehall,
October 8,
1697.

wanting: I doubt not but they are come safe to your hands before now. I have, by this day's packet, an account from Scotland, that the exprefs with the King's letter, intimating the peace, was arrived. They will follow the advice I have given, in using no solemnity until the ratification; which we hear is past, though it be not yet come here. The Lord Chancellour and the Justice-Clerk do desire me to procure for them copies of the treaties of peace with Spain and Holland, and that offered to the Empire. I desire you will send me them with your convenience. I have sent to Mr Pringle this night the letter I received from the directors of the African company; which being read to the King, I am hopeful that his Majesty will give the orders to his Resident at Hamburgh he promised to give in the answer to the company's address. They will with impatience expect some answer from my Lord Tullibardine and me, for their general meeting is to be in the beginning of November next. I would gladly know how soon the King will come over; for, if he be here before November, we must do the best we can to put off affairs till then; but, if he stays longer, we must write for orders concerning the customs. I find my Lord Tullibardine does incline to delay it till he hear again from the Chancellor, who is mightily concerned for the present taxmen. My Lord Advocate's brother, Sir Robert, is likewise concerned. I do believe the taxmen will be loosers unless they continue for another year: But the King is not in law obliged to them for this, and may certainly have a far greater tack-duty. You may delay to represent this yet for some time; and, when its necessary, I shall send a true memorial of the case, that the King may thereafter determine as he thinks fit. We are expecting the Earl of Portland with impatience; and I am sure I am in very great concern concerning him; for the last two or three days we have had extraordinary great winds. This is all this night. Adieu.

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The ADVOCATE to MR CARSTARES.

His Plan for settling Scottish Affairs ; in Cyphers.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
October 9.
1697.

I have your's with your kind remembrance. I do understand that Mr Fall may see Mr Hay shortly ; and 35 is desirous that Mr Hamilton, Mr Lee, and Mr Carse, may meet, that they may clear accounts ; and, now that we have peace, take measures for trade, in time coming. You know 55 and 52 have an old comradship, and Mr Hastie desires its continuance. 52 thinks, that, if 4 were 29, it would remove all ground of difference ; and 55 thought he had reason, seeing then Mr Hastie and Mr Thomson, and others, would have all they pretend to. Mr Hume thinks that Mr Campbell makes now the great, if not the only debate ; and that the joining of him to Mr Stewart would not be the settling of Mr Murray's company. So much as plain, 22, 33, 39, 23, 28, 25, 20, 50, 56, to Mr Erskine, and 38, 37, 36, 41, 33, 23, to Mr Hay and their friends. 32 bids me assure you that he knows Mr Hume's agreement with Mr Campbell impossible, for the same reason. But, as to White's interest, and that of 33, 22, 24, 23, 33, 39, 37, which is greater, he wishes that either 51 may be 29, or that at least 29 may be divided ; for, after what Carse knows of 4 and the 42, 39, 28, 29, 23, 37, 24, 23, 44, hath been ; and that Stewart is so entirely with 52, who hath now eight of Mr Ellei's in his very 36, 41, 50, 30, 33, 31, 20, can it be thought that Mr Campbell, that should be equal to all, should be Mr Hastie's 52, 36, 41, 39, 59, 23, 28, 25 ? But Mr Forrester stands fair, and 32 hath no concern but for 9 interest. He was lately with Mr Neill ; and these are a part of 93 thoughts. If Hay were 1, it might do mightily ; but that I meddle not with ; only, Home is positive that Hay should be
of

Fall, Portland.

Mr Hay, Seafield.

of 94's company, and have a share in it equal to 21. But this, as all things else to the benefit of 35, you must manage without Mr Hay; who, though he be White's best friend, yet is so much the less friend to 35. And this I hope 31 understands. But I wish heartily that 33 were with 35. Adieu.

SECRETARY OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Lord Tullibardine jealous of their Correspondence.—Of disbanding the Scottish Regiments.—Wishes Mr Carstares were over along with Lord Portland, otherwise they will come to no Conclusion.

S I R,

I received your's of the 14th; before I had time to read it, 133 came in, and read his own letters. He asked Secretary Ogilvie, if he had any letters? who answered, that he had; but that they contained nothing of consequence. He insinuate that he inclined to see them; but this was waved. Within a little he said 33km52fn to 119 35 8ze95m—119 seemed not to hear; but it was said again, and then it was answered, k92f z7zfk5m nd; and it was said nothing; and so this past. From whence this came, 119 does not know; but it is no matter. 119 does long extreamly for 89. Secretary Ogilvy does hear that some of our regiments in Scotland will be disbanded. This matter would be well considered; for, first, they are very good troops, at least most of them are; and, then, the colonells are men that have interest in the countrey. Tullibardine's regiment is very full, and will be very well cloathed. For Lindsay, he hath a very good regiment; and it is all that that noble family has to subsist by. Lieutenant-colonel Forbes is with you, who will speak enough of the merits of Hill's regiment. As for M'Gill's and Douglas's I have not much to say; yet M'Gill is a

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good

133, Lord Tullibardine. 33km52fn, writes to Secretary Ogilvy by cyphers. k92f z7zfk5m nd, what if it were so. 89, Lord Portland.

Whitehall,
October 12,
1697.

good officer. If 76 were here, a plan of what forces can be maintained in Scotland might be offered. 119 and 89 shall speak of it. 119 has no concerne in the matter but his Majesty's true interest and service. Some do report here, that ten of the English regiments are to be broke. This does alarme us that are concerned in Scotland the more. If 76 doe nz6b and 8dg6f5mnz6b his dm45mn in those matters, it is the better. 47 and 11 are to write to you this night. 119 has not seen them since he got your letter. They do think that it were very proper that 33 were here when 89 comes; for it is not probable that we can come to a final conclusion without him. But 119 leaves that entirely to himself, to do in it as he pleases; and he wrote his mind in this matter formerly. I shall make your excuse to 20 either this night or on Thursday. I had none from him by the last packet. This is all this night. Adieu.

SECRETARY OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Anxious to see Mr Carstares before any of their other Friends meet with him.—Of appointing a President of the Session.—Regiments that are broken; particularly Tullibardine's; who takes it patiently, but hopes to know to whom he owes it.—Of the Customs in Scotland.

S I R,

Whitehall,
Oct. 19.
1697.

I have received two from you since I wrote last. I am very sensible of the kindness you express for me in them. Friendship shall not faill betwixt us first on my side. I am very glad that you give us the hopes of seeing you here so soon; and I hope you will be as good as your promise in meeting with me before you see any other of our friends. I owe any thing that I have to the King's favour,
and

76, the King.

nz6b, sign and countersign his orders.

and I shall reckon myself very unfortunate if I do or propose any thing that may be uneasy to him; and, when he returns, I shall, as is my duty, give his Majesty, with all humility, my thoughts of what concerns his service. We have wanted a president long, and I wish that place may be well disposed as soon as his Majesty comes over. 120, as I understand, has written fully concerning that matter; but, however, 119 has a great deal to say on that subject, which he will forbear to write. 47 and 112m5 ey52n54 with the late accounts, 515ef eddm yzbn2t. This I wrote formerly; but there is no help for it: Friends must do for him. Secretary Ogilvy tells, that he has received a letter from Mr Pringle, whereby the King allows him to assure the Lord Forbes, that he will do for him with the first opportunity. He tells me he has done this already; and he says he knows who procured it; and is very sensible of it. He thought fit likewise to write a letter to Lindefay. I will forbear to write any thing of business more this night. The peace has been this day proclaimed with the usual solemnities; and the people did shew a great deal of satisfaction upon this occasion. The King's entry will be with a great deal of splendour. I am sure he returns to a contented people. He has done more for us than we could have expected. But I think it is needless for me to say any more to you of this: I shall rather choose to express my thoughts where they may do him service. The Earl of Portland is arrived in England, but is not yet come this length; but some of his servants are at his lodgings. I will be sure to wait on him as soon as he will allow of it; and I am sure he will see none that wisheth him better. I cannot conclude this till I tell you what 47 said concerning 133: That he was sure that 76 must pay for what he has done to him, for he must either make him 8dcznnzdb5m, or Colonel of the guards. The Earl of Tullibardine does take the loss of his regiment patiently enough; but he says he hopes to know to whom he owes it. The ratification of the peace, and the other letters, were sent down by an
express

exprefs yesternight, and are all directed for the chancellour, that the accounts of the breaking of the regiments may be first known in council. I believe it will be said that Tullibardine did quitt voluntarily. I am sure Forbes and Lindsay did not so. Secretary Ogilvy returns you thanks for the treaty of peace with Spain. It is now almost fully contained in all our public papers. Adieu.

I promised in my last to write you an account of the matter of the customs ; and I then told you, that the Duke of Queensberry, the Earls of Tullibardine and Argyle, were to meet at my lodgings, to resolve what was fit to be done. We have the tacksmens representation to consider, on the one hand, with the Chancellour and Advocate's letters in their favours ; and, on the other, a far greater tack-duty than is now payable. L. 40,000 is offered for on year ; but, for three years tack-duties, I believe 35,000 pound may be offered to be paid yearly. There was reasoning for some time on both sides ; of which I shall give you an account at meeting. But, at last, it was thought by all to be reasonable, that the matter should be kept entire untill his Majesty's return, that he might determine what he thought most for his service ; and, in order to this, we did all write to the Chancellor and Lords of the Treasury, and Advocate, that it was absolutely necessary that the present tack should be declared null and void ; but that there might be a provision in favours of the tacksmen, That, notwithstanding thereof, it should stand and subsist, if his Majesty should think fit so to appoint, after the case is represented to him at his return.

————— To MR CARSTARES.

Desiring a Letter of Recommendation to Lord Portland to be one of his Retinue upon his Embassy to France.

S I R,

London,
Oct. 19. O. S.
1697.

I was with Mrs Carstares this afternoon, who had forgot to bring to town the letter she had writ for you ; and had not received your last,

last, having mislaid them by her coming here. I suppose my Lord Portland will be come off before you receive this; so shall desire a favour of you, if convenient, and not otherwise, that you would let me have a letter to some about him that may be proper to present me to his Lordship, as one that has business at Paris, and is desirous to have the honour to make up one in his retinue. I need not tell you, that this is not designed to save expences, but, on the contrair, will, I believe, put me to some more than otherwise I needed; only I must tell you why I go; and it's at the desire of my wife's friends, who have her estate in their hands, and are desirous to transact with me before they die: Their age obliges me to hasten, for their children may not perhaps be of the same mind. This reason would have made me go so soon as the passages are open, whether any embassy went or not; and it's only since I heard the E. Portland was to go, that I have thought of going in that manner; for, if any other had, I should not have dreamed of it: And, as it is, I rather open this to you, to have your advice, than positively to ask any recommendation; for I do not desire any other than a general one, as a person you know, and is desirous of the honour to be of his Lordship's retinue; which is all submitted, &c.

I give you my thanks for your answer to mine about my brother. I was more alarmed than need was.

SIR ANDREW KENNEDY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Lord Balcarras, who desires to return to Scotland.—Desires to be put upon the Commission for treating of Commerce.

Reverend S I R,

This day I received the inclosed for you; and this afternoon I had a visit from the Earl of Balcarras, who is come from Switzerland, where he has been of a good while; and you know whence he came thither. I have no acquaintance of him; however, he told me, his design was to go home, and live quietly and peaceably; and

Rotterdam,
Oct. 19.
1697.

and was willing to give the government all the security could be demanded: His circumstances you know perhaps better than I; however, I thought it my duty to acquaint you hereof, that the King may know he is here, where he resolves to stay till the King come to the Hague. My Lord Polwart parted from this for the packet-boat yesterday. Sir, I could be content you dropt a line to Secretary Ogilvy of the fitness some in behalf of Scotland should be commiffionate to be on the business of commerce with France, whether it be here or at London; and, if here, I am on the place; if at London, I could be content to be on the commiffion: You know for what prospect. My wife, your brother, I, and my son, are well; we give you our most affectionate service. I am,

Reverend SIR,

Your most faithful, and most humble servant,

(Signed) ANDREW KENNEDY.

ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM to Mr CARSTARES.

Of my Lord Lorn's Concern lest his Regiment be broken.—Private Affairs, and a Literary Project.

Reverend SIR,

Bruges,
Oct. 20.
1697.

I had the honour of your's before I parted from Brussels, and I find by it, that, upon all occasions, you are ready to oblige your friends. I do not yet know whether I shall go to Paris or not before I return to London. My Lord Argyle has not yet written any thing concerning his son; he was gone from this place to his regiment before I came here, which I was glad of; for I know his L. Colonel will take care of him: He is mightily concerned for his regiment; every body tells him it will be broken. I have assured him, that you will do your utmost for him. I must presume to give you the trouble to carry over a few books of mine, which I have ordered to be sent to your brother's. You will be pleased to pass them as your own, else the custom would amount to the fourth part they are worth;

worth ; but am confident that what books any of the King's chaplains takes over will be free ; because it may be said that they are the books he carried abroad with himself for his own use. I must likewise desire you not to forget a bundle of papers sealed, which I left with your brother, and for which I have his note : I desire you would put them up carefully, for there are in the bundle accompts, and some other papers of consequence. I shall restore your brother's note to you when we shall meet again. As for the project, I know you will not only use all your credit with Secretary Ogilvy, but will also recommend the thing to all the Scots nobility and gentry you shall meet with at London. I have bought in this country a considerable number of books, in order to the carrying of it on ; and, so soon as I am free of my L. Lorne, I resolve to set seriously about it. I most humbly beg your pardon for all the trouble I give you. This presumption in me is a plain proof that you willingly condescend to serve your meanest friends ; and am, with all respect,

Reverend SIR,

Your most obliged, and most obedient servant,

(Signed)

ALEX. CUNNINGHAM.

SECRETARY OGILVY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the frequent Interviews which he and Mr Carstares's other Friends had with my Lord Portland.—Of the Abuses committed by Captain Frazer and his Clan, which makes it necessary to delay disbanding the Regiments.

SIR,

I have had the honour and satisfaction to be with the E. of Portland frequently, and so has those you would have desired ; he is faithful to his master, and a true and real friend : He is now fully informed, and, if his Majesty were come over, may soon do all is necessary. The Frasers do commit great abuses ; and Captain Fra-

Whitehall,
Novemb. 5.
1697.

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fer has now arrived to that pitch of insolence as to detain my Lady Lovet, and to pretend he is married to her; in the mean time, she neither will eat nor drink till she is at liberty, and is already very weak. Now all orders that are proper are out against him. This trouble, and some other difficulties that have occurred, does keep our regiments as yet from being disbanded: The reasons are fully contained in the council's letter to the King, which my Lord Tullibardine has in his hands: We would have sent it, but we expect his Majesty with the first fair wind. I thought it necessary to give this short advertisement. I never, with so much impatience and anxiety desired his Majesty here; for his orders are necessary in many things. This is all at present from your M. H. S.

I have subject for a very long letter; but I am afraid it may miscarry.

A. MURRAY to Mr CARSTAKES.

Beseeches him to take care of my Lord Carmichael, that his regiment be not disbanded upon this Occasion.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Nov. 20.
1697.

Your kind remembrance of me by my noble and good friend my Lord Carmichael, obliges me to render you my most hearty thanks. We are now come under a happy peace, I pray God it be a lasting one. It appears that the face of affairs will take a new turn, even here; and I doubt not but you will so far modle as to lay yourself out to see your old friends get fair play. We see his Majesty has ordered the disbanding of some of his forces; and there is a talk of disbanding more. I hope my Lord Carmichael's regiment is in no hazard. You know his modesty, and how little he has besturred himself for any thing; and I am persuaded no Scotsman is in greater favour with his Majesty; and you know my Lord Portland has a particular esteem for him; and I pray you mind his Lordship to secure my Lord's regiment before he goes. I say nothing for myself,

self, but still rests upon your care of me; and still wishes a thorough understanding betwixt you and your old friend, which I still hope is nearer and nearer. If there be to be any considerable changes amongst us, that worthy gentleman's advice is more necessary than any other whatsoever. So wishing and praying for God's direction to you in all things, I ever am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate, and obliged humble servant,

(Signed)

A. MURRAY.

————— to MR CARSTARES.

In Cyphers.

SIR,

I acquainted you by my last how your business went here; and herewith you have the scroll of the letter I promised you, which you will take your own way to have dispatched. Mr Dewar hath not done in your other business what I expected; but, to please Thomson in another particular, he hath complied with him; but, at the bottom, it is to please Mr Erskine; and that 13 may be easy to him in the business of Mr Blackwood, which yet cannot succeed. This is the report I hear. Mr Hay no doubt acquaints you with what relates to Mr Campbell; and I am glad that it is thought he should be a friend to Mr Lawson as well as to Mr White: But my strait is, that Mr Foster, whom I think fittest for 29, is not gracious to 44, which I say not to recommend 32; for I know 9 will hardly do a thing so cross to Erskine, though 21 be not therein just: And besides, if Hume were looking after profit, 51, becoming 29, would double 32 advantages: But, in that matter, you have Hume's thoughts very singly; and I truly wish 4 may be considered according to his best deserving; only, I was persuaded that Campbell and he would never agree. Pray mind Mr Man, and do him all the

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possible

Edinburgh,
December 9.
1697.

possible kindness you can. I again recommend to you your own affair; and am your's.

Mr DAVID BLAIR to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon Church-Business.

Dr BR.

Edinburgh,
Decemb. 18.
1697.

This day your's came to hand of 9th instant, of that same date of my last to you by that post which carried up the commission's address to the King.

That address you would see was succinct, and of a plain stile. As for that other you mention, it might serve to divert his Maj. if he should please to cast his eye upon it, after some long audience about a weighty affair: But, if Geo. Ridpath should chance to get copies of both, he would readily print them in his Flying Post. We have nothing going here of moment. By the *youngest* minister, whom I mentioned in my last, I mean the youngest for years, not the last who came. Several persons ask me the question about the fitting of the assembly, and if it will hold at the time appointed? My answer is, (and I can give no other), that I know nothing to the contrary. Some few of the younger sort do sometimes express their wishes, that, in the next assembly, an act may pass assertory of the intrinsic power of the church: But I hear no such thing spoke of by the wiser sort. I once spoke to you of a book, which I could never yet see; (I sought for it eight year's ago at the famedest book-fellers in Little Britain, but was told, that the last two copies which remained had been bought up by church of England-men): The author is Samuel Petit, *De Jure Principum edictis Ecclesiae quaesito*. I would give a great deal for it, did I but know where to have it. My respects to Mrs Carstares. Adieu.

JUSTICE

JUSTICE-CLERK to Mr CARSTARES.

In Cyphers.

S I R,

78 is glad that 22 hopes 82 tmbg 8tq 6823q taken off 22's mrrmu7 even in *decr*; but let not 9's affair suffer by it. You speak of 75's anchoring-ground; it's past fathoming by any I know. 10 may prove a security for 75. 22 resolves not 82 nq r27 83; but says not whether 22 will nq r27 77. Excuse 78 r27 tu6 3xmzq6, azqd 54 and 10 first quzu68q7 268m8q, then joyful days for 25 and 68. 78 does not think 73 will be active to get 10 made 75; for 73 loves to be depended on, not to be a follower. I came here Saturday last, and resolves to spend the rest of this year with my wife, where I meet with no contradiction, and spends my time with satisfaction, and saves my money. I cannot think but you will pay Scotland a visit when the assembly meets; so hoping to meet shortly, I continue your true friend. Farewell.

Ormiston,
Decemb. 21.
1697.

I cannot but tell you, that the old laird espoufes what is said to be your interest against all men, and is through thick and thin for you.

I think 'tis justice both to you and him that you know this; no man was truer in the affair of Aberdeen; pray give him your thanks.

Mr DAVID BLAIR to Mr CARSTARES.

Asks his Answer to a Query, Which is the best Way of asserting the intrinsic Power of the Church?

Dr BR.

I have no news to give you; but 'would fain have the solution of a question; and that is, What you take to be the best way of asserting the intrinsic power of the church? Whether to prove it in the

Edinburgh,
Decemb. 21.
1697.

the pulpit, by the strongest and best arguments the scripture can afford to that purpose; or to advance it by a stout assertory act of a G. Assembly? Or, what would you think, if a man should go up to the pulpit, and tell the people, in the close of his sermon, That the government of the church, and its intrinsic power, should not rest upon so slippery a foundation as the inclinations of the people; and therefore it were good that it were declared and asserted in the next assembly? For the old men are going off the stage, and young men will faint for want of courage. What think you of these two last methods? For my part, I would rather be for the first. You tell me nothing of news about the house of commons. But pray let me hear from you, and answer my questions; and, if you would also favour me with a double of Mr Seaton's address, or else let Mr Ridpath do it. Adieu.

My brother John presents his service to you; and my wife has her best respects to you and to Mrs Carstares.

LORD JUSTICE-CLERK to Mr CARSTARES.

Cyphers.—A Story that Sir James Ogilvy was to be President, and the Earl of Leven Secretary.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
January 1.
1698.

I wish you many good new years. 73 did write 20 76, which 78 d29xp z28 mmpbu6qp; but 76 has z28 pqoxuzqp. I'm not of the mind Mr Dunlop either has or can offer the highest rent of the five years, say he was to give no grassum, and to pay each five years: What the five years under collection amounted to, is all can be in reason demanded; and this he offers, and might a been accepted dq7q 58 and 84 m6 68z98 r27 8tq7q r7uqzp m6 8tqa 29st8 82nq. 74 has writ to 78 about 78's nquzs 2z 8dq 8tq-6mq7uq, and desires 82 wz2d ur 78 will allow 74 82 y2bq uz u8, 22 wz2d678, 78 tm6 ympq z2 mzbqdq7; but, if 74 minds 82 897zq 78 298 2r 8tq 3xmoqtq tm6, and put tuy uz 8tq 8tq6md, it will
be

be no kindness, 22 tm6 78's yu2p ymzmps q u8 ; but let not it be known that 78. has 6mup in d27p 2ru8.

You have stories with you. We have another from your parts which you write nothing of, viz. That Sir Ja. Ogilvy is to be president, and the E. of Leven secretary. 74 qzu2uzq6 6qo7q6uq 82 78, dtuot 78 p2q6 82 22.

LORD JUSTICE-CLERK to Mr CARSTARES.

In Cyphers.

S I R,

Seeing 22 cannot be for 77, let 22 be as little for 7 or 83, and 78 shall be indifferent. Now I expect to hear 95's affair is going right ; let us know what this is has been fallen 97 ; they say 56 mxum6 dtus6 will suffer by it ; yet 78 says he hopes otherwise seeing 97 and 55 tmbq z28 nqqz 62. dqqx this while bygone. 78 qc63qo86 82 tqm7 to-morrow what ppoqynq7 tm6 372 p9oqp. 22 has certainly heard how 3tq6p2 p7mzw 22's tqmx8t mb 8tq ymz ympq 6qo7q8m7uq6 this he did in 73's o2y3mzuq ; make 72 73 and 78 72 and 6qzp 73 82 62yq 3z68 uz 65 72 would not keep it year and day, and then 78 might live.

Pray ye, express with as much modesty as you please, what has moved Sunderland to lay down ; only let us know it.

78 is of 101, and will write exact accounts to 22 - - -
- - - I was a stranger to all the flying packets you had last week till I went to Edinburgh ; and there is one of them, I know not the occasion of it yet, if it was not 75's return for the buzpuom8uzzs were sent him by 22 and others. Farewell.

Mr

Mr PRINGLE to Mr CARSTARES.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Feb. 1.
1698.

I came here this day, having staid some with my brother at Stichill. I find nothing as yet of moment to communicate. I doubt not but you will be informed from better hands of what passed this night in council in reference to the submission made by Sir Robert Dickson. I send you here a memorial concerning Colonel Erskine, for whom I know you will be concerned, because all honest men I find to be so. I have neither more time nor subject, except for the last I should take your abilities and favours, of which, without further compliment, I am most sensible. So far as I yet understand, 128 has carried himself in the concerns of the E. Ind. Company, with a just and due regard to his Majesty's service. He is in the country. Adieu.

Mr. PRINGLE to MR CARSTARES.

Of the State of Parties in Scotland.—The African Company, displeased with the Answer to their late Addresses.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Feb 10.
1698.

Two posts ago I received your's of the first; but I find the custom of this place necessarily draws a stranger to a tavern, when he should write his letters, which makes me at this time prevent the approach of night. 156 returns hearty thanks to 33 for the assurances of his friendship, on which he relies more than upon that of any other. It is very agreeable to hear that things go well with 119 and

33

156, Mr Pringle.

33, Mr Carstares.

119, Secretary Ogilvy,

33. It has been proposed to 122 that he should keep himself free from all concerts until he speak with 76 ; which I find he designs within a few weeks. He professes esteem and respect for 33, and allows 156 to signify so much ; yet I dare not say but he is in such terms with 152, as makes 156 believe he would prefer his friendship, tho', at the same time, he declares himself at liberty, for what may be agreeable to 76. It is not yet known how that 222 designs to see 38 ; and I do not think it fitt it should be publick. I find no good understanding betwixt the successor of 112 and 30 ; the last oft takes too much upon him, where the other's authority and honour is concerned ; which will contribute to a better understanding betwixt 122 and 119. I doubt not but 33 has been sufficiently informed of what passed Friday last about his concerne, and especially what related to 30, who interposed many difficulties ; and, when over-ruled, he removed. The affair seems now to be at a close ; but 156 having had occasion since that time to discourse with 124 of 33, and particularly Mr Dunlop, 156 thinks there may be yet occasion for 33 declaring positively his mind as to the disposal of any money may be due to him ; and, as to the manner of remitting, some pains may be taken here. It were needless to trouble you with the clashes of this place. 89 and 76 are separated ; and the journey is only the pretext, being never to meet again. 75 is in other circumstances : Nothing done but by his advice. But, whether such stories are only accidental rumours, or industriously spread, I cannot judge. Many here are still persuaded of the advancement of 127 ; how 82 has carried to him all this winter you know well enough. Many thinks it has discovered the weakness of 82, and will do 127 no service. There is much talk of 88 being soon in this country : How he will be disposed is uncertain ; for the most part he inclines to trade. But I am informed, that great pains are taken by 100, that, when 88 arrives, he shall be with him. And 124 is solliciting, that, by a public declaration, 88 may be allowed

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to

122, Advocate.	76, the King.	152, Tullibardine.	30, Annandale.
89, Portland.	75, Albemarle.	127, Tullibardine.	88, a parliament.
100, African company.	124, Privy-council.		

to be so. Whether he will be able to carry his point, or how far 76 may be concerned, let others consider. 156 has been with 128 in the countrey, but only for a few hours, and upon generals; being resolved to be more particular when 128 comes to this place; who is expected every day. As to what may be expected of 156, in reference to what is trusted to him, little can be said. You cannot imagine what difficulty there will be to satisfy, in any of the points, 122; to whom only 156 has spoke freely on the head; knows nothing. 102 is concerned about his trade; and yet his friends are afraid he will turn bankrupt by his own mismanagement. And, so it may be the better for 76 the less he have to do with him, lest he bear the blame.

You would hear that the answer given to the late addressees of our African company was not received as an answer, because, being directed to Sir Francis Scott, from the secretaries, it did not bear to be communicate to the council of the company. However, I hear nothing of any further design of application to court. They are busied in preparing to set sail, which is expected with three large ships, and two lesser ones, within 5 or 6 weeks. 156 is resolved——

The EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

An Answer to a Letter of Advice Mr Carstares had left for him when he set out from London for Edinburgh.——Angry that the Presbyterians should set up Earl of Tullibardine in Opposition to him.——His own and his Family's Merits with that Party.——Mr Carstares gone down to promote a Scheme for making Justice-Clerk Chancellor, &c.

S I R,

London,
Feb. 26.
1698.

I am sorry I was not at home when you called two several times before you went for Scotland. I received the letter you left me. I

do

128, Lord Justice-Clerk.

do assure you I take your advice very kindly, for none alive can easier convince me, especially in matters of that kind. I am heartily sorry to hear that any of the presbyterians of the church of Scotland can be prevailed upon (by a runegado church of England-man, and a presbyterian but of two years standing), to follow any measure so far contrary to their true interest, as I am told, Mr Wylie of Hamilton moved them too. I do not pretend to be perfect; I have my faults; and every body sees the worst of me: And, though I won't be whipt into obedience, as if Mr William Cummine's government were yet remaining over me, yet I am sensible your advice is so good, coming from a sincere heart, void of interest, modestly told me, answerable to your function, I do assure you it shall be my study to avoid all scandle; and in my profession I shall never act the hypocrite. What family in Scotland can claim so much of the church of Scotland, as now established, then I? I lost a grandfather, and a father, and my estate, in the quarrel; and was any more forward than I, upon the revolution, to establish it as it now is? I never acted another part, nor never will; but I must own I am concerned, when I see your brethren act contraire to their interest in relation to civil government. I desire not to be misunderstood; for I think it may be very consonant with all the rules of our religion, and the government of church, as now established, to act politickly; to take those to assist them, who has it in their blood, as well as inclination, to serve them and support them. And I think it a very bad measure to set up a pretended presbyterian, who waits but an opportunity to return to the myre, when once he has established himself. And, lest by my friendship with some, I mean the Duke of Queensberry in particular, it may be thought I must go another way, his family having been reputed episcopal, I dare answer for him, he will be ready to embark heartily with the presbyterians, if they will cordially accept them; and, when I am guarantee, I think you have better security for his Grace than any is yet got of our two-year-old presbyterian, the Marquis of Athol's son, the Earl of Tullibardine. I wish you may prevail with your bretheren in e-

very thing which will establish them. As for news, I have none, but that Earl Tullibardine told Duke of Queensberry to-day, you was gone to Scotland to adjust matters with the Justice-Clerk, who, Secretary Ogilvy, the Advocate, and you, had concerted should be Chancellor. A deal of more stuff of that kind was said, not worth the repeating. I am your affectionate friend to serve you,

(Signed) ARGYLL.

E. Tullibardine has got a list of our Scotts parliament sent him up, and, having considered the names, he stands not to undertake at court, that, let the King chuse either presbyterian or episcopal party in the parliament to serve him, he will carry his Majesty's business by either of them; which I think is a bold undertaking. But we all know his Majesty so fixt to the government of the church, as now established, that Earl Tullibardine will not make his court much that way.

Pray, tell Earl Melvine from me, and his two sons, that I am sure it is the president of the council's place which that party has in project for E. Arran, though we hope that is not the reward which the King will give E. Melvine for all his services. I have this account from a very sure hand.

MONSIEUR VAN LEVEN* to MR CARSTARES.

Regrets Portland's stay at Paris, lest his Absence from the King might be prejudicial.—Portland's Magnificence.—The King of Spain recovered.—Designs against King William.

Dear S I R,

Paris,
April 28.
1698.

This afternoon I received by a messenger both your letters of the 1st and 6th instant, with the inclosed for his Excellency, which was delivered immediately. I am heartily glad of your safe arrival in London, and give you many thanks for the kindness which you show

* Mr Van Leven, secretary to the Earl of Portland, then ambassador in France.

show me in your letters, in communicating to me so freely your thoughts and disposition of affairs with you. I have not yet reported the contents of your letters, by want of opportunity. And I believe my Lord had not yet the time to read that which you sent him, being taken up in visiting Monsieur Pompoune and Monsieur Toreij; and, coming from thence, must write this night to the King; so that you shall have no answer but with the next express. I cannot tell if his Excellency received this day his Majesty's pleasure for coming back; but I have reason to believe it, and some private letters intimate it to me. Our staying here much longer will cost dear; for, being so long absent from the King, may in some measure be prejudicial: And the expences of this embassy run so very high, that it is hardly to be imagined what money it comes to. We live with great magnificence; and all the French must confess, they never saw such splendour in equipage, table, and liveries. They do all the honour and civility to his Excellency that can be desired; but in affairs they are difficult and slow. The crosses which were erected in the city and principaute of Orange are pulled down, and a pass is granted for 50 Switzers to come thither in garrison. Letters from Spain of the 9th say, that the King of Spain is quite well again, and that the French ambassador there had a private audience, wherein he complemented his Majesty on the peace and his recovery. They give out here, that the Queen's credit is much lessened, and that she does not more assist in the council, being often prevented to enter in the King's chamber, upon pretence that it alters his health, by discoursing continually of the affairs of the monarchy, to which she is set on by the Imperial ministers. They are now in hopes that the King will live some years longer. That we may all wish for.

Monsieur Feemsherck the Dutch ambassador is come to this city, but keeps himself as yet incognito. Monsieur Odick is expected in a little time, and will be here Sunday next. I believe it will be three weeks longer before his Excellency can take his audience of leave, and he must stay at least a fortnight more before he can part
from

from hence ; so that it will be long before I shall have the satisfaction to see you. In the mean time, continue me your friendship, and be fully persuaded that I really be,

S I R,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) V. LEVENE.

After having finished this letter, I conceive my Lord is not recalled as yet ; so our returning, as to the time thereof, is very uncertain. I am afraid there are some dangerous designs in hand against our King, that will make much noise.

Paris, 29. do. His Excellency having not dispatched the messenger till this day, ordered me positively to let you know the satisfaction he has of your safe return, and that you found things so well to your mind and the King's interest in Scotland, desiring you will continue the same information as you have given hitherto ; which, I assure you, that are very acceptable, and will be acknowledged in due time. His Excellency has no time to answer you himself ; but, if any thing occurs you want his opinion in, acquaint me with it, and I will endeavour satisfy you as speedy as possible can be done. Monsieur Odick will be here next Sunday. My humble service to your wife. Adieu.

Mr ALEXANDER STEVENSON to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Sir John M^c Lean's Desire to have an Audience of the Ambassador ; which is refused—Portland's Behaviour.—Desirous that something could be done for the French Protestants.—This not in Portland's Instructions.

Dr S I R,

Paris, June
6. 1698

I was, at my first coming here, importuned by Sir John Maclean, and some others of that sort, to get them ane audience of the ambassadour. Out of pity to Sir John, I did speak to Mr Van Leven

Leven, and told him, that Sir John, being resolved to apply to the court in England for liberty to come home, would willingly have had first the honour to have spoke with his Excellency, to justify his last proceedings in coming away soe unaccountably; which he said he was forced to doe. This Mr Van Leven told me once he should have; but afterwards, upon second thoughts, told me could not be done. Whether it was upon my Lord Argyll's account, because of the old plea betwixt these families; or, because I told Mr Van Leven, that Sir John threw the whole blame on Mr Johnstone's way and manner of treating him, I know not: But I never insisted after that; nor would I, after the first time I spoke, had he given me no ground. Sir John, after having left the court at St. Germaines for 3 or 4 weeks, upon this refusall, returned: Soe I never heard of him since; and was, to say the truth, by this means ridd of a great many importunities, which I should have had, if this suit had been granted. I never had time, since you came from Scotland last, or I had given you account of this passage sooner. I suppose Mr Van Leven had told Mr Handcock; for he took once occasion to tell me, that he doubted not but Mr Johnstone had very good reason to treat Sir John M'Lean as he did: To which I replied, I knew not the particulars; soe could say nothing to it. Ther's noe news. As for the ambassadour, he ends as he did beginn, with a great deal of honour to himself, and satisfaction, so far as appears, to all these he has had to doe with. The poor protestants expected he should have done some thing for them; but in that they are disappointed; which the more reasonable party amongst them doe not blame him for, as I think he could not medle in, see'ng not in his instructions: But ther's none of them but thinks, if he had, considering the houer of the court of France at present, that he could have done them service. I shall not say they have ground; but I find them generally scandilised and discouraged at the nice measures was observed in any thing relating to them or their affairs. The Dean of Winchester knows something of this to be true. They are so perswaded that their deliverance

deliverance should come from England, that, upon the news lately from the Rochell, Rouven, and Sedan, where the persecution since the peace has been worse then before, that, by the King's orders, the protestants there have been told, that, if they will make noe assemblies, but content themselves with their devotiones at home privately, they shall not be troubled any more; they are, I say, soe perswaded, that noe good canne happen to them, but by the mediatione of England, that they begin to say, the ambassadour, now at his going away, is forry he did nothing for them, and has spoke to some of the French ministers of state. I trouble you with this, to let you know the situation of these poor people. My wife gives you her humble service, and to your good lady; she and I desire the same favour of you to Mr Kekworth and his lady. Pray tell him, if he has business here, I expect he will not apply to any other. Mr James Fowles will send me any letters or commissions, if he has occasione. Ther's none will serve him with better will then I would, or any you are concerned in. I am, sincerely,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble servant,

ALEX. STEVENSON.

P. S. I here you are lodged at Mr Cambel's the goldsmith; pray give him my humble service; I will write to him soe soon as I can give account of what he wrote to me about, which will be in a little.

Sir JOHN MAXWELL to Mr CARSTARES.

Mr Carstares may now wait upon the King's Commissioner without Suspicion of Intrigues.—Begs his Assistance in making Mr Kincaid a Lord of Session.

Dear S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 9.
1698.

This is the first post since I came to town; and this serves to give you my humble service, that we do not wear out of acquaintance by too

too long silence. I cannot think but the King's chaplain will wait upon his commissioner now in time of parliament, without any ground of suspicion of intrigues; for I doubt not his Majesty, by the advice of so many worthy persons there, will demand nothing of his parliament but what is just and reasonable; and I firmly believe the plurality of the parliament hath that affection for him and his government, that it shall not be denied, though there may be some buffel; yet it shall be, *post nubila Phoebus*. You get so much the word here of a man of business, that you'll forgive me if I ask your help to make a Lord of the Session, and that is a friend of mine, Mr John Kincaid of Corbasset. He is a lawyer, being now beyond 30 years experience in the house; and, for his honesty and courage in the administration of justice, I dare undertake for him, that he shall be biaffed with no man. I do not think he will be a man given to parties. I have written to Secretary Ogilvy in this business, and will give you no further trouble; but if ye please to mind him of it; and what kindness ye shall be pleased to do that gentleman, I will ever reckon it as a particular obligation upon,

S I R,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

(Signed) Jo. MAXWELL.

LORD BLANTYRE to Mr CARSTARES.

About the Payment of his Pension.

S I R,

I hope you will not impute my not writing to want of kindness; but realie as it is, to an unwillingness to trouble you, unless I had something worth your while. You will, I hope, remember, that I was speaking to you about my pension, that now it would turn ineffectual, by reason of the great number of pensions that were upon the fond at this Whitsunday. There are two terms owing; and, had

June 10
1698.

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not Hugh Cunningham been tackfman, the whole would have been owing. I cannot prefs my own business; you know my circumstances: So I wholly depend upon the secretary and you for to get me payment for bygones, and secured in time coming; and what you do shall be thankfully acknowledged, since that is all I can do. If your conveniency can allow you, I shall take it kindly to hear from you: You can both airt me, and help me when airted. I am, unfeignedly,

Your truly obliged servant,

(Signed) BLANTYRE.

ORMISTON to Mr CARSTARES.

In Cyphers——about the President's Office.——Broomhall and his Son.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 14.
1698,

I hope this shall find you returned. I wrote to you to destroy my former, and hopes the inclosed will serve and please. 78 says, he does not offer farther in 74's nquzs 37q6upqz8, 6quzs 43 tm6-p2zq u8, n98 78's 2nuqo8uzz, 7qymuz6. 'Tis talked here, that 75 is under some discouragement; 73 duxxnq tq7q 8tu6 dqqw-m2p 8tqz dqduxx nq y27q mnxq 82 u9psq 2r 8tuzs6, for Broomhall and his son, I am not rash in judging any body; but this much I may take leave to say, it would a appeared as suitable to a man in the son's station to a been here as at London; and, if the informations hold are offered, was he my son, I would not defend him nor speak in his favours. My Lord Leven is with you by this time, a29 2myq a297 37q6upqz86 dtqz 3qz3xq m7q zq8tq dmaq o2y-quzs b3. A new adjournment will not look well; besides, the parliament's being to sit, people bring little or no business in before the session. Farewell.

SECRE-

SECRETARY OGILVY to MR CARSTARES.

*After an Audience with the King upon Scottish affairs.—Reasons
for putting off the Meeting of Parliament.*

S I R,

Your Lady assures me that this will come safe to your hands; and therefore I adventure to let you know a little of what passes. Mr Lawson has been twice with Mr Hay; the first time, Mr Wilson was with him, and the last time, he was alone: I did communicate the last part of Mr Reid's note, and he is positive that there never were any such orders; and gave 31 very full satisfaction in this matter: But I told him that it was both Mr Lawson and Mr Reid's duty to let him know what was said; and he seemed very well satisfied. Mr Wood's meeting is put off for eight days longer, for two reasons: The first is, That Mr Erskine and Mr Dewar's company may have time to speak together. The next is, Mr Hamilton is to meet at Aberdeen upon the 5th of July, and must be there for five or six days; and so could not return in time to meet with Mr Wood upon the 12th. Mr Wilson and Mr Lawson think of parting from this upon Tuesday come seven-night, and so will Mr Lamb and Mr Flint about that time. Mr Lawson hopes that Mr Reid will let Mr Erskine know how much he depends upon him; and he has left all his own concerns undetermined, until he arrive, and shall be in every thing disposed of by him. Secretary Ogilvy has obtained several private papers, of which Mr Reid shall know at meeting. The Earl of Leven is arrived: I know (for so it is written to me) he expects to have Mr Campbell upon Mr Gray; and you know all his other pretensions. All can be said is,

Whitehall,
June 16.
1698.

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that

*Mr Lawson, S. Ogilvy. Mr Wilson, Marchmont. Mr Hay, the King.
Mr Reid, Mr Carstares. 31, S. Ogilvy. Mr Ward, Parliament. Mr
Erskine, Portland. Mr Hamilton, Royal Boroughs of Scotland. Mr Lamb,
Queensberry. Mr Flint, Argyle.*

that Mr Hay seems not to be inclined to settle his affairs at present ; But Mr Kirk is to be with Mr Lawson to-morrow at dinner ; and you shall afterwards be acquainted with what passes. I wish the E. of Portland a happy journey. I shall be glad to know certainly of his dyet ; and, if it might be acceptable, I would certainly wait on him. I am, with all sincerity, Y. M. H. S.

PRESIDENT DALRYMPLE TO SECRETARY OGILVY.

*Of the Meeting of the Royal Boroughs, which he is to attend.—
More Caballing than have been of late.—Report of a Misunder-
standing betwixt Argyle and the Chancellor.*

My LORD,

Edinburgh,
June 21.
1698.

I have the honour of your's of the 14th and of the 16th instant. Since your Lordship has thought proper I should be added to the commission, I shall present my letter, though I be little fond of that court. I called for Commissary Smollet, and show him what confidence your Lordship reposed in him ; he makes a very grateful return, and frankly undertakes to be at the convention in Aberdeen. If Provost Muir of Ayr be there, the commissary will guide him ; so that your Lordship shall not need to write to him ; and, if ye have writ already, I have taken the liberty to desire John Anderson to advertise me before it be delivered. Your Lordship is in the right to write to as few as can be. Your Lordship will see by the federunt, that the council was pretty well convened this day ; the chief occasion was the Lady Rentoun's complaint, that Sir Pat. had intruded himself in the half of the house of Rentoun, she retaining the other half. My brother David drew an information and answers to Sir Pat. both very snell, and abundantly closs ; and, where he relates the disposition obtained from Sir Alexander, in place of fraud and circumvention, the paper termed the thing a downright cheat. Sir Pat. craved reparation of that injury,

jury, and, at the same time, entered upon the cause. The Earl of Tullibardine broke in before the lawyers publicly, and urged and prevailed that the lawyers should be removed, and that point considered. First, the motion was supported by E. Annandale and Ruthglen; and, at last, it terminate into advertisement to the lawyers to be more modest and cautious in their expressions, without inquiring who was the author; and the complaint remitted to be summarily discussed by the session. If Sir Pat.'s friends had counted noses, they had as good have pushed where they had it at the council. Seeing the dyet of the parliament is fixed, the sooner your Lordship be here the better. I cannot say there is any formed design to obstruct; but it is visible that there is more caballing than was of late. E. Tullibardine intends to go north, and to return to the parliament; but after all, I doubt they will adventure to appear. It is this day talked, there should be some mistake betwixt the Chancellor and the Earl of Argyle. I believe nothing of it; and certainly nothing could encourage enemies so much as the least hope of division amongst yourselves. I need not trouble D. Q. and the E. of Argyle with the same things I writ to your Lordship. I am, most sincerely, Y. L. M. H. S.

MURRAY of Philiphaugh to Mr CARSTARES.

At Duke of Queensberry's desire, gives him a particular Detail of what passed in Parliament about Supplies.—The Opposition headed by Tullibardine.—Characters of the Dukes of Queensberry and Argyle, and of Earl of Seafield, now President of the Parliament.

S I R,

Our Parliament sat pretty late last night; so that the D. of Queensberry not having leisure to write to you, and I being to write to you however, he does by me desire you will excuse him, and accept from me such lame accounts of things that past as I can give

Edinburgh,
July 8.
1698.

give you; which, however, I hope you may have more fully from others. This day was past the act for the sixteen months cess, which, joined with the annexed excise, amounts to an adequate and sufficient fund for entertaining the army for two years, commencing November next. You will no doubt be surprised when I tell you, that, though this act contained nothing material but what had past the house in previous votes, of which, indeed, it was but the consequence; yet it met with an unexpected opposition. The leading men of the parliament tenaciously opposed it to the last, and voted against it root and branch, though the house had been predetermined in it, after mature deliberation and contentious debates, and that there was not the least change or deviation proposed in the act from what had past formerly. Indeed most of their party left them; but the Marquis of Tweedle and E. Tullibardine stuck to it to the last. I confess the opposition of the latter hath been most unaccountable, and seems to be the most ungenerous. There were some debates about the terms of paying it, which I must own were proposed to be such by the commissioners of the treasury, with all due regard to the present necessitous condition of the country; and yet did they eagerly and warmly insist against it. I do not say they meant ill in it; but I will be sworn, that if they had got their will in it, the army must have been reduced to free quarters for some time, and, by that means, the nation probably to a discontent against the government, for a cause of which the King and his ministers, both civil and military, had been very innocent. E. Tull. did insist in every motion that I can remember was made, either to the hurt or retardment of the affair. When they could not prevail in any thing material, they attempted very oddly to have clogged it with claims for counting for bygones; and (when that would not do,) with very reproachful and reflecting clauses of appropriating the funds, importing, as if the former funds had not been rightly managed: And needless ones too they were; for, in the mean time, the act itself bears the use and ends for which it is granted. But, above all, the most unaccountable was one, which had neither any
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contingency or relation to the affair, was utterly alien from it, and was of all things the most improper for us to meddle with ; and that was, That there should be a clause, by which should be secured to our horse and foot-guards the rank and precedence due to them as Scots guards, in case at any time the King should think fit to call them abroad. I need make no reflections on it to you, for really none can be made so visibly to its prejudice as civilly to tell it. Is it not odd that a man should join or aim at the like of such things, upon whom the K. after he had first bought him into his interests, had heaped favours on him from time to time : For my part, I wonder what the devil he saw in him. I hope it will teach his Majesty to buy men again, when he may have better without it. Well, I pretend not to much judgement ; but I have seen much of this world ; I have been long upon the stage of it ; my converse hath constantly been with the most eminent of our country, and in things of the most importance ; and, if by this means I can know our countrymen, and be qualified to make any judgement in business, the K. hath it now in his hand to manage his affairs in Scotland to his own ease and honour, and to our advantage ; but, believe me, he will never be able to do it with clapping of mens heads. And now, that the most material of the business is over, I must own to you, it went down very hangedly (as our saying is) with our countrymen. And you may believe me, (you know I am pretty impartial,) that, if it had not been for the friendship and influence of the K.'s friends who had the managing of it, the affair had miscarried. You cannot imagine how taking the D. of Q. and E. of Argyle's way is, and how popular they are. You know they are both of them very debonair and easy ; and I do assure you they had use for it all at this time. I protest to you, my Lord Seafield presides very extraordinary well, both readily, boldly, and impartially, and expresses himself very cleverly, and so succinctly too, as, I vow, he loses not a word. They are brooding upon the African business ; I know not what they shall be about to hatch : But there are no endeavours wanting so to smooth and order matters relating to it,

it, as I hope nothing shall occur which may give the King any offence. My L. Duke says he will write to you shortly himself; desires you will present his service to E. Portland. My obscurity would make it look too much like indiscreet arrogance, if I should crave the same favour of you; but indeed I am his hearty well-wisher and humble servant. I have transgressed enough by a long babling foolish piece of stuff; and I do not intend to make my fault greater, by a foolish apology; so, without ceremony, and with my best wishes, farewell.

LORD SEAFIELD, President of the Parliament, to MR CARSTARES.

Account of his splendid Reception at Edinburgh, upon his coming down.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 9.
1698.

It was late before my Lord Chancellour and I got into town this night. I am sure you will be convinced that I have made all possible haste. I cannot write fully to you this night of any thing, save in the general, that I have very good hopes that his Majesty's affairs will go well. We had a very great reception. I did never see, upon any such occasion, near so many either coaches or horsemen, nor so many of the nobility and parliament-men. And I must also add, that there was a very great confluence of the common sort of people. So that hitherto all matters go well. I have not as yet spoke with the Justice-Clerk, President, Advocate, or Sir John Maxwell, in private; but I shall have occasion to speak particularly with them to-morrow or Monday; and, thereafter, I shall write fully to my Lord Portland. I have spoke on the road with Sir John Dempster, Torwoodlie, Commissary Monroe, Robert Forbes, and William Brodie; and I find them all very well inclined. And I hope our nobility that have come down with us will do very well. I have acquainted

acquainted the commissioner with the power to adjourn for eight days longer; and he and I do both agree in this, that there should be no mention made of it except it be absolutely necessary. I am only afraid that the Duke of Queensberry and my Lord Argyle be not here soon enough. Though my Lord Argyle be now at Newcastle, yet he resolves to stay there some days. And I am informed that the Duke of Queensberry did not come off till Wednesday last. I am wearied, and so can only add, that I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

Neither the Earl Annandale, Ruglen, Tullibardine, nor any of the Marquis of Tweedel's family, out to meet us.

EARL OF MARCHMONT, Lord High Commissioner, to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the bad State of the Country; which will be a greater Obstruction to their Business than the Opposition in Parliament, &c.

S I R,

I have not yet much to say from what trial I have made, for there are not many members of parliament yet come to town; but it is discernable enough, that there has been pains taken to make impressions not favourable to our business; yet I see no cause to doubt much but we shall be able to take them off. The main difficulty and discouragement is, from the bad appearance of the crop upon the ground. The drouth has continued long, and the corns are very short, and look ill. Likewise the harvest, in all appearance, will be late; which you know is always dangerous in this countrey. The rates of all grain are likewise very high: So that truly the countrey is in a hard and straitened condition; and all people are sensible

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of it. But, for all this, the most part that I have met with seem well inclined to go a good length for satisfying the King. So soon as I have examined further, I will tell you my thoughts. In the mean time, you may acquaint the Earl of Portland of what I say. I suppose he will not be long there, if the King goes over to Holland. The Earl of Argyle is here; and we are all very well. So far from being idle, that I have scarcely time to write this. I pray fail not to let me hear from you. I am,

S I R,

Your very affectionate friend,
and humble servant,

(Signed) MARCHMONT.

P. S. Just now Mr Gibson the clerk of session tells me, that he has got a deputation from the E. of Selkirk to serve in this parliament for him, because he is going over to Holland with the King.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Reckons upon a Plurality in Parliament.—The Conquests he has made since he came down.—His Diligence.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 12.
1698.

I have delayed as yet to send you a cypher, because I find I must bring a great many more names into it than was contained in that I had at London. You will not believe what a toil and fatigue I have entered into. I have as yet time to do nothing for visits, except that I speak to the parliament-men on by on when they come to my lodgings. I find we will meet with difficulty; but I assure you, it is not that Tullibardine or his friends signify any thing: It proceeds only from this, that there is almost a famine in the countrey, and that there is appearance of an extraordinary bad crop. And, therefore, a great many say, that they are not able to give subsidies, though

though that they have more inclination to do it under our management, than if Tullibardine and his friends had prevailed. Yet we still reckon to have a plurality: And I must tell you of the conquests I have made. The Justice-Clerk is as friendly as I could desire, and is using his utmost endeavours. My Lord Carmichael does promise positively to concur in every thing; though, at the same time, he is much straitened with the difficulties of the poverty of the countrey. My Lord Annandale has made me the first visit; and the Justice-Clerk has some hopes that he will go along with what is proposed for the King, though he will not be a manager. My Lord Teviot will also concur. My Lord Tullibardine does now appear above board, and is positive against all cesses; and must say that my Lord Ruglen is of the same mind. Ruglen has been to visit me; and I am resolved to let him know that the King does expect that his servants should serve him upon this occasion. Sir Thomas Burnet and Enstruther are entirely against subsidies. Argyle is doing what he can with Aberuchill; and I am doing what I can with my Lord Whitehill. My Lord Ross has expedite his remission; and, it is said, will be most violent. I do not hear that the Chancellour has prevailed upon many as yet; but he is in hopes to carry Commissary Monroë, and Colloden, and Torwoodlie. My Lord Salton, I find, follows my Lord Tullibardine's methods. We have not as yet concerted our committees, because the burrows are all at Aberdeen. If the letter you mention concerning the Earl of Tullibardine come, I shall proceed upon clear grounds in the making use of it. The Earl of Melvill and his family are all in the countrey; and therefore as yet I have no assistance from them. The Viscount of Tarbat promises to concur. The arguments I use is, that there are a multitude of Jacobites in this kingdom, ready to lay hold of any opportunity to make disturbance: That, though the countrey is poor, yet nothing that is to be given is to be exported out of the kingdom; and so the giving of subsidies will only occasion a circulation. I need not trouble you with the other arguments I use; but I assure you I say as much as ever I can, and I spare no pains; for I have not been

in bed after five in the morning since I came to this place. The Justice-Clerk thinks, that, if the Marquis of Tweeddel were on the the exchequer, he would be right enough. My Lord Stairs has agreed to stay out till the public business is over. I find this act past in England concerning the Scots linning-cloath does prejudice; and some do pretend that they will put an imposition upon English cloath. This is the sum of what I can give you account of this night; and I will not fail likewise to write by the next packet. I had almost forgot to tell you, that the Earl of Lauderdale promises to concur in every thing, and to influence four or five of the members. I have written to Mr Pringle of what further is necessary. This is a journal of what has occurred. Adieu.

You may read this to the Earl of Portland; to whom I give my most humble service. We are plainly resolved not to make use of the letter of adjournment, because it is not safe for us to appear frightened, though I wish our friends had been sooner here.

EARL OF ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Arguments against the Supplies.—Tullibardine pretends that he resigned his Office because he could not concur with the Court.—What the King said to him at parting.—Wishes Lord Arbuchel were put again upon the Council.—Wishes that Seafeld were as stiff as Mr Carstares.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 12.
1698,

I have been in town these two days. I understand there has been a deal of pains taken to influence the members of parliament to be against giving the King even the necessary supply: That of the poverty of the country, and the example of England's being averse to a standing army, are the arguments used that yet appears. Tullibardine gives it out, that the reason of his demitting was, because he could not go along with the desires of the court, and therefore

fore chused rather to retire himself than to oppress his country. People are not willing to be evidences; but this and a deal more is exprest by him. He says further, the King made an offer of the place to him after he had demitted; and that the King had made him a compliment when he took his leave; told him that he was sensible he had served him faithfully; that he expected the same of him still; and that, if so, he should not want encouragement from him. This is not the first lie he has made to gain his point; tho' I hope this shall tend as little to his advantage as the former. I find L. Abruchell thinks himself slighted, severals being put on the council, and he not repossessed to the council nor exchequer; in both which he was before: I wish it were done. I am persuaded there will be heats and brisk doings; you shall have a particular account of all. I saw your last to the Secretary, which I am well pleased with: I wish he were as stiff. I am your's. Adieu.

Pray, give my most humble service to E. Portland.

EARL OF ARGYLE to MR CARSTARES.

The Secretary shewed him the King's Letter dismissing Earl Tullibardine from his Service.—Blames the Chancellor for trimming, and Seafield for yielding.—He has to do with Men who are afraid of their Shadows.

This morning the Secretary came to my lodgings, and showed me the double of the King's letter anent E. Tull. You may think I was not ill pleased to see the King had entered into so good a measure. He was next to go and acquaint the Chancellor. I warned him, the Chancellor would endeavour to trim in it, as indeed it proved so; for he sent for Tullibardine to his house, where he was two hours; and, in the afternoon, when he came to council, got the Secretary to delay offering the letter. Indeed E. T. absented; but I find the Chancellor would fain capitulate the matter: But I'll go to him.

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him to-morrow morning, and use plain language. The report of the letter quickly went abroad; and I perceived several people's countenances to alter. I'll tell the Chancellor, if the King's business miscarry, it is he is to blame: And I vow it is. We have made many profelytes since we came hither; and I find it is the Chancellor's squade will be hardest to work on. You shall hear frequently from me. I wish I had you one hour upon this occasion; for I have to do with people are afraid of their own shadows. Adieu.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

He makes daily Profelytes from the Opposition.—Has not produced the King's Letter.—The Chancellor has made few Converts.—Numbers of broken Officers.—The East-India Fleet to Sail soon.

SIR,

Edinburgh,
July 14.
1698,

Though I had none from you by the last packet, yet I must give you an account, that I daily gain upon the other party; and I do tell, upon my reputation, that, if we do not carry the King's affairs, none else would. There are abundance of people running up and down for us: All the heads of the opposite party are broke, except the Earl of Tullibardine; and I believe his wings are clip'd. I have not presented the letter against him this day in council; but I will present it the next day. I have gained the commissioner for the town of Brechen under my Lord Panmuir's nose. I have written a great many letters to the country, for those are my friends; and, if they be well convey'd, we shall push our business at the very first; but, if not, we must take time to it. I have good advice, and a firm party: No man deserts me; and I hope God Almighty will give me success. And I must say, as yet I cannot name the Chancellor's profelytes, though I am sure he will do what he can. I have multitudes of broken officers lying about my doors, and I know

know not what to say to them: Many wish that the King would by a letter say, that he would advance them to the vacant posts that are in the Dutch regiments, or these that are here. The Viscount of Teviot has taken out his second patent from me; and he promises fair to do his best for the King's service: The event will try what he is doing. Our East-India fleet will sail the beginning of the next week; and, of sea-men and land-men, there are above 1200 men, and not one woman amongst them at all. I'll not trouble you with no more at present. They threaten us with a flood of Jacobites coming in to take the oaths. I am Y. M. H. S.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

His Interview with the Earl of Tullibardine when he produced the King's Letter.—The Politics of the Opposition.—African Fleet.

S I R,

I find my Lord Tullibardine is positively resolved to oppose; and, for that end, has brought over the Marquis of Athol and my Lord Nairn. I have been to acquaint him with the King's letter, and told him, that he had no body to blame for it but himself. He said plainly, he could not in conscience burden the country with so much money as the expences of the establishment would require; but that he would do as much for the King now as if he were in his service. I answered him, that the country was as poor when he was commissioner; for that year there was vast quantities of victual imported both from England and Ireland, and above L. 100,000 exported in specie; whereas, there had been little or no victual imported this last year. He said, then it was time of war; and I told him, then he was commissioner, and now he was not. I told him also, that we had more need of forces now for our security than we had in the time of

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of war ; for then, in the case of necessity, the King could have sent his regiments to our assistance. And, after a while's reasoning, we parted. The letter is no more a secret. I would have forborn speaking of it, if I had been restricted, till he had misbehaved in parliament ; but my Lord Chancellor was acquainted that there was such a letter, and had a copy : But, however, he certainly designs to oppose, and has talked to that purpose openly. The parliament is like to be very full ; and I am hopeful we shall carry it by a good plurality : But they are resolving to throw in popular acts, and to endeavour to press the passing of them, before the acts for the subsidies be in readiness. My father and my wife being come to town only this night, I can write no more. I must tell you before I conclude, that our West-India fleet is fallen down the length of Kirkaldie-road, and are to set sail to-morrow or Monday ; they consist of 1200 men, whereof 300 are gentlemen. This is all I can let you know. Adieu.

EARL OF ARGYLE TO MR CARSTARES.

Marquis of Athol and Lord Nairne come over to oppose.—What Face Tullibardine puts upon his being turned out.

Edinburgh,
July 16.
1698.

Since I writt last post, I am still in better hopes that his Majesty's affairs shall go well. I am told Marquis of Athol and L. Nairne comes over to oppose, several other peers comes in ; but I think we shall not lose by that. You will know by the secretary, that Tullibardine does not deny he is not inclinable to seffe. He told in the shire of Angus, when he was over there, that he might have kept his place and been in favour, would he have gone in to the measures of the court ; but his conscience and his love to his country would not allow him : He said the same to the sheriff of Bute, and to several others. It is apparent, if he and his party oppose not, it is because they find it will be in vain. The Secretary is resolved, next council-day, the
letter

letter shall be presented; and I have convinced him, it was a bad measure in the Chancellor to delay it. I shall say no further now; but next I shall have a deal. Adieu.

EARL of ARGYLE to MR CARSTARES.

The Parliament has met.—Tullibardine cabals avowedly.—Colloden's Politics damned in consequence of his Activity.—He has gained Earl Marshal.

This day the parliament met, where all the usual formalities past without any dispute. The letter was read yesterday turning out our friend Tullibardine: He cabals avowedly; has sent to severals, and spoke to others, who tells me. I am very hopeful we shall carry the King's business; all of us takes our several men: I think I am happy in being successful with those I undertook. But Colloden, one of the commissioner's squade, unknown to the Secretary or me, went to their club, and made a proposition, out of the superfluity of his brain, for a composition of disbanding a part. They run in to it presently; and he fancied he had obtained a victory, which is quite contrary to the King's mind, and indeed would ruin the whole undertaking, if yielded to. I came to understand what past; I alarmed all our friends, and told them, I would go into no such measure, nor could be answerable; that was but our last recourse, if beat, when the King allowed it. So Colloden's politics are damned, and we begin a fresh. I wish it do not hurt, though we are now busy concerting our committees. Perhaps some of our opposers may be chosen in barrons and boroughs; for severals that will go along in the main, will not refuse chusing an old brother club-man to be on a committee. I have gained E. Marshall, with all his friends. I find your friend Hallcraig very frank, and severals who you'll be surpris'd at; but, before I venture to name their names, I'll have some proof of their resolution in the first skirmish that passes. If

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Abrucehill

Abrucehill were reponed to his place in council and exchequer, it would do good, and be a satisfaction to me. Sure I am I shall be sharer to a large degree in their resentment, if they be able, and am partaker of the toil. It will be hard if I be not gratified in what is for the service, as well as vindicating of my friend, and consequently me. I am your's.

BOYLE of Kelburn, afterwards Earl of Glasgow, to Mr CARSTARES.

*Of his Motion for the continuation of the Subsidies three Years.—
This would save the Expence of a Parliament, which costs the Nation five months Cefs.*

Dear SIR,

I received your obliging kind letter, and shall never be wanting, on all occasions, to testify my gratitude for your repeated favours. I did propose the continuation of the subsidies for three years at least; but, in the commissioner's chamber, was over-ruled: But I must tell you, that it would have carried by a hundred to fifty; and it had been much the interest of the country; for our frequent parliaments are as idle and as heavy a cefs as we bear: Every session of parliament costs this nation five months cefs; and three more would have continued the subsidies for the third year. Sir, No doubt you have large accounts of my Lord Tullibardine and White-law's behaviour, professing their tender concern for the poor country, that should be cessed at this juncture; but every man that hath eyes in his head, evidently sees that it's their own humour they pursue, and neither the King nor country's interest: For my part, I think no honest man can distinguish betwixt the King and country's interest, being inseparable in my view; and the most part of the standing force we have at present will be found absolutely necessary, in my humble opinion, even in the most serene and settled peace.

I

I presume to give my most obedient, faithful, humble duty to the
E. of Portland; and am,

Dear SIR,

Your most sincerely affectionate,
and obliged faithful humble servant,
(Signed) BOYLE of Kelburn.

P. S. Sir, All our west-country commissioners have acted as one
man for the King's interest. Adieu.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

*A Detail of three Days Proceedings in Parliament.—The Weakness
of the Opposition, and who were the Opposers.*

SIR,

I have just now done with dinner, and am verie wearied with
the fatigue I have had this day in parliament; and so cannot
wreat all the particular circumstances of what has occurred: But
we have used our endeavours faithfully for the King; and, I bless
God, with good success. We have mett in parliament but three
dayes. The first day we made our publick speeches; the second
day we gained all our committies; and now, this day, we have
gained all that we proposed. The committies mett yesterday, and
past a vote, *nemine contradicente*, (except my Lord Whitlaw, who
voted no,) That the number of forces upon the present establish-
ment are necessary for the safety and preservation of the kingdome,
and that therefore they ought to be continued. This day we re-
solved we would bring it into the house, and the Earl of Tullibar-
dine mustered all his forces. The first poynt that was under
consideration was proposed by the laird of Livingstone, that such
of the members as had not signed the association, within the time
prescryved be the act of parliament, should not now be allowed to

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sign

sign the same, but should be expelled the house. After a full reasoning of this matter, of which I shall give you a particular account, we carried it against them by 100 and odd votes to 32; and immediately thereafter Major Buntine, Forbes of Craigeware, Forbes of Fovran, Boswall of Kirkaldie, and a great many others, were admitted, and signed the association: Bot of this fully afterwards. However, this encouragement did so damp the other party, that they were not able to make any considerable defence against the vote for maintaining the troops. And, to give you a short account, instead of a long, this night, we carried the vote of the committee, in the house, by 110 to 38. We had also a great dispute this day, about the petition of the Africane company; which my Lord Tweedell brought in, and sett it in opposition to the report of the committie: Bot we carried it, and kept the petition of the Affrican company from being read this day; but it will be read upon Wednesday next. This is all I am able to write. You may communicate this to the Earl of Portland; bot the flying packet will be ther as soon as this, which shall be full as to the way and manner how every thing was done; and what difficulties we had, and what difficulties doe yet occur. This is all this night, I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

(Signed) SEAFIELD.

I must only let you know the opposers. There was the Earl of Tullibardine, the Earl of Ruglen, the Lord Balheaven, Grant, my Lord Enstruther, my Lord Fountonhall, Sir Thomas Burnet, and Sir Francis Scott.

LORD

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

A further Detail of the Proceedings in Parliament; and the Conduct of particular Members.

S I R,

This day the parliament mett again. Nothing of consequence occurred in it, save that, with the greatest pains, toyle, and fatigue in the world, we have carried the committees; so as neither amongst the noblemen, barones, nor burrows, is there one elected but those that were in our concerted lists, whereof there is a copie inclosed. Neither the Earl of Tullibardine, Ruglen, nor Belhaven, nor Marquis of Twedell, were able to get themselves elected; for we had, that did vote in every particular with us, thirtie eight noblemen to eleven; and we carried the list of the Barrons by 12 votes; and we had almost the burrows intirely. My Lord Lothian for the nobility, Sir John Maxwell for the Barrons, and the President of the session for the burrows, are the committie appoynted for drawing the answer to the King's letter. This will at least convince you, and all that understands any thing of our business, that the Earl of Tullibardine and his followers are not capable to make us any opposition; and any body might have seen them dejected enough upon this occasion. And I will say, all the measures that have been taken this winter are acceptable to the nation. But the greatest difficulty we have is, that the country is excessively poor, and there is appearance of a very bad crop; yet, with the assistance of God Almighty, I am hopefull we shall carrie on our business. There was verie great difficulty to get my Lord Annandale brought upon the committie: However, the Duke of Queensberry and my Lord Argyll yielded, upon his promise to concurr in what concerns the King; and they perswaded Morton to yield in his favours. And so, by capitulation, we got on both him and Carmichall. I could have wished likewise that the Earl of Lauderdale had been named on the committie; but, tho'

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tho' he takes the disappoyntment a little ill, yet we durst not adventure to make any furder incroachment on our consert, least we should have disobliged our friends; and Lauderdale may be pleased another way. This farr we have been succesful. And, since matters are as I have told you, we are resolved to put matters to the push, with all possible heast; and, for this end, the committee for the security is to meet to-morrow; and all of us that are concerned in the management will attend. Colloden and Commissarie Monro failed us this day; for non of them was ther at the time of the electing the committee. Sir John Hume and Dal-folly did concurr heartily, and Sir William Denholm of Pitliven, and Sir Archibald Murray of Blacbaronie, Sir John Maxwell, Kailburne, and Mr Francis Montgomerie, and many more, have all answered our expectation. Bot they that have done us the best service of any are, the Provost of Edinburgh and Commissary Smollet. I will wreat again upon Saturdaye's night. Give my most humble service to the Earl of Portland. If we be successfull betwixt and Tuesday, I will presume to write to him; and, till then, I doubt not bot you will let his Lordship know what has past; and you may let him know, in our names, that all of us who are the King's servants are doing, and have done our best. The Marques of Atholl is here; bot he finds that his son's partie is decreffing; and so I think he will not come in. My Lord Tullibardine, and those of his company at the Ship-tavern, were for brakeing three of the King's regiments; and so they would have left him his troop of gairds, my Lord Teviot's regiment of dragoons, his regiment of foot-gaird, and that at Fort William. The project now on foot, is to present an address from the East India company to the parliament, a *habeas corpus* law, and some other popular acts; however, we shall doe our best as to all these. This is all from Y. M. H. S.

EARL

EARL of MELVIL to Mr CARSTARES.

*Of the Proceedings in the Committee of Security and Parliament.—
Of Church-Affairs.—Whitelaw dissented.—Annandale a Prose-
lyte.*

S I R,

I am sure the news this post brings will be very welcome, seeing it carries an account of an entire defeat of these, whose humour or interest engaged them to oppose his Majesty's business. The close and continued cabals of a malecontent party gave us some apprehensions of a warm campaign; but, blessed be God, the storm is almost over, and nothing left to those grumultonians but the remorse in being of a party so much contraire both to their duty and true interest. Yesterday the committee for security of the nation took his Majesty's most gracious letter into consideration, and passed a vote, that the maintainance of the same number of forces on the present establishment was necessary for the safety and security of the kingdom. This day the report was agreed to in parliament, and carried by a plurality of votes. There is a remit to the committee, to consider how long the said forces are to be kept up, and what ways and means are to be fallen on for making the funds most easy and equal to the lieges, and most effectual to the King. The consideration of which requiring some time to prepare and digest the several schemes and overtures to be given in on that subject, his Grace thought fit to adjourn the parliament till Wednesday next at ten o'clock. Mr Seaton and another of his brethren are here, on pretence that the late commission from the general assembly was displeased with their meetings; and that they designed to have it explained, whether the judging of scandalous and erroneous ministers belonged to them or the privy council. If the parliament determine in favours of the first, the other party will not miss to make a noise of it: So that, for peace of church and state, I wish things may

Edinburgh,
July 23.
1698.

may be continued in the state they are in, till a more seasonable opportunity offer for redressing what may be thought amiss in either.

My Lord Whitlaw also dissented in the committee, but spoke none. The Earl of Annandale is a proselyte, and spoke with a great deal of zeal, as all new converts use to do.

I write to you with the frankness of one who relies on your friendship; and you may believe me entirely your's. Adieu.

DUKE OF QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

*Of the Schemes of the Opposition.—The Noblemen engaged in it.—
Lauderdale and Annandale deserted, upon hearing that the King
was to allow no Man in the Opposition to enjoy Place or Pension.
—Necessary to enforce this upon the King, otherwise they will
be contemptible.—Teviot's Insolence.*

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 24.
1698.

Though my son's condition obliged me to stay at London some days longer than I designed, yet I made it up by riding post, and arrived here at the same time I promised the King. There never was such caballing as we found here; and the engagements of some persons were no less than under oath to appear against the affair; which, however, we found a way to make some of them break. They designed at first to give the King no supply, nor allow of any standing army, except the guards: But, finding that would not do, my Lord Tullibardine proposed the restricting of the army to a smaller number: However, after much debate, we brought it to the question, and carried, that the army should stand as it is. There were engaged against us at first, the Marq. of Tweeddale, E. Sutherland, E. Lauderdale, E. Annandale, E. Tullibardine, E. Ruglen, my Lord Duplin, Lord Belhaven, Lord Bargainie, Lord Ruthven, and Lord Burly. We found there cabal so throng, that we were obliged

Obliged to let it be known, that the King was resolved that no man that opposed him should enjoy either place or pension of him; upon which, the Earls of Lauderdale and Annandale came over to us; and, to show how little pickish we were, though we had fixed upon the list of our great committee, yet, upon my Lord Annandale's coming over, I persuaded Morton to give his place to him. Of the gentry, there appeared Lord Anstruther, (who has a pension, and never deserved it.) Culloden came and offered his service, but was false to us; for, besides that he absented upon the day of battle, he went to their cabals, and told, that he had a warrant from the commissioner to yield to the disbanding of some of the forces; which was like to have taken many of our side from us, several being inclined to that way of accommodation. It cost us a great deal of work to cure this: But he was made appear to be a liar; and we have not seen his face since. Most of those that the commissioner engaged for turned their back, such as Sir Alexander Monro, Torwoodlie, and others. My Lord Ross was not with us, nor had the courage to be with them. Nothing contributed more to our success than the laying aside Earl Tullibardine from the council: And, though I never advised the King to hard things, yet, if he does not make good what we were obliged to say, and take from all these who opposed him the favours they have from him, we shall be looked upon as liars, and made contemptible; whereas, if he go firmly on, he may make his business easy both to himself and his servants, and, in all reasonable things, do what he will hereafter. E. Ruglen and the rest should immediately lose their places and pensions; and the King may keep them void as long as he pleases. It is to be observed, that all the opposers are either of the family of Hamilton by relation, or other ties. By this, the King may judge their strength. And I will tell you further, that, if we had had but some days longer to have influenced people, they would not have had ten to have followed them; as it was, themselves and all were but 38. If the King should not think fit to do what I now advise, we shall never be capable to serve him afterwards; and what I say,

E c c

upon

upon my honour, is from the sincerity of my heart, and proceeds from no pick: The reason of the thing may make it a demonstration, and is more manifest to us that are upon the place, where things have a view that cannot be expressed by writing. I will not bragg; but, if it had not been the influence we had upon our friends, and the fright we put our opposers into, by the method I have already told you, the matter had not been so easily carried. E. Annandale never came over till the night we were to chuse our committees, that he saw his party could not carry it: He is now very forward; how long he will continue so, no body knows. We are to-morrow to go upon the funds, and the continuance of them, in which I hope we shall prevail for two years at least: And, if the King will be pleased to follow advice, his business after this may go smoothly on here during his life. The great Lord Teviot carries as high as ever, and shows still more and more neglect of the nobility, and particularly, he despises my Lord Argyle and me. He now disputes a point with my Lord Argyle, which he never did formerly; neither with me, when I commanded the guards, nor with my Lord Argyle till now; and that is the giving of the word to the guards of horse, which he never hitherto pretended to; nor was it ever pretended to by any commander in chief in this kingdom; for, wherever the King or his Commissioner is, the guards had always the word immediately from them: But he thinks he may do what he will, and braggs of the King's favours beyond all other men; but I hope the King will in time rid us of him. I am very sure it would be a great ease and satisfaction to his Majesty's faithful servants here, to be delivered from such an unnecessary burthen, and would encourage us to proceed more vigorously than is possible for us to do while he is amongst us. Give my humble service to my Lord Portland, who I thought needless to trouble with any account of affairs, not doubting but you will impart to him what you think necessary. My Lord Seafield has been at a great deal of pains, and was very useful upon this occasion. There was never a more frequent meeting of the nobility; and they were
all

all as one man for us, except those few that I have already named. I have now troubled you with a very long confused letter, and which I believe you will hardly read, I being obliged to write it in great haste; but I hope you'll take it well, for I do it both because I value your friendship, and persuade myself I have it; and I hope you will believe that I am most sincerely your's, &c. So, without ceremony, adieu.

My wife has been ill upon the road; I expect her this night at Haddington, where I am just now going to meet her.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Happy in getting over the Supplies before the East-India Affairs and the Habeas Corpus.—He is to endeavour to prevent what is intended for both.—The Opposers must meet with Discouragement.

S I R,

I have no time to write to you fully; neither is it necessary; for I have sent the Earl of Portland an memorial, which contains an full account of all our proceedings. We have lost no time in doing the King's business; and it is of very great advantage; for now they are using their endeavours to get something done in favours of the East-India company by the parliament; and they will also endeavour to have a vote for a *habeas corpus* law. I shall do what I can to prevent all these; but what success I may have in it I know not; but I am sure my Lord Tullibardine's power, nor Whitelaw's, do signify nothing. The Earl of Annandale has heartily concurred, and seems to be broke with Tullibardine. The Earl of Lauderdale and Carmichael do also concur; and none of my friends have as yet failed me. I know you have more full letters from the Earl of Argyle, the Justice-Clerk, and the Advocate; and you may call, and I doubt my Lord Portland will let you see the

Edinburgh,
July 25.
1698.

memorial I have sent to him. It is thought by all, that the opposers ought to meet with discouragement, especially those of them that are in the King's service. I have directed my letter for the King under the Earl of Portland's covert. I am Y. M. H. S.

EARL of MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

With a Copy of Proposals, and the Vote of Parliament.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 25.
1698.

You may easily imagine I cannot get much time to write. The committees have been chosen to our satisfaction. You have here the minutes of the two first days, all yet published; as for the third day, you have the copy of a proposal, and the vote of parliament on the end of it, by which you will see, that the greatest difficulty is overcome. I have sent you the copy of my speech, and the Lord President's. I have written pretty fully to the King, and have sent a copy to the Earl of Portland of the letter. I am very hopeful all shall go well; for our friends take true pains, which pleases me much. I am,

S I R,

Your very obliged friend and humble servant,

(Signed)

MARCHMONT.

PROPOSALS of the number of Forces to be kept up the Time of Peace within this Kingdom, and for maintaining of the Disbanded Officers. Presented by the Earl of Tullibardine.

1. *Impr.* The troops of guards consisting of six score.
2. The regiment of foot-guards consisting of sixteen companies, being two battalions.
3. A regiment at Fort-William, consisting of thirteen companies.

4. A regiment of dragoons, consisting of eight troops.
5. The garrisons in Edinburgh castle, Stirling and Dumbarton castles, according to the present establishment.
6. That the field-officers of the disbanded regiments, who have not sufficient estates of their own, be put upon half pay.
7. That the troops of guards, being in number six score, do consist of the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns of the disbanded regiments, at 4 sh. Sterling *per diem*.

Edinburgh 23. July 1698.

Resolved in plain parliament, that it is necessary, for the support of the government, and safety of the kingdom, that the number of the forces upon the present establishment be continued.

(*Sic subscribitur*) SEAFIELD, J. P. D. P.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of his Success in obtaining Supplies for keeping up the present Establishment two Years.—The Provost of Edinburgh of great Use by entertaining the Boroughs.—All owing to his Majesty's Servants, in whom the Nation have Confidence.—East-India Company.—Afraid they will press the Parliament to address against Sir Paul Rycault.

SIR,

We are proceeding in the King's affairs with all the diligence and expedition we can use; for, since my last, we have carried, both in the committee and in the parliament, that supplies shall be given for maintaining the forces upon the present establishment, for two years, commencing from Martinmas 1698, and ending at Martinmas 1700. There was great difficulty in this, though at last we carried it by two to one. We spoke to all our friends of
three

Edinburgh,
July 27.
1698.

three years at least ; but we found it was impossible ; for, in the time of war, they had never given above two years at once : And the great argument that convinced them to continue the forces was, that the peace was not yet so fully established, as that we could say our dangers were over. But they said, that, if it were not settled in two years, it would never come to a settlement. However, we tried in the committee, by insinuations, a longer time than two years, and my Lord Commissioner did at last speak of two years and a half at least ; but that would not do : So we brought it a vote for two years, or a shorter time ; and it carried in the committee for two years. But there was eight votes against us, my Lord Carmichael was one ; but both my Lord Lauderdale and Carmichael voted for two years in the parliament. The provost of Edinburgh did us special service in this matter ; for, the night before, he called the boroughs together, and entertained them, and brought them to a consent ; and so we carried this matter. And I hope his Majesty will be satisfied that we have done him good service ; for as yet there has not been a hot word past in parliament. These that have set themselves up for opposition have failed in their designs ; and what is got, has been obtained by the influence of his own servants. We are apprehensive of no danger now, except from the petition of the East-India Company. The nation does generally incline to give them all encouragement ; for they are but immediately failed, and they have 1200 men on board, with more than a year's provisions ; and it is said in the general, that their project is so well founded, and so agreeable to their act, that it cannot miscarry : However, I believe, and so does most people here, that it will not succeed so well as is expected ; but yet no man that desires to be well esteemed of in his own country will be persuaded to oppose what is for the interest of the company. I told my Lord Portland, in my memorial to him, how I waved the reading of the petition the first day ; but there was necessity for reading it yesterday ; yet I stopt it till we got the vote passed for the maintaining the forces for two years, and then it was read ; but the consideration of it was put off
till

till the next week. In the mean time, we are preparing our funds, and are doing what we can to have them adjusted before the petition be considered. I am afraid that they press to address the King against Sir Paul Ricot; but I shall use my utmost endeavours in this matter for his Majesty's service. This is all the account can be given you this night, by Y. M. H. S.

EARL OF MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

With the Resolve of Parliament.—Anxious to know how the King is pleased with what is done.—Praises D. of Queensberry, E. of Argyle, and Lord Seafield, the present Managers.

S I R,

I have not time to say much. The last step of our parliament you have as follows:

Edinburgh,
July 28.
1698.

Edinburgh, 27th July 1698.

Resolved in plain parliament, that funds be given for maintenance of the number of the forces upon the present establishment for two years, viz. from November 1698 till November 1700.

(*Sic subscribitur*) SEAFIELD, I. P. D. P.

I know not how this will please the King; but I am sure when he comes to know all that I do, of what I have met with here, his Majesty will think that this affair is brought to a good pass. I pray you fail not to let me know how his Majesty esteems what we have done. I am,

S I R,

Your very obliged humble servant,

(Signed) MARCHMONT.

BOYLE.

BOYLE of Kelburn to Mr CARSTARES.

Now evident that it was the King alone who supported the opposite Party.

Dear S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 29.
1698.

I question not but you have got several accounts of the proceedings of this session of parliament, how that my Lord Tullibardine, and Ruglen, and Whitelaw, with all the followers they could make, barefacedly opposed the King's business in every thing hitherto; but the King's affairs have gone on as well as could be wished; for we continued the forces upon the present establishment for two years, by a hundred and ten votes to thirty-eight: So that now that club-faction that set themselves up as a negative upon the King's business is out of doors, and many of their followers fall off daily, and frankly vote in the funds for supplying the forces; so that there were not above eight persons that went alongst with them against the sels. I hope that which I have confidently asserted to the Earl of Portland is now evident, that it was the King alone that supported that party: And now all honest men have reason to thank God that the King's business goes on so chearfully, so smoothly, and so free of the least heat and animosity. And I can assure you, Sir, that the Duke of Queensberry, my Lord Argyle, and my Lord Seafield have no small share in this great unanimity. The condition of our country is very calamitous; and, if it had not been for the great value and regard that many members of parliament had for the present managers of the King's business in this parliament, such chearfulness could not have been expected. So begging pardon for this trouble, I ever am,

Dear S I R,

Your most obliged, faithful, humble servant,

(Signed)

BOYLE of Kelburn.

EARL

EARL of MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

The Act for Supplies touched with the Sceptre.—A motion of Teviotdale's and another of Tullibardine's rejected.

S I R,

I send you the minutes of the 27th and 29th days federunts. This day the act was read again, and reasoned upon; and, after some debate, was approven, having very few votes against it: Then being signed by the Lord President of parliament, I called for it to the throne, and I gave the royal assent by the touch of his Majesty's sceptre.

Edinburgh,
July 30.
1698.

The Marquis of Tweedle presented an overture in writing, that neither the troop nor regiment of guards shall hereafter be called to serve out of this kingdom, except they take their rank and post that is due to them as the guards of the King of Scotland.

This occasioned some reasoning; but the Lord President had a very pertinent discourse; whereupon the overture was let fall. Then the E. of Tullibardine moved, that an appropriating clause should be added in the act; but, after some reasoning, the house shewing no inclination to it, the motion was let fall.

I think measures have been discreetly taken in this session; and I am persuaded that his Majesty will be of the same opinion when he has an account of all particulars. I am,

S I R,

Your very affectionate humble servant,

(Signed)

MARCHMONT.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Enlarges upon the Particulars in the foregoing Letter.—Desirous, if possible, to keep off from addressing in behalf of the African Company; but lucky that the King's Business is almost over.

S I R,

I have written very fully to the Earl of Portland this night. His Majesties affairs doe not as yet go on very well. His forces

Edinburgh,
July 30.
1698.

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are now supplied for two years after the first of November. The E. of Tullibardine, Marques of Tweedell, Ruglen, my Lord Whitlaw, Sir Francis Scot, and Lord Enstruther, did continue to oppose to the last; and, when all would not doe, they first endeavoured to gett appropriating clauses adjected, that it might appear that the parliament had no trust in the King; but they failed in this project: And then it was proposed by the Marques of Twedell, and further enlarged upon by the Earl of Tullibardine, that ther should be an exprefs clause in the act for the subsidies, discharging the troop of guards, and foot-guards, to be imployed in his Majesty's service abroad, untill they were restored to their rank as guards for the King of Scotland, I told them, that what information they had given in this matter, was undeutie to the King, and false in matter of fact; and, tho' the regiment of foot-guards did take place immediately after the Dutch guards, yet that was by reason that they wer established a regiment of English guards: And the proposall meeting with little satisfaction in the house, they were forced to let it fall. They had several other extravagant proposals to have made; but, the first not succeeding, they did forbear. If it please God that I have the honour to see the King, I shall let him know fully all that past; and I hope his Majesty will be convinced that we have served him faithfully and affectually, and that it is his interest that the opposers be discouraged. The parliament is adjourned till Wednesday, that we may have time to work off the African address if possible, at least to make it very smooth; but we desire the first: But of this I shall write more fully afterwards. It is good that the King's affairs is almost over; it will make the opposers more calm then otherways they would have been. I am your M. H. S.

I have an untollerable fatigue. I did preceed this day in the above seven hours, and did thereafter give a publick dinner. So you will excuse me if my accounts be not so full.

EARL

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

A lively Recapitulation of the Conduct of the different Parties in Parliament.—How several of the Individuals on both Sides behaved.—Anxious about the African Company's Affairs; but glad the Supplies are over before they come in.—Substance of his speech.

In my last I acquainted you how well his Majesty's affairs prospered in the hands of those he is pleased to repose trust in; and, to inform you of true matter of fact, not one of those who depend on D. Queensberry, V. Seafield, or myself, have failed in one vote; nor have our profiliters, who are not our immediate dependers, which number are not a few, and when the roles of parliament are produced, they shall be particularly known. Sir Archibald Muir has acted a good part; and the tack to the borroughs has been of good use upon this occasion. Mr Francis Montgomrie (I may call him one of V. Seafield's squade) has been forward, and has induced severals, to my knowledge, to his Majesty's interest; and, of those which have their eye on the D. Queensberry, Kelburn has been very active; and severals, who never voted for fesse formerly, has been forward in it now. As for my share, I shall leave it to others to acquaint you; only one thing I am a little vain of: I caried two Hamiltons of the family Barns Hamilton, and Hamilton for the town of Lanarick, who love not to part with their money. A great many such passages has been wrought, which, in proper time and place, will not be a miss to be told. Justice Clerk has indeed behaved himself very well and forwardly in the whole. L. Carmichaell, who you know both of us has a kindness for, made some slips; he was for a year and a half in place of two years. E. Anandale, who we likewise brought into the committee, at the commissioner's desire, has gone franckly on. How long he will continue his countenance, I cannot determine; but, at this time, by the undeserved compliment we put upon him,

Edinburgh,
Aug. 4,
1698.

he has been pretty forward ; by which you see I send you true matter of fact. E. of Sutherland, though doled, and void of both sense and words, voted strongly against the King in all the votes, as did L. Enster, L. Salton, L. Rivan, L. Bagenie. As for L. Ross, I gained him to vote but nonliquid, and thereafter voted along with us ; but spoke little or non. As for the M. of Tweeddale, he has acted a foolish part ; for they have made him give in all the foolish proposals. E. Tulibardine appears malicious even to the King's person, as you will know by his proposals from V. Seafield. M. of Atholl is all this time in town, but comes not to parliament. E. Ruglen voted boistrously against the continuing the forces, and against the supplies. L. Fountinhall has opposed. Now, least you chance to say too much in some of our friends behalfs, and I would not any way have you at a lose, you must know our friend Melvill has not opened his mouth scarce all this session, nor E. Leven but once, that I remember, anent the members who had not qualified in their favours : They have both voted right in all their votes ; but the little thing, the brother, has voted wrong in almost all the votes ; as has likewise L. Burlie and Rydie, who are near all their dependers I see them have at present. I shall put no construction ; but I think it a misfortune Sir Alexander Monro has absented. Colloden sometimes absented ; when he was present, voted against the King. Torwoodlie voted against the King ; the Laird of Grant furious against the King's business ; and the Laird of Livingston, with Brodie of Haflisk ; the Laird of Preston has acted the same part. Whitlaw was furious at first, as one that had been robbed of possession, as well as expectation ; but, in the end, he proves a little pacified, but still wrong. The other day, there was a petition presented by Dalrymple of Dalrymple craving warrant to cite Mure of Callwall, pretending he was not obliged to repeat : I heard it calmly at first ; but, in the end, when I found it was like to meet with favour, I attacked it so vigorously, that he withdrew it ; and next day I prest a vote in the matter : So that by a vote it was refused. I thought it

it was not good, upon any specious pretence, to open that door, now his Majesty's forces are secured their maintainance for two years: More was not possible to obtain; had we asked more, I am positive we had been run to one year; for our strongest argument for cess being necessity, and the present uncertainty of the peace, the King of Spain's condition, and the King's not having settled those alliances he was now about to make; for you must think all of us pretended to be very knowing, as you shall see by the inclosed paper, which is, as near as I can remember, all I said upon the occasion, when the number of years came to be debated in the house. You cannot imagine what fatigue V. Seafield has undergone; and, to consider what a turn four days made to the better, after our arrival, it looks like a dream. They had made such cursed lies, to obstruct the King's business, that all of a sudden they lost their reputation, when the truth was told. The parliament is adjourned to the 3d, in which day the African company's address is to be considered; which, I must confess, is the only thing I ever feared. One comfort I have, the King's business is now done; and much will remain in the commissioner's hand, not to let them go to any height, if any of our friends should grow houerfome upon this subject; tho' I am not out of hopes to have the better in this affair, by smoothing them a little. Ther other projects you will have from the secretary; besides what's offered, you shall have from me. I am your's. Adieu.

My most humble service to the Earl of Portland.

The parliament, in my humble opinion, by their continuing the forces upon the present establishment, have shewed their gratitude to his Majesty, for the many great things he has done for us; and they have also shewed their confidence in his Majesty, and ther value of his opinion, since he has been pleased to declare the present army necessary, that they have done the same. We now understand, by his Majesty's commissioner, that two years is the least his Majestie thinks can be condescended on for your security:

security: Should you diminish of that time, it would derogate from your former vote, wher you show that deference to his Majesty's opinion. His Majesty is now going in abroad, in order to make those alliances which may secure the peace of Europe: And, since the English parliament has not done all their business as yet, its probable ther next session may be long; and, though his Majesty intends to be amongst us, it cannot be presumed, upon those considerations, he can be here before this time two years. Why then should we take the opportunity from his Majesty of doing in person, what all of you says would be acceptable, of lessening your charge, if the circumstances of affairs will allow, which we cannot in justice doubt of, he having always showed so much tenderness to his people. I move, therefore, that the two year for maintaining the army be voted; and what we doe we may doe frankly.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

A minute and exact Detail of the Proceedings in Parliament relative to the African Company.—Defence of the King and Secretaries in the Affair of the Hamburgh Memorial.—Endeavours to wave the Prorogation of the Immunities of the Company, and asserting its Privileges;—who for and against this Motion.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Aug. 1.
1698.

In my last, I acquainted you that that the subsidies were past, and, for making the funds certain, ther is a roup of the excise appointed next week; and we are hopeful, if ther be any difference, to make it up, by turning the excise of brandy upon the importers, and taking it off the retailers; which will make L. 5000 and has hitherto amounted to little or nothing. I did also inform

form you, that I had prevented the effect of that proposal of the Marquis of Tweedel, and seconded by the E. of Tullibardine, of hindring the regiment of guards to be employed abroad, untill they were restored to their rank. I am just now informed, that they desire to propose, that none but Scotsmen shall be employed in the army. This is so ridiculous, that I have no apprehension of danger from it: But what troubles me most is, the petition and demands of the African company. I shall now endeavour to give you a full and plain account of what has past in that matter. Yesterday was appointed for taking that matter under consideration; and, therefore, without showing any apprehensions of danger, after reading of the minutes, I ordered the clerk to read the petition: Some pressed the reading of the memorial; but I waved that. There was at first a long silence; and I believe they expected that I should have spoke: But I said nothing. At last, Sir Francis Scott said, that, by the silence, he thought it was the opinion of the house, that the desire of the petition should be granted. I answered him, that as yet I heard none of that opinion but himself; whithall, I told him, that what was under consideration was of consequence; and that I did not doubt it would be fully spoke to. Then the M. of Tweedle, E. of Tullibardine, L. Whitlaw, and Sir John Houston, made their respective speeches, upon the great concern that all the nation had to support the East India Company; that a great sume of money had been advanced abroad upon that project; that their ships were sailed with a good number of men and officers, and with a considerable cargo; and that, notwithstanding of this, if the company did not meet with encouragement from the parliament, by asserting of their privileges, and by giving them a prorogation of their immunities, it would infallibly go to ruin. I waited a considerable time; but none of the King's servants speaking any thing, I thought it needfull to speak my mind freely; and yet I did it so, as that my enemies could catch no advantage of what I said. I did, in the first place, acknowledge, that it was of very great concern that the company should prosper,
and

and that I thought the only dispute among us would be, concerning the way and manner of giving support and assistance to it; and I told plainly, that the demanding of a prorogation of the immunities was neither needfull, nor proper to be proposed at this time; my reasons were, that there were yet 19 years to run of the years granted them by the act of parliament; that in that time there would be several parliaments, and they would have more fit opportunitys of proposing this prorogation. And, in the next place, it would be more easily obtained after their colony is settled than now; for as yet it is uncertain if it would be of any use to them or not. But, in the third place, I told, that the company could not expect that this could be granted; because neither my L. Commissioner nor I, who were employed for a long time in the preparing of the instructions, had the least insinuation that any such thing would be proposed; and, since there was no necessity of having this either granted or refused, now I hoped nobody would have the confidence to insist further in that matter. And whereas it had been said, that it was of small consequence to the King, and that it was of great import to the company, because it would convince them that they were under the King and parliament's protection, I told them, that there might be many proposals made of greater advantage to the company than this, which was of so small import; and it would be cross and contrary to the interest of the company to press a vote, when they were sure they could not have the commissioner's assent; for that was rather to make all believe that they could not have that encouragement which they pretended is so necessary at present; and there could be no bad consequence in delaying the pressing of it till a more fit opportunity. And, after this point was fully reasoned upon, I then spoke to the other parts of the petition; and, in particular, as to what concerned the memorial given in to the senate of Hamburgh: And I told them, that, as to that particular, I was able to give them full satisfaction; and I would say nothing in that matter but what I should find vouchers for in the house. I told them that, immediately

mediately after giving in that memorial, the King went abroad to Holland; that my L. Tullibardine and I came shortly thereafter to Scotland; that the company made application to us; that they told us they designed to address the lords of privy-council; that we diverted them from it, and persuaded them to send their petition by us to the King, which they did; that we both interposed, with all the earnestness possible, for a good answer; and that his Majesty did, upon this, very graciously promise, by his letter to us, that he would give orders to his resident at Hamburgh to make no further opposition in his name; that we did read this letter to the general council of the company; that we gave them an exact copy of it, signed by us both; upon this they returned us their thanks. The company did immediately dispatch this answer to their correspondent at Hamburgh; and there they did endeavour to understand if the King had given orders to his resident in the terms thereof, which his Majesty had delayed untill he returned, and untill he should have the opportunity of speaking with his servants concerning that matter; and then his Majesty did give these orders; and the company, not knowing that they were given, did again prepare to address the privy-council, but thereafter altered their resolutions, and sent an address to the King, to be delivered by us both, and which we did; and his Majesty gave us a very good answer, and told us, that he had given his orders to his resident, not to oppose the company in what they should propose in the terms of the act of parliament and letters patent. This answer we sent to Sir Francis Scott, who was president of the council, which I did not doubt was satisfying; and thereafter we heard no more from the company: And so I thought, since the King had done so much for them in this matter, that they would not offer to give him any farther trouble concerning it. My L. Tullibardine could not deny the truth of what I said; and I found the house very well satisfied with this account of the matter of fact; but he and the other opposers still insisted to have a vote passed for prorogating the immunities granted to the company; and then both my L. Annandale and my Lord Justice-

G g g

Clerk

Clerk spoke very well against this demand, as likewise did my L. President of the session and Sir John Hume. The President, in the end of his speech, made a proposal, that it should be remitted to a committee to consider what encouragement should be given to the company. Upon this occasion, my L. Whitelaw insisted to have that single point discussed in the house without any committee, and said, that he did not think that that was a good argument for the house to forbear proceeding, that his Majesty had not given an instruction. I told him, that I thought it was upon this occasion, seeing what the company was demanding was the King's annexed property, his customs; but, after a great deal of dispute, for this lasted above three hours, that I did not so much as sit down, it came to be agreed to by all, except three or four, that this affair should be committed; and then the dispute arose, if there should be a new committee elected, or if it should be committed to the committee of security; and we carried it by a great majority, that it should be remitted to the committee of security; and this day we have met, and has had this matter under our consideration; and the directors of the company have presented to us several new proposals: The first is, that there be an address to the King, that he give it under his hand that he will protect the company in all their priviledges. The second is, the prorogation of the years. The third is, That there be a new act ratifying the priviledges of the company. And the fourth demand, that the two small frigates may be given for their use. I confess I was angry when these were proposed; but I hope it shall turn to our advantage; for this does plainly make appear, that the directors of that company proceed by way of humour, and have no regard either to the honour of the King, or the satisfaction of his servants, or the true interest of the company; and nothing does straiten us in all this matter, but that the most honest and well-inclined men to the King's government, are both concerned in the company, and do not desire to oppose any thing that is proposed for it; and the whole ministers of the nation are praying for the success of that company; and many people have their friends and relations that have gone volunteers in
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the ships. God knows what a trouble this matter is to me, and what anxiety is upon my spirit to get fairly out of it, which I am hopeful I shall. We do treat and carress the members, and have our friends at work doing all they can with them. I hope, after tomorrow, to give you an account of the issue, which is of great consequence. We all think that we come well off, if we can get a smooth and easy address passed to the King, for protecting the company in their privileges. This will be no act of the King or his commissioners; and it is not to be imagined but that something of this kind would be done. I could write to you of several other particulars which I foresee; but this account is already too tedious. Give my most humble service to the E. of Portland, and let him have this memorial, which I think may be read to the King. I am your M. H. S. Adieu.

EARL OF MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

With Minutes of Parliament.—Desires to know how the King relishes the Parliament's Address in favour of the Company.

S I R,

I send you here the minutes of parliament of the 30th July and the 3d of August. The matter of the African Company, which was the great handle the opposers reckoned upon whereby to create us trouble, is now over, by an address from the parliament to his Majesty, in such terms as I hope shall please him. I have sent a copy of it to the E. of Portland. I am much concerned to know how his Majesty likes it. I am sure it cost us great pains to bring that matter to this pass. I am,

S I R,

Your very affectionate humble servant,

MARCHMONT.

G g g 2

DUKE

Edinburgh,
Aug. 8.
1698.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to MR CARSTARES.

Desires that the King may gratify Mr Primrose of Dalmeny in his Pretensions to be a Viscount.—His being Commissioner for the Shire of Mid-Lothian.—His great Estate, and his Services in this Parliament, entitle him to that Honour.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Aug. 8.
1698.

We have now got through most of our business; and with no small pains, and some dexterity too, we have got the blow put by which was designed by the address of the African Company; and I hope what is resolved in that matter will be acceptable to the King; and indeed less could not be done where the interest was so universal. I know you will have a more particular account of this and other things from others; so I shall only now say one thing to you. You already know how we have been obliged to ply people for their assistance and concurrence, and, among others, Mr Primrose of Dalmenie has been very useful; he serves for this shire, and by that means is called with the first in the rolls of commissioners for shires; he is a man of a great estate, and very good sense: These things made his vote exemplary; and he was also a very diligent solicitor with his acquaintances. I believe you are not ignorant of his pretensions to be a Viscount; he has now deserved it before he gets it, while others forgot the obligations lately put upon them by titles of that same nature. I hope this will be done; and, to tell you the truth, my L. Seafield and I are a little engaged in it. As I told you before, if the K. continue firm, and be pleased to follow the advice that will be given him, he may have Scotland in his hand; but, as he must encourage his friends by little marks of favour, so he must discourage his enemies; at least, make them, in so far as their interest or influence depends on himself, incapable to do him hurt: And the more frankly these things be done, they will have the better effect.

fect. Give my service to E. Portland; and believe me sincerely your's, &c. Adieu.

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the Address of the Parliament.—Pains taken to prevent it;—and, when that would not do, to clip it.—The King may now establish his Servants, by putting Marks of Displeasure upon the Opposers.—He must beware of Trimming.—A curious Passage betwixt Lord Montgomery and Lord Anstruther.

Since I writ last, our time in parliament has been mostly took up with that affair of the African company's address, the double whereof I conclude will be transmitted by the secretary: It was signed by L. Basil Hamilton as president to a scrimp committee. You'll see it is an angry one. All pains were took to divert the parliament's addressing at all, a proposition being made by us, that the secretary should represent to the King the inclinations of his parliament in relation to that company: But, in short, what betwixt the few angry people, and a deal of well-meaning men, who have not all the reach requisite, so strong was the humour for addressing, that our last resolve was to go into it with them, which is drawn as easy as was possible; the narrative of it is the harshest part: And you will see, by the wording of the parliament's address, that the sting is took out of the expressions in it as much as argument could prevail; as for example, (tending to lessen); for the others would have had it a positive rough assertion; and, when you peruse the double sent by the secretary, you'll see it all through clipped as much as possible of what might choak; and, in the terms it is, its passed unanimously; which, in my opinion, is much the best, considering the general concern the generality has in the company. I know the Advocate and others will be full in their accounts as to this matter. I shall say nothing farther in it. It is now in the King's power to establish

Edinburgh,
Aug. 8,
1698.

establish his servants, who have been always faithful to him, and particularly upon this occasion, what is done being of no small consequence, considering the present circumstances. I mean, his Majesty may so settle the government, that it cannot be hereafter in the power of an angry Tullibardine, or of any one family in Scotland, to cause him to doubt success in what concerns his Majesty. In what accounts I have from time to time given you, I have studied true matter of fact : And one thing I shall say, though it may look a little vain, though very evident to those upon the place, that nothing has facilitate the King's business at this time more than the love and regard the people has to those who managed ; for, considering the present poverty of the country, and the name of peace, our arguments would have little prevailed, had we not pleaded kindness. One thing I will say, that, if his Majesty can be on the place to honour us with his presence at the end of the two years, and that mean time he be pleased to follow the measure he said he would before we had finished, nay, begun this hard work ; if so, I doubt not but he may obtain any thing of this parliament which I know he will ask : But, if we turn again to a trim, and not show marks of displeasure effectually to the opposers, we shall be thought liars, and rendered less capable to serve him upon a pinch. I shall tell you one expression L. Enster had to L. Montgomery the other day. Says L. Montgomery, I admire most of you all that are opposers of the King's affairs, how E. Ruglen ventures, since I know the love he has for his money ; his place is advantageous. L. Enster replied in passion, What ! Do you think the others have interest to turn him out ? No, says he, they dare not propose it. And, to prove him a liar, pray do me the favour to offer it in my name to E. Portland, that it is his for his Majesty's service particularly E. Ruglen meet with such treatment as he gave the King when we asked the supply : And, when he is kick'd out, can any body say but it is just he refuses the King money, and the King will let him have no more of his money. This is but modest to propose ; it is stating his Majesty and E. Ruglen but upon an equal foot, as to the
resent-

resenting part. Some think the King will not venture to frown on the house of Hamilton; but I am not of that mind; an example that way is worth two. The least his Majesty's servants can expect after what is past is his countenance, and discountenance to the opposers. And when all the steps of our procedure is reviewed, it will be seen we took no advantage, but with moderation, making the King's interest our standard, still having a regard to our country, with whom we have gained interest, in spite of the King's enemies and opposers. Nothing has advanced affairs more than the happy choice of our President to the parliament. I confess I once thought Leven might have performed that part, but I find the old man sometimes does prevail with him, which would not have suited with our moderation. The secretary has promised by this express, to recommend Captain Menzies to be store-keeper in the castle of Edinburgh, in the place, of James Row, who is decrepit, and keeps his bed, and is useless. This Menzies is married to my uncle Neil's daughter, and so my cousin-german; which I flatter myself will induce you to be assisting in procuring him the place. You will have account from every body how assisting all of us has been to the commissioner, gaining him all the respect imaginable upon this occasion; for, if his Grace of Queensberry, the Secretary, and a very few others of us, had not been good seconds to him, it had been unfortunate; for, alas! Commissar Monro, Culloden, and Torwoodlie, and Jarviswood, either opposed, deserted, or fell sick; which I say not out of any reason, but pity the unluckiness of so many sundry accidents falling out to one squad. My most humble service to E. Portland. I am your's. Adieu.

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————— to Mr CARSTARES.

The Commissioner spins out the Parliament for his own Advantage.

———Seafield tired of a Scheme to bring my Lord Stairs into Parliament.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Aug. 13.
1698.

Your challenge in your last engages me to write to you oftener nor you will think worth your while; but, since you desire it, you shall have my scribble, though little worth. Our 88 goes on so slowly, that some honest men begin to desert and go home; 122 spinning it off for his own advantage; 119 seems to be weary of it. You will be surprised, when you understand there is so good an understanding, beyond expectation, by 47 treating 11, 30, 128, within these two days, where was 119; and there is nothing but covenants entered into. 145 was there, and that morning visited 128 anent 100 his coming in; and the first visit being thus made, it was expected 128 should have been softened by it; but I have no reason to think so. Next week we will see it, 100 being expected to come into 88. 30, whom you call my friend, outruns most in 76 affairs; but I cannot say it is much trusted. I hear he has writ to you, though nothing signified to me. I wish you good friends. Mind 8, who expects your friendship: And this day 119 dined with him in the country. 123 has not been well, and is in the country this eight days. 47 is gone to the country for three days; And, since you were pleased to offer to recommend me to your friends, you will be pleased to do it, (though I am no new tacksmen of the bishops rents), and particularly to 119. Adieu most heartily.

148 gives his service to you, who has been very active for 76 his business with 88.

LORD

88, Parliament.

122, Marchmont.

119, Seafield.

100, Earl of Stairs.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Difficulty in raising a Fund for broken Officers, and disbanded Seamen.—The amount of the Excise, &c.

S I R,

Since my last, we have been endeavouring in the committees to procure some relief to the broken officers and to the disbanded seamen; and we have hopes to carry an act for poll-money; but it is to be so regulate as that it will not reach the poor: And I must again tell you, that this nation was never in so low a condition, for they have neither money nor bread, which has made all our business the more difficult to us. However, I bless God we have served his Majesty effectually; and he may govern this nation for two years without any trouble, for the funds are good and certain. We have roused the excise this day for 40,000 pounds, free of all deductions or abatements; so that, in the haill, there is four score eight thousand pounds yearly for maintaining the forces, which is near four thousand pounds more than the establishment: And, if funds be given that can clear a part of the arrears of the army, I do not see where the King can meet with any trouble; but, on the contrary, he has it in his hands to bring matters to such a settlement, as that it will be far easier to continue his army, than it has been now to preserve it entire. And I find all his Majesty's servants in England do take particular notice of what we have done; and I hope it may prove to be of good influence even there. We will draw this parliament to a conclusion as soon as possibly we can. I shall be capable to write fully to the E. of Portland by my next; and, in the mean time, this will make my excuse, and will serve to let you know what is a doing. I am, in all sincerity, Y. M. H. S.

H h h

EARL

Edinburgh,
Aug. 15.
1698.

EARL OF SEAFIELD TO MR CARSTARES.

Of the Earl of Arran's being made Duke of Hamilton.—Tullibardine's Proposal to bring in the Earl of Stairs.—Disappointed by a Visit which Queensberry, Argyle, Philiphaugh, and Seafield paid him at Newliston.—The Terms upon which he agreed not to claim his Seat.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Aug. 20.
1698.

I have received your's this night, giving account of the Earl of Arran's being made Duke of Hamilton. This raises the expectations of some people who are here; and it is said that his Grace is coming down very soon. We have done little here since my last; but that we have read a great many private laws the first time; and therefore I am in hopes, that, in the end of the next week, or in the beginning of the week thereafter, we shall bring this session of parliament to a close. We are endeavouring to get a fund for the disbanded officers; but we have difficulty in it; for the country can scarcely bear greater subsidies than are laid on already. We have been in some difficulty concerning my L. Stairs. He has had an invitation from my L. Tullibardine and the club-party to come in and take his place in parliament; and he had great inclinations to do it; but my Lord Justice-clerk has declared, that, unless my L. Commissioner would give him positive commands in that matter, he would oppose his coming in, as being derogative from the vote of parliament in the matter of Glenco; and there were others of the club-party who were waiting for this opportunity. The president of the session was for some time very forward in this matter; but the commissioner is now become positive, that, since he has no instructions concerning my L. Stairs, he will not suffer him to come in. Whereupon the D. of Queensberry, E. of Argyle, L. Philiphaugh, and I, have been at Newliston this day, and we have persuaded him not to come in against the commissioner's inclinations,

tions, providing the commissioner write him a letter, desiring him not to come, and promising to represent him favourably to his Majesty upon that account. The Duke of Queensberry and I are to negotiate this matter with the commissioner to-morrow. I am Y. M. H. S.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

A more minute Detail of the Transactions with Lord Stairs.—Tullibardine and Whitelaw's Views in bringing him into Parliament.

S I R,

I have presumed this night to write fully to the E. of Portland of what has past since the address of the African company. I hope his Majesty is satisfied, that, in all that concerns him, we have done our best; and I shall neither doubt of his encouraging us who have served him faithfully, nor of shewing his displeasure with those who have boldly opposed him. You have had full accounts from time to time of any thing that has occurred that has been worthy of noticing; but, at meeting, I shall be able to give you more full satisfaction. We are just now endeavouring to procure some found for the arrears of the cashiered officers. I am hopeful we shall obtain it: But, whether we succeed in this or not, yet we cannot be blamed, the poverty of the country is so great; and several of the members who were very friendly to us have gone to the country, to look after their harvest. It was like to have occasioned us very great difficulty, that my L. Stairs has made a very close attempt to take his place as a nobleman in parliament. He met with great encouragement to come in from the E. of Tullibardine, Grant, and Whitelaw; and, in a word, by all those who have opposed. But the Justice-Clerk was positive, that, if my L. Stairs did offer to sit in parliament, that he would call for the votes and address passed in the 95 concerning the matter of Glenco; and if, after this, if the vote had

Edinburgh,
Aug. 23.
1698.

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carried,

carried, 'allow my L. Stairs to sit,' when the commissioner had not written instructions, we might have been blamed for it. I told the commissioner plainly, that there was nothing to be done but one of two; that is, all of us who are the King's servants to concur together in bringing my L. Stairs into the house; or that all of us should assist his Grace in keeping of him out. And the Commissioner being very positive that he would not allow him to sit, the D. of Queensberry, the E. of Argyle, my L. Leven, the President of the session, Philiphaugh, and I went to Newliston to my L. Stair, where, after a long reasoning, we brought it to this, That, if the Commissioner would interpose his authority with him by a letter, and desire him not to come in, he would give obedience to it; and accordingly the Commissioner did write a letter, which the President did carry to him last night; but I have not had time to speak with him since he returned: So now this matter is over without any heat or noise. It is true, that at first the President was very anxious to have his brother admitted; but, when he found the Commissioner positive, he did comply, and did give us very great assistance in persuading my Lord Stair to forbear; in so much, that he was very angry at him, and blamed him in some measure that he was not allowed to take his place in parliament. I do believe, for so it was said amongst themselves, that my L. Tullibardine and Whitelaw gave the greater encouragement to my L. Stairs, that they thought that his coming in would both have divided us, and might have occasioned some reflection upon our proceedings; but we are all convinced that this matter must be adjusted some way or other before the next session of parliament. I shall endeavour, before I part from this country, to bring with me a clear state of his Majesty's affairs; for the customs, the excise, the bishop's revenues, and all that concerns his Majesty's revenue, are now set, and under tack. We have past several private laws, as you will see by the minutes; but several difficult points may yet occur before all is ended; and I hope the adjournment shall be betwixt and Saturday come eight days; and, within ten days thereafter, I shall be going from this. This is all at present from Y. M. H. S.

EARL

EARL of MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

The Conclusion of the Session of Parliament.

S I R,

I got your letter of the 23d August from Loo, which was very comfortable to me. I had received before all you had written to my son; for all which I owe and return hearty thanks. I cannot get much written now, being in haste to write to his Majesty an account of the calm conclusion of this session of parliament, which I adjourned yesterday till the 15th of November. The letter which I have written to the King, whereof I have sent a copy to the E. of Portland, which no doubt you will see, together with the prints here inclosed, will give you a pretty clear account in so far as you have not had it before. So I shall add no more now, but that I am heartily,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 2.
1698

S I R,

Your very obleidged and affectionate humble servant,

MARCHMONT.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

State of the Revenues.—His great Fatigue this Session.—Happy that the King is pleased.—Queensberry surprised at Arran's Promotion.—How Melvil, Leven, and their Followers behaved in this Session.

S I R,

The parliament is now adjourned; and I hope his Majesty will be satisfied with what has been done in it. The opposers do still endeavour to bring in ane act, discharging all broad-cloath, fings, ferges, and stockings to be imported; and ane other act, for discharging all silk stuffs to be imported, or worn, except what

Edinburgh,
Sept. 2.
1698.

is

is manufactured within the kingdome. They did also press for ane *habeas corpus* law, and a law discharging all trade with France, except the French did allow our herrings, salmon, and what is the product of this country, to be imported there; and they did think themselves secure to bring most of these to a vote, and at least to lay them at the negative: But we have been so successful as that there is no vote past in either of these; and there is no acts voted but what have received the royall assent; and all the subsidies that we could propose in the terms of our instructions are granted: We have the tunnage for keeping off our ships, which runs for five years; we have poll-money imposed for two years, for payment of the arrears; and we have the excise upon brandy altered, so as that, after the expiring of the present tack, it will improve his Majesty's revenue L. 1000 ster. per year; and we have parted without any heat. I have not so full acquainted, either his Majesty, or the E. of Portland, with these proposals that were prepared and designed against us; but you may take your own way to acquaint them with it; for, from the time of the sitting down of the parliament, till now, I have nothing but toill and anxiety. It is my great comfort in all this, that we have had success, and that the King is pleased with what has been done in his service. I think it is needless for me to tell you of the sense I have of my L. Portland's friendship; but he has no body that wishes his interest better than I do; and I shall be faithful to him to the utmost of my power. The D. of Queensberry was a little surprised with the Earl of Arran's being made D. of Hamilton. The D. of Queensberry does truly deserve encouragement, and so does the Earl of Argyle. Melvill and my L. Leven were almost for all the proposals I have mentioned, tho' they did not appear very much in them above board; and Ballie James Ruthven, Reid, Strouie, and all Melvil's followers, except himself and Leven, were against us in every thing. However, I shall never be able to give you a full account of our business, till it please God we meet, and then you shall know all, and how and in what manner every thing has been managed. This is all from Y. M. H. S.

EARL

EARL OF ARGYLE TO MR CARSTARES.

The Reason of the Marquis of Tweeddale's giving no Disturbance to the Parliament.—Of Captain Frazer's Tryal.—Of what passed betwixt Tullibardine and Balnegowan.—His Claim of an additional Honour to his Family.—Wishes for a Pardon to Captain Frazer.—If Tullibardine go on, he will make all the Highlanders fly to Arms.

The parliament is now come to a conclusion in calmer and better terms than could have been expected. There are two years poll granted for payment of arrears; and the parliament have past a vote, that they will make up to the King what falls short of Balheaven's tack. It fell out fortunately an act was presented with prospect to the Lady Dalkeith's jointer, which some thought might encroach upon entails; and Marquis of Tweeddale thought it might touch him, which occasioned some debate betwixt the opposers and us: At length, when it was coming to a vote, Marquis Tweeddale desired to be heard by his lawyer, which was like to be denied him. I confess I love not to hurry matters; nor do I like to introduce a bad precedent, not knowing where it may hitt one time or other; upon which I gave way to Tweedal's desire, and all yielded: The act was presented no more; but we kept it as a whipe over his head: So that, during the continuance of the parliament, none of that gang durst offer any of ther impertinent acts, which they had flattered themselves to make us uneasy by; for they knew we could carry that of entails. Your will certainly have a particular account from the secretary, what fell out as to Tullibardine last week; and it will not be amiss to introduce the story. The Laird of Ballengowan, who is Rosse to his name, has nigh upon as good a command as Athol has; nay, he and the Frasers together are much better. He is married to my aunt; and came over to Edinburgh upon the occasion that Captain Frazer was to be tryed in absence before the justice court, for convocation of the
liedges:

Edinburgh,
 Sept. 3,
 1698.

liedges : For it is to be observed, that they dare not pursue him for a rape, or forcing the lady ; for, in that case, I do assure you he is content to sift himself at the bar, and take his fate ; and, which is more, he will adduce no witnesses, but refer all to the Lady Lovat's own oath, if she did not voluntarily marry, sent for the minister herself, and, which is more, if what past betwixt them, in consequence of the marriage, was not as much her inclination as his : All which he will submit to her oath. It seems E. Tullibardine understood that Ballengowan was to present a petition to the parliament, craving to be heard by his lawyer, as creditor to Captain Frazer, since he was absent ; and that if in case, as certainly in absence, judgement must go against him, then Ballengowan would lose his debt ; since all the visible estate Captain Frazer has is the lady's jointure. Tullibardine, upon this, went at night with two of his brothers, L. Edward and L. James, and a third person, to Ballengowan's lodgings ; ask'd for him. He was answered, he was not at home ; however he went in ; searched all the rooms, and some other people's chambers about, and particularly a closet which was shut ; called for the key ; went into it ; and, last of all, pretended he was looking for lodgings, which was too plain a sham, he having the lodgings in the Abbey which I ought to have, and another in town, which was Bannockburn's. Thereafter, Ballengowan, at the twilight, was standing at the cross, when there came a gentleman to call him to speak to one ; and so the story goes on, as you will see by the signed declaration by Ballengowan. The first part, of his going to his lodgings, is not in the declaration ; for he knew it not till his landlady told him of it since : But it can be proved, and is a circumstance to make any indifferent person believe the rest. You have heard likewise what the commissioner did upon Ballengowan's signed complaint ; how Tullibardine and all the rest were let out upon bail ; how Tullibardine made a heavy complaint of the commissioner seizing him in time of parliament, which the commissioner took up briskly, as did the president of the parliament : And Tullibardine fell as simply from his attack as he made it. A
demon-

stration to inforce the just opinion the world has now of him; and since you took notice how obliging he is to me in all his actions, it seems he has a particular regard for the church; for he is resolved you shall make your observe good to the end. We might have easily sent him to the castle, for founding a complaint against one who represented the King; but I said not a word, thinking calm methods pleases our master best. The *habeas corpus* act, and that of discharging English cloath, were both foregot by Tweedal's fear of the intail-act. Now, what my part and share in doing the King's business at this time has been, I shall not represent myself, but leaves it to the whole kingdom, who I dare apeal to. I have but one thing to ask, which is, the honour to the family I represent; which I hope the E. of Portland will not slip this opportunity to obtain for me. Please to read the inclosed, and seal. I have said nothing of my particular to him; because I am so vain to think I deserve to be minded. I am ever your's. Adieu.

I had almost forgot to say my opinion in relation to Captain Fraser. Since he, by his offer of referring all to the lady's oath, and sisting himself to answer all which can be alledged of barbarity, rudeness, or call it what they please, towards the ladie, and since this was what gave countenance hitherto to the severities used to him and those of the name, I think the goverment should not push that of the convocation too far; and that often highlanders are used to gather together upon slight grounds; and that he had no design against the goverment. The King cannot do a more acceptable thing to the generality than send him his pardon for the convocation: As to what else, he will stand his tryall. If Tullibardine be allowed to go on, and that if he be not stopt as I propose, I protest I believe it may occasion a deal of bloodshed; for, if one begin, all the Highlands will in ten days fly together in arms: And if my advice be took, I shall undertake there shall not be the least disturbance. This I desire you may say to E. Portland, that I may be exhonored in giving my advise, since I am most particularly concerned in highland affairs. It is to be considered, that if con-

vocation is an immediate crime against the King, none can complain if the King forgive a crime committed against himself. Adieu.

LOVAT's Letter to the EARL of ARGYLE.

The present melancholy Situation of his Family.——Claims Argyle's Protection.

My Lord,

The entire friendship which the family of Lovat had with, and dependence upon that of Argyle, grounded upon an antient propinquity of blood, and zealously maintained by both, through a tract and series of many ages, has imboldned me, with several of my friends, to address unto your Lordship by these, giving account of our circumstances, and craving your Lordship's advice and assistance in the present juncture. We have gained a considerable advantage by my eldest son's being married to the Dowager of Lovat; and, if it please God they live some years together, our circumstances will be very good. Our enemies are so galled at it, that there is nothing that malice or cruelty can invent but they design and practice against us: So that we are forced to betake us to the hills, and keep spies at all arts; by which, among many other difficulties, this is one of the greatest, that my daughter-in-law, being a tender creature, fatigue and fear of bloodshed may put an end to her; which would make our condition worse than ever. They'll have us impeached for a convocation, and making prisoners of the Lord Salton, Lord Mungo Murray, with a half dozen more gentlemen; for which we were charged by the sheriff, compeared before him, were fined, obtained a discharge of our fines, and secured the peace. Also they'll have my son and his complices guilty of a rape, though his wife was married to him by a minister, and they

they have lived always since as man and wife. My Lord, if all our enemies had descended to the blackest cell in hell, and there had studied the most wicked and cruell revenges their malice or that place could invent against us, it needed not surprise any, considering that their design of appropriating the estate and following of Lovat to themselves is made liable to more difficulties by that match. We have many advertisements that Athol is coming here in person, with all the armed men he is able to make, to reduce us to duty; and that without any order from the King, or his council: If he come so, we are resolved to defend ourselves; the laws of God and nature, and the laws of all nations, not only allowing, but obliging all men *vim vi repellere*: And I should wish from my heart, if it were consistent with divine and human laws, that the estates of Athol and Lovat were laid as a prize, depending upon the result of a fair day betwixt him and me. But these times being gone, and the King and his laws coming in their place, (a far better way of preserving the body politick;) we expect that your Lordship will employ all your interests with his Majesty to obtain us and all our complices a remission and discharge of all crimes, riots, delicts, and all diligences raised, or to be raised upon them, against us, with an order to set the pretended heiress in a neutral person's custody, until the rights and evidents of the estate be produced, and the pretence of both parties debated before the session. If this be not done immediately, the pretended heiress will be married to the E. of Tullibardine's eldest son, which will certainly occasion much disturbance and bloodshed in this end of the world, (for we will not be commanded and oppressed by any stranger); by which the King will lose subjects that might serve him for better use; and your Lordship will lose good friends whose place our enemies will never supply. Its our misfortune, that the King did not reside within his dominions, and more, that our enemies had his ear: But we are confident that his Majesty being fully informed of the affair, such a wise prince will rather prevent the miseries and calamities of his subjects, than punish the instruments that would

occasion them ; especially, your Lordship not only giving a true and candid account of the case, but also obviating all calumnious representations, which, beyond all peradventure, will be obtruded. If your Lordship do not own and defend us now, we are ruined : And really, though we have deep resentments of the friendship and kindness shewed us, and will have perpetually of that and what shall be done us hereafter ; yet, that we use not many profuse apologies. For this trouble, we hope your Lordship will excuse us ; for, if we be razed and extinguished, as the design is, Who will be more blamed than the Earl of Argyle, for letting his old relations, faithful friends, and dependents, and sword-vassals perish, while the reaching out of his hand might (under God) deliver them ? Let me be free to tell, that your Lordship is obliged, by the bonds of nature, of friendship, of superiority, and fealty, in conscience, and in honour, to own us as a part of yourself. My weakness, by age, anxiety, and fatigue, will, I fear, deprive me of the honour to kiss your Lordship's hand ; but, when my son has the freedom to go whither he pleases, there be several material points which he will communicate to your Lordship, by which you will be convinced of a fair method for our standing, and particularly, of a way by which our old friendship may be fortified and perpetuated, and we become more your Lordship's than ever, if more can be. Thus resting and reposing ourselves in a secure confidence and hope, that God will bless all our lawful and honest endeavours, and preserve and prosper all those who will concern themselves for us, particularly your Lordship, we do, with all sincerity, respect, and becoming deference, continue and remain ever,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most affectionate, faithful,
and humble friends, vassals, and servants,

WILL. FRAZER of Foyer,

LOVAT,

W. FRAZER of Erchielt,

THOMAS FRAZER of Strug,

ALEX. FRAZER of Calduthell,

WILL. FRAZER of Kilbockie,

JO. FRAZER of Littlegirth,

THO. FRAZER of Gortuleg.

EARL

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Plagued with Solicitations for Places.——Lord Rofs has written to Mr Carstares, desiring to be made a Secretary along with Seafield; ——does not deserve it.——Has sent him Dalmenie and Kelburn's Patents.——His own Expences at this Time.——Sends a Memorial to Mr Carstares upon that Subject.

S I R,

I believe I shall never be able to write fully to you of our affairs so long as I am in Scotland; for I am now as much taken up with visits as I was formerly with business. Every body here thinks the King is well served, and therefore they expect that we shall have influence; and so I cannot get them pleased with a fair answer, as I used to do formerly. However, I shall engage myself as little as possible to any body, and shall plainly offer my opinion with submission to his Majesty and the E. of Portland, when it pleases God they return. The Earl of Tullibardine has been this week employed in prosecuting of the Frazers. There are twenty of them forfeited in absence. I cannot indeed justify Captain Frazer in his proceedings; but yet the rendering of so many men desperate, is not at all the interest of the government. The ground of the forfeiture is, that they were seen in arms after they were required to lay them down by the herald; for, as for all other things, they would not have proceeded against them in absence. I find my L. Rofs has written to you, that he may be recommended to the Earl of Portland, and that he may be made my colleague. All the assistance we got from my Lord was, that, in the first vote for continuing the forces, he was *non liquet*, and, in the rest of the votes, he did concur; but he cannot pretend that he did great service by speaking; nor did he influence any body: However, the King is master of us all, and may dispose of his places as he pleases; but I am very hopeful that his Majesty will allow me to see him before he make any settlement of
this

Edinburgh,
Sept. 6,
1698.

this kind. You will receive herewith inclosed the Laird of Dalmeny and Kelburn's patents. They have both very considerable estates, and are both men of merit; and they have served the King chearfully and effectually in parliament; and I am sure the King cannot do better than to give them this mark of his favour; and it will engage them both closely to his interest. If you please, you may dispatch them again to me, that I may write to them. You may let his Majesty know, that I part from this about Monday or Tuesday night, and that I do part in very good terms with those members of parliament that were assisting to us; and I shall give you an account of the particulars at meeting; and I may say, and upon good grounds, that his Majesty has it in his hands, if he pleases, to govern this nation to his satisfaction. I have had an expensive time of it; for my father, my wife, and my son has been here, and I have had above 30 in family, and about 15 or 16 horses: And I hope none will say but that I have lived as honourably, and with as much credit as any has had the honour to serve in those stations I have been employed in. This is only to yourself; and withal, I still tell you, that I never had one fixpence but what I have from the King himself, and the dues of my office. Will you be pleased to read and consider the inclosed memorial, and speak of it to the E. of Portland. If any thing could be made of it, my Lord Lyon would willingly give me a share of it, and would be thankful to any that would serve him in it. I shall give you no further trouble at present. I am
Y. M. H. S.

HUGH CUNNINGHAM to MR CARSTARES.

In Cyphers.

Dear S I R,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 6.
1698.

I had your most kind letter by the ordinary packet; but, before it came, I understood (as you wrote) that the secretary had got
your's

your's on the same account. I cannot but reckon myself much obliged to you, 119, 128, 148 having all told me of it. The last, as I wrote to you formerly, is as much your servant as the other two, (which you know is enough.) I wish, either in part, or when you are pleased to write to me, that you would signify some sense of his favour to you. 119 has promised to do what he can for me; and 128, I find, has spoke so earnestly upon my account, that he has desired me to prepare a form of a letter in my favours, to be given to 119 before he go: A copy of it I will trouble you with. I know you have many accounts of our proceedings, and therefore will not trouble you. As to my own familiar, recommending patience, I shall observe it. I shall only give you an account of a passage happened yesterday, which you will willingly hear of. 106 has thought fit to appoint a dyet, and nominate 11 to be preses in a court-marshal, and that he may attend; 11 has refused, upon this reason which he gave me, that he was in these public posts, and at present so taken up, that he might expect to be excused; and not only so, but that he would not be in any judicatory where 106 had a negative, but where the King or his representative signed it, there will be made use of his refusal and not obeying. It makes some noise here, that 106 should have used 11 so; and you will think it strange that 106 should have employed me to carry the message, which is amongst the rest. I did desire 11 not to take it ill, which he was pleased to say kindly, he did not take it so as to me; and was pleased to smile this day when I saw him. 149 has not much appeared; but 12 being advanced, gives great alarm that he will be at all. I shall take care to get the money, though no appearance of getting any thing from Caffils. My wife gives her best services to you; and she bids me tell you, she has more patience than I. Sir Robert Murray was gone from this a fortnight before I got your's, and I have sent it to London. You were pleased before to offer to write in my behalf, as I should have occasion to ask the favour of the D. of Queensberry, and 11, and, if you please, to the Chancellor.

LORD

LORD of MONTGOMERY to Mr CARSTARES.

Asks his Interest for the Vacancy in the Treasury, in which Case he has no doubt of Success.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 9.
1698.

The many proofs of good will and friendship which, upon all occasions, you have been pleased to show me, makes me give you this trouble, that, in the croud of pretenders to our vacant places, I may not be forgot. I question not but the King, in the disposal of them, will have regard to my Lord Seafield's recommendation; for his Lordship's service in the late parliament meriteth more than ordinary marks of favour, both as an reward, and that in time coming it may put him in condition of doing more and greater service (if that can be); for his Lordship's very enemies will not deny that the King's affairs were carried so smoothly, is owing to his address and good management. I believe my L. Seafield will do me the justice to tell, I give my small assistance with all the zeal I could; therefore, his Lordship will name me to the vacancy in treasury, which I have reason to think will not be opposed by our great men. So, Sir, if you will be pleased to give your concurrence, I have no doubt of success. If this favour you obtain for me, it's what I hope you shall not be ashamed to own; for, by my fidelity to his Majesty's interest, and diligence in his service, I shall endeavour to make up my other defects: And I am sure I shall never fail of all the acknowledgements to yourself that is in the power of,

S I R,

Your faithful servant,

MONTGOMERIE.

LORD

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Representation to his Majesty, proposed by Queensberry and Argyle, concerning those who opposed in Parliament.—They are jealous of Arran's Promotion.—Declares his Submission to whatever Portland shall determine.—Of the Frazers and Balnagowan.—This letter gives us the true Picture of a Politician.

S I R,

I have been importuned these four or five days by the D. of Queensberry and E. of Argyle to make a joint representation to his Majesty concerning those who have opposed him in parliament; and it is true, that it is for his Majesty's interest to make some examples; and I hope I can give him a satisfying account of all things that has occurred: But I being his Majesty's immediate servant, am unwilling to enter into any concert without his direction; though I must confess I do not condemn their opinion, in thinking, that it is fit now to do something in that matter, because that party seems to be encouraged by the D. of Hamilton's promotion; though I know it was what his Majesty could not refuse. I am to meet again with the Chancellor and them, and you shall have what we conclude upon transmitted by a flying packet; and, whatever they may persuade me to do, yet you may be persuaded that I am entirely submissive to what my Lord Portland shall determine. I hope I cannot be blamed to expect, that his Majesty will hear me before he dispose of the vacant places; and it is certainly his interest to settle all at one time. I go from this upon Tuesday, and lies at my Lord Justice-Clerk's house that night; and thereafter will make what haste I can to London. I gave you an account in my last, that there were twenty of the Frazers forfaulted, and their arms battered upon the cross-trophy; and I will write no more of that till meeting. But the last council-day, the Laird of Balnagowan did insist against the E. of Tullibardine for reparation of the injuries my Lord had done to

K k k

him;

Edinburgh,
Sept. 10.
1698.

him; some did propose that it might be rejected, because Balnagowan could not prove what he alledged; but the relevancy of the libel is sustained, and a committee is appointed for taking the depositions of witnesses; and the council is adjourned until the 11th of October; and so in the mean time this process depends. It will be of great use to us, if you get Kelburn's and Dalmenie's patents expedite. They were both very serviceable to us this parliament, and are men that have good estates. I bless God that I part with all the members of parliament who concurred with us in very good friendship. And I think that his Majesty's affairs was never in better condition in this kingdom. Give my humble service to the Earl of Portland. And I am Y. M. H. S.

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

With a Scheme of a new Commission of Council and Exchequer, concerted by the Chancellor, Queensberry, Seafield, and himself.—Bold and manly.—Of his own Title.—Recommends Earl Loudon to be extraordinary Lord of Session in preference to Melvil.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 14.
1698.

You had heard sooner from me upon the subject I am now to treat upon; but that all of us who are of the treasury has applied so closely to it ever since the conclusion of the parliament, that we have had scarce the time to concert any thing. Now, most of what can be done in treasury-business is over: We have settled the current subsistence of the standing army and garrisons, and cleared them from the 1st of January to the 1st of July; and that the Secretary is going to London. The Chancellor, D. of Queensberry, Secretary, and myself, have agreed in one, to offer his Majesty a new commission of council and exchequer, with some other humble advices, with all submission to his Majesty's pleasure: And we do it in duty to his Majesty, judging it most necessary for his Majesty's service, to the end his servants, who have
served

served him faithfully upon this occasion, may be encouraged and supported by his Majesty's countenance to go on; and the opposers, who I must call enemies, and who were judged as such before the parliament sat, may meet with displeasure, discountenance, and a frown from his Majesty, as they deserve; which being put in execution, without partiality, I dare confidently say, such as have been able to serve his Majesty upon this occasion, will be able to do it again. On the other hand, (I must give my opinion freely,) if the measure be altered which E. Portland went into of treating people as they deserved, we may do our endeavours, but we shall lose a deal of our interest, and be rendered incapable to answer his Majesty's expectations of us, though still willing. I need not insist, since I know your sentiments and mine are the same. People are mightily puffed up with expectations of great matters upon the King's accepting of the Dutches of Hamilton's resignation, just upon that family's flying in the King's face, and opposing him. The King is wise; so I shall defer my thoughts in the matter: But I must say, I shall think it strange if the King scruple me my title after all that is past; and, as you value my family, I must earnestly recommend it to you to lay it home. If it be refused, I wish I had never asked it: But I confess I thought the purchase would have been easy, since there can be no objection to it. I need not send you any list of the council or exchequer, since certainly the Chancellor and Secretary will; only thus far: The number is ten who we propose to be forgot out of the new commission of council. There is two which were moderate opposers, and are at bottom honest men, and who have no pension off his Majesty; which two are Lord Ruthven and Laird of Grant: They are not pregmatick; and I think it can do his Majesty's affairs no prejudice, should they be continued on the council. The persons we propose to be added to council are E. Crawford, E. Northesk, L. Pollwart, L. Jedburgh, Lord Arbrucehill, and L. Phesdo: These two last to be in the exchequer as well as council. If any mention be made of Sir John Hume, beware of him, for he'll make mischief amongst us: And, though

he went as to the cefs alongft, yet, in the polls, he oppofed us. He is light in the forehead, full of notion, always talking, and moft uneasy to be in bufinefs with ;—‘ remember I told you,—I warned you of it.’ The Chancellor propofed the thing; but, by our reason, feemed to be convinced. Thofe that are turned out of council and exchequer, certainly their penfions ought to be took away at the fame time. We likewise offer it as our humble opinion, that E. Lauderdale be put in E. Ruglen’s place of the mint. If E. Ruglen be not made an example of, all that can be done will fignify nothing. I think we have given fome proof we can ferve the King in fpite of oppofition. The more his Majefty is pleafed to countenance the fame perfons, and ftrengthen our hands, the more effectually can we ferve his Majefty; and it is certain, his Majefty cannot employ any of his fubjects more acceptable to the kingdom in general, nor none that will ferve him with more fubmiffion to his pleafure. As for other vacancies being filled up, we do not prefs till his Majefty’s return, unlefs it be advifed from you; in which cafe, we fhall offer our humble opinion to his Majefty: Only, as to the vacancy of the extraordinary Lord of feffion, I muft defire of you to affift E. London Campbell to it. The Secretary is pofitive for him; and indeed, with fubmiffion, our friend Melvill is not fo capable to difcharge it: The one is daily improving; the other, I am afraid, declining. I fay this in freedom with you; for I am very well with all that family, except the little brother, who voted fpitefully againft all the King’s concerns. My moft humble fervice to E. Portland. I am your’s. Adieu.

LORD JUSTICE CLERK to Mr CARSTARES.

In Cyphers.

S I R,

Sept. 17.
1698.

78 defires you will tell 22 that his of the 29th and 6th came fafe to hand. Tuesday’s night, my Lord fecretary Seafield was at the Juftice Clerk’s,

Clerk's, so far on his way to England. 74 6maq6 tq u6 z28 qzsmpps
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 97pq7 372yu6q6 82 nqr7uqzp 95 75 qc63qo86 xgmbg 82 o2yg
 r27 o2978, 78 u6 2r m228tq7 yuzp, r27 8t2d tq ng pq6u7296 82
 6qq 22 aq8 u8 u6 uz 65 78 wz2d6 zzq 28tq7 m7s97q28 82 37q6
 dtm8 u6 mn26q 8tqz 82 m6697q 22 tq p2q6 u8 298 2r 879q
 x2bq 82 43 and r7ugzpb6tu3 r27 22. Farewell.

To

—————To Mr CARSTARES.

Of private Affairs.—Mr Baird disappointed in not being made Keeper to the Signet.—A Struggle about the Election of Magistrates in Edinburgh.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 20.
1698.

Before my Lord Seafield went from this, I waited of him several times; and I cannot but say he was very kind: And when he went to Ormeston, I was there all night; and next day I went with him to Haddington, and would have gone farder, if he had not stopt at Dunglass, where no lodging was to be had. 128 went that length with him; and I understand they parted extremely well. I have been much in the country since. I had another most obliging letter from 33, while at that place, and came most seasonably; for 119 did repeat again, that nothing 33 would ask of him should be denied; and in the mean time desired a letter anent my post, to secure me in it, should be sent up to him; but 128 would not allow me to do it, but to give it him, and he would do it, as he had spoke to 119 about it: And I understand he has sent it, and obliged me to give him another to you, which he would send to you, and write thereanent. I need not tell you the obligations I owe to 128, who is so friendly: And I am afraid my affair is uneasy to you from your great desire to do me kindness. What I write frequently to you does neither deserve, nor do I expect you should trouble yourself writing to me: But I write once a week, which I wish come to your hand, fearing they may be intercepted; for I find Mr Baird is much disappointed that he is not made keeper of the signet; and I understand that 119 is not well pleased with him. I hear that Lord Kennedy is to be here in a few days, to settle his father's business, when I shall be sure to wait of him. We are much noised with a marriage betwixt 108 his eldest son and 30 his eldest daughter. You cannot imagine what a greatness is of

128, Ormiston.

119, Seafield.

33, Mr Carstares.

of late betwixt 47 and 30. There is like to be a great struggle about our election of the magistrates in this place: You shall have account how it goes; for our great folks interest themselves much in it. 119, after I parted with him, has sent a commission to Commissary Elphinston and Mr James Montgomery, for to officiate in rectifying the abuses of the calling and admitting writers to the signet, and distributing charity to these of the calling who needs it, untill he nominate a keeper. And from this some think it is a good step as to me; for Commissary Elphinston aims at no less as being Lord of the Session. My wife gives her best services to you and your lady. The inclosed are from the E. of L. and his lady, who are much your servants.

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of quartering Colonel Hamilton's Regiment in Scotland.—Violently against it.—But, if the King be positive, proposes a new Model of the Regiments already there.

Since I writt the inclosed, we are in this country alarmed with the news of Colonel Hamilton his regiment being ordered to Scotland to be entertained; which, if it be, I shall be sorry for: And, whoever has prevailed on the King to it, did they know the posture of affairs here, and had been witness to the vote passed in parliament, 'Continue or restrict the present establishment,' I am so charitable to believe they would alter their advice and sentiment: Sure I am, if the adding another regiment to the present establishment had been motioned in parliament, in what dress or model soever, it had inevitably disappointed the whole. How then will it now sound to the country? It will be thought those who had the interest to prevail for what is granted has advised this, by which we shall lose our interest; besides, there is not wherewithall, without reducing those that are. But I still say, the name of a regiment added will

Edinburgh,
Sept. 27.
1698.

will not be acceptable to the country; and it will be too good a handle for the opposers to make use of hereafter, and, at present, to dispose the country and their representatives to grow jealous and dissatisfied. But, after all, if the King be resolved, after I have given my opinion honestly, it is my part, in the next place, as the King's servant, and entrusted by his Majesty, to find out the most proper expedient; which is this: I do not propose any retrenchment in the guards or garrisons, even in Inverlochy garrison, (which is so absolutely necessary.) It may be thought in this I am partial as to guards; perhaps I am a little, but my reason prevails. Suppose there were no other forces, yet still all, even the worst amongst us, would allow both horse and foot-guards: And since the parliament have treated them at a pitch above even royal regiments, so called, and have distinguished them, I may say, within five or six of being unanimous, it is hoped his Majesty will ever distinguish his own guards, who, I hope, shall, upon all occasions, deserve it. For the maintaining a third regiment of foot, I propose it to be done thus: By the reducing the two regiments of dragoons, and the other two regiments of foot now standing in Scotland. The two regiments of dragoons consist of fourteen troops. Reduce ten men a troop, a quarter-master, a drum, a serjeant, and a corporal. Reduce out of the two regiments of foot, consisting in all of twenty-six companies, their two drum-majors, for none are allowed, as I am told, in the English establishment; reduce ten men a company, a drum, a serjeant, and a corporal. This reduction will amount to yearly in English money L. 9400 Sterling; which will more than maintain a regiment of the same strength with the other two. And where is the great hurt? for, in a week's time, if need be, they may be made twenty a company stronger; and it is easy in Scotland to get dragoon horses at any time. Indeed, were we to reduce cavalry, we must send in to Northampton-shire for horses of size, as I have done two days ago for twelve horses; for the Yorkshire horses are slender and weak limmed; not such horses as I know the King would like to be in his guards. This new model will displease none but L. Te-
viot,

viot, because of the quarter-masters ; but he has no reason, since I propose not to lessen the number of his troops. If my information be good, and this matter be on the field, and not too late for my opinion to be offered humbly, I shall be glad it be represented to his Majesty by E. Portland in the words I propose it. I am ever your's.

My most entire humble service to Earl Portland.

EARL OF ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

A curious Picture of Highland Oppression.—Earl of Ruglen must be turned out.—Earl Melvill's Pretensions must not make Mr Carstares slack in obtaining the Vacancy in the Session to Earl of Loudon.

S I R,

I received last post your's dated the 15th from Loo. I am satisfied you will slip no opportunity to do me right ; and, as I have served his Majesty faithfully to good purpose, I shall not doubt but his Majesty will countenance me for so doing. I do depend on E. Portland ; and you can do me the justice, I ever did the same. Upon inquiry, it is found it was E. Tullibardine's brother L. Edward, who searched Balnagowan's lodgings, with three other gentlemen with him. The same Lord Edward was in the scuffle afterwards, when Balnagowan was so rudely closeted. The second Tuesday of November that matter comes again before the council, the council being adjourned till that day. As to Beaufort, he could not appear, so is forfeited, with several others, by the justice-court ; which, if not remedied, may render confusion. It is for the convocation they are all forfeited, and nothing else libelled ; yet they brought a woman to swear violence done to the lady, who saw her not for five days after : But there was no pleading ; nor could there any objection be made, since the party concerned could not appear, because of the convocation : But he is still ready to sift himself upon the same terms, as

Edinburgh,
Sept. 27.
1698.

I represented in my last: If he do not, I plead no favour to him; but, in either cases, it is hard so much severity should be used to other gentlemen of the name: For, had they plotted the overturning of the government, as Marquis of Athol has done since the revolution, more severity could not be used. If justice had its just course, I believe there will be a process intent against Marquis of Athol, for convocating his men, before the order of council came, marching them; and one of E. Tullibardine's companies of his regiment, then standing, marched, without order from the council, or the commander in chief, with one Lieutenant Lamont upon their head, who had been an old instrument of oppression in Argyleshire, formerly under the M. of Athol's command. It can be proved farther, that several of the Frazers, who were seized by the council's order, to be brought before the council, were intercepted by M. Athol, carried to Dunkeld, put into a dungeon by Athol, and kept until they granted him such bonds as he required, and dismissed at his pleasure, without regard to his Majesty's privy council, who had seized them. One of his prisoners died a few hours after he took him out of the prison; so it's more than presumable, it hastened at least, if not occasioned his death. He seizes all people's servants who come through his country with letters from the north parts; notices no pass, suppose it be from the sheriff of the shire from whence they come; opens the letters, and disposes of them as he thinks fit. Mean people are afraid to complain, they threaten so hard, and bites so fore, without being controuled; and E. Arran's being D. of Hamilton, frights the better sort, as if his Majesty thought him and his family absolutely necessary to support his government. I speak not this as my sentiment; but it is the general notion people has through the kingdom; and they will, I can assure you, be so much confirmed in it, that it will be hard to retrieve, unless his Majesty be pleased to take our humble opinion as to a new commission of council and exchequer very soon, which we sent a few posts ago. I writ to you at the same time; and that nothing would conduce more to his Majesty's service, and suit more with the resolutions taken by
his

his Majesty, when we undertook this task in parliament, which, I thank God, has succeeded, than the turning out E. Ruglen out of his place, if his Majesty incline not to fill it presently : That I look not on to be so very essential ; but that he be removed soon as a mark of displeasure. I do offer it as my opinion, nor would I be rash in advising ; but I dare answer for it, his Majesty will, in a small time, be convinced, the true way to be well served, is to punish heartily, and reward in the same humour : And his Majesty may do it the safer, and the more justly, that he expects no service of his subjects and servants, but in things that are for the country's good, as well as his service ; and demands but the same which the opposers were for two years ago, when in good humour. Pray, let not E. Melvill's unreasonable pretending to the vacant gown make you slack as to E. Loudon, who, though a younger man, is an older, and a more noted presbyterian than he. Loudon has it in his blood ; and it is a mettled young fellow, that those who recommend him will gain honour by him : He has a deal of natural parts and sharpness, a good stock of clergy, and, by being in business, he will daily improve. I am afraid you have forgot what I recommended to you in favours of Captain Menzies, (married to my cousin-german, my uncle Neil's daughter), to be store-keeper in the castle of Edinburgh, because you take no notice of it. I know the Secretary writt to the same purpose. I am resolved to stay last in town, till all business be over, which will be to-morrow. The Chancellor left town on Saturday the 24th. There is D. Queensberry, E. Annandale, and myself only in town. Sir John Maxwell went to the country a fortnight ago ; and, two days after him, the Justice-Clerk went. I am your's. Adieu.

L 112

DUKE

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to MR CARSTARES.

*Wishes that the present Justice-Clerk may be made Treasurer-depute ;
 —In which case, earnestly desires that Philiphaugh be made
 Justice-Clerk.—His Obligations to him.—Recommends Ma-
 jor Douglas to Mr Carstares.*

S I R,

Drumlan-
rig, Oct. 3.
1698.

I had your letter from Loo, and am glad that matters in general will not be concerted till the Secretary has seen the King. But I am still of opinion, as I wrote to you last, that my L. Ruglen's employment should immediately be disposed of : Other employments, fees, and pensions, fall under the general methods already proposed ; but this does not, and ought to be distinguished, if it were no more but for example. When his Majesty shall think fit to dispose of the other places now vacant, as I wish that the Justice-Clerk may be advanced to that of treasurer-depute, so I must make it my earnest desire that my L. Philiphaugh may succeed him in his present employment : He is a man every way qualified for it, both as to his capacity and zeal for the government, and is a person to whom I owe such obligations as I can in no other ways requite, but by endeavouring to make use of what interest I may have with his Majesty and friends about him for his advancement, and by assuring any that shall assist me in it, that they lay me under a perpetual obligation. There is another friend of mine that I take the liberty to recommend to you, Major John Douglas of Colonel Hamilton's regiment ; he is a brave fellow, and a good officer, but withall so modest, that if he were to starve, he could not ask any thing for himself ; this makes me the more earnest in his behalf : Now that I hear that regiment is to be broken, any favour done to him shall be repented as if it were done to myself. I beg of you, if possible, to interesse my Lord Portland for him, and give his Lordship my most humble and faithful service. This trouble you have from my house
 in

in the country, where my private affairs will detain me for some weeks ; and, though I think not much of other business here, yet I have a grateful remembrance of the obligations I owe to my friends, and, in no small measure, to my Earl of Portland ; and shall always be sensible that I am bound to be your's, &c. So, without ceremony, adieu.

HUGH CUNNINGHAM to MR CARSTARES.

About the Clerkship to the Court-Martial.—Elections in Edinburgh.

Dear S I R,

I had your's yesterday by the flying packet, with one to the Countess of Wymes, which I have taken care of. I am afraid my letters do not come safe to hand, as I hinted in my last ; and now I find our packets are several times robbed. In my last I wrote to you, I was very sensible of your recommendations in my favours to 119 were very successful ; and I must own it of you, when you and he meets, he told me, matters should be concerted. And I leave them entirely to you ; for I will readily serve him in the way he will propose ; and, by that time you come to England, I will write to you ; but my good friend here tells me, he will do it upon more accounts than one ; I mean that of the clerkship to the court-martial. 119 has promised he will see to it ; and I know you will give yourself too much trouble about it. I cannot but let you know we have had a great struggle about our new election of the provost. It was wished by your best friends that M. should be the man ; but Sir Arch. it's said, has mismanaged it. You will get more particular accounts of it from others, and therefore I will not trouble you. My wife gives her hearty services to your lady and you.

Edinburgh,
Oct. 4.
1698.

LORD

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Marquis of Annandale desirous to commence a Correspondence with Mr Carstares.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Oct. 12.
1698.

Since my last, Mr Thomson has been with me, and was very civil and obliging: I told him how well I was satisfied with his deportment towards Mr Fowler, and to find him so well with Mr White's friends; and that Hume was of opinion, that he possessed such advantages, that, if he should pursue them discreetly, could not want their success. 13 returned 32 his compliment very honestly. There was a friend of 13's with me, who appeared very desirous that Mr Carse should write to him for the beginning of a good correspondence. I told him Mr Carse had certainly a great value for all 9's friends; but 33 was modest, and would be shy to trouble any with letters, unless business required it; and he would be the more shy that he perceived any value put on his letters; but Hume, I told him, would not fail, on all occasions, to do Mr Thomson both justice and service. 32 observed, that 13 is truly desirous to be well with 33; and would take it for a great mark of Hume's kindness, and of his interest in Carse, if 32 might move 33 to write: But all this I leave to you, who best knows the persons. They write from London, that the King may be back betwixt and the 4th of November; but I believe it shall not be till mid November. We have now here vacance, no body in town, all quiet, but a very bad harvest and distressed country; God help. I am your's, &c.

Mr Thomson, Annandale.

Hume, The Advocate.

13, Annandale.

32, Advocate.

Mr Carse, Mr Carstares,

33, Mr Carstares.

LORD

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Happy that Mr Carstares is with the King.—Duke of Hamilton is to offer his Service to the King when he comes over.

S I R,

I long extremely for his Majesty's return; but it is some satisfaction to me that you are with him, who I am sure both has, and will do me friendship; and I hope our correspondence will be the more firm, that our joint advices has had good effect in his Majesty's service; and I hope the greatest difficulty is now past, for his affairs are in as good order as I could wish. Colonel Hamilton's regiment is not very acceptable; and all the Lords of the Treasury are for speedy orders for reforming the other regiments, or disbanding that of Hamilton's. I have sent to Mr Pringle all the schemes I can think of in this matter. I have scarcely time to write. D. H. has been so long with me, he will stay till the King come, and will offer his service. I can let you know all the projects they have at present. All I shall desire is to be heard; and I hope it shall prove for his Majesty's service; and he is master, and may order what he pleases. I have not time to write more, for the packet is going off. I give my most humble service to my L. Portland. And I am your most humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Edinburgh Elections.—Teviot is to be up at London.—Desires to know if Mr Carstares would chuse that any more of their Friends should come.—Chancellor writes for Earl of Lauderdale to succeed Ruglen.

S I R,

My Lord Chancellor has carried Baillie Hume to be Provost of Edinburgh, and is extremely pleased with his success in that mat-

Whitehall,
Oct. 14.
1698.

Whitehall,
Oct. 22.
1698.

ter.

ter. I have by the last packet letters from them both ; and I hope it shall do very well. The Chancellor is in firm friendship with D. Q. and E. of Argyle ; and so there is no reason to doubt the provost. The Justice-Clerk does not approve of this choice ; for he thinks he will not signify, and that there will other inconveniences occur ; but we must make the best of it. D. H. is to stay here this winter, and the V. Teviot will be here this week ; so let me know if any of our friends should come up : None of them, except the Chancellor, have any inclination to it : And, if I have but the same protection and assistance I had, I am not afraid of all the opposition can be made. I am sure it is the King's interest to stand by those have served him effectually, and at a time when we look for nothing but famine.

I have no reason for desiring the delay and final settlement of all our places, but for the reputation of it, and that I can give the E. of Portland and yourself much fuller accounts at meeting than I can do at this distance ; but I shall propose nothing without advice and concurrence. I find Hamilton's regiment is generally most unacceptable both to the King's servants and others ; and there is a necessity to reform the others, or break it immediately. I have another scheme sent me from Scotland. I shall compare it with what I sent, and shall send it, with my thoughts of it, by my next. The D. of Queensberry writes most earnestly for the two patents in his last ; however, his Majesty may take his own time. I am glad they have come safe. The Chancellor writes earnestly for E. Lauderdale to be Ruglen's successor ; and desires I may let this be known as his opinion. I cannot at this distance know what are his Majesty's inclinations ; but, after he has got full information, I shall acquiesce in his pleasure. The Justice-Clerk thinks that Brigadier Maitland's regiment can allow of no reform ; for it is the only regiment that is employed now in time of peace. I could write you an account I have of a particular would satisfy you, but I reserve it till meeting, which I wish may be soon. I am, most sincerely, your M. H. S.

Pray, give my most humble service to the Earl of Portland. Adieu.

EARL

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon Lord Carmichael's being made Secretary, and Lauderdale succeeding Ruglen.—Violent against the Justice Clerk's being made a Lord of Session;—and against Tiviot coming to command in Scotland.—Of a report that Tiviot had bribed Portland.—To gratify some of the Pretenders to titles, would prevent Quarrels among their Coachmen.

I had your's by the flying packet. I think, in our present circumstances, his Majesty has chosen very well, in pitching on L. Carmichael to be secretary; and it is my opinion E. Lauderdale deserves very well what he has got: But I do admire we are kept so much in the mist as to other matters. I have write, I believe, two sheets of paper to the secretary; which I have desired him to expose to you, as I did my last to him. The chief occasion of this is to enter my protestation against L. Justice Clerk's being, by any mould can be projected, made an ordinary Lord of the Session, or extraordinary. We have foul weather enough by L. Whitelaw already; but, if the other come in, we shall have a constant storm. I am not used to be positive in my opinion, but I have warrant to say, the Chancelour, L. Queensberry, and the Precedent of the Session, with myself, for I will not be out of the number, shall all be uneasy if the Justice Clerk be put in that post, and believe the consequence will be worse than can be imagined. I thought you had known him; and, as you value the rest of us, guard against that measure. I shall wait patiently as to my little pretension, and my sute for my brother; but I hope at last I shall be considered. I admire that the secretary tells me the King does not incline to gratify me in what relates to Captain Menzies; it's hard I must be the unlucky. E. Loudon deserves well, and none so well, as to what he pretends. I find nothing will make the D. Queensberry satisfied, if Viscount Tiviot come to command. I must tell you, his crea-

Edinburgh,
Jan. 31.
1699.

M m m

tures

tures has spread a report in this town, which I am sure is false, but its fit I tell you, that he has made up friendship with E. P. by paying L. 5000 sterl. to him. It is not whispered, believe me; and I think ought to be taken notice of; which I shall, if warranted to it. Yesterday we was at Lady Anne Hall's buriall, where a quarrel happened betwixt E. Lothian and Roxburgh's coachman, anent the precedence, which was very near engaging the masters, but was prevented. If the King gratify us pretenders, it takes off all those disputes. Since I hope the Secretary will show you my splenetick letter, I need add no more, having mentioned some particulars in this which I have not in his, which you'll please to communicate to him. I am, Dr Sir, your's, &c

—————To Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Justice-Clerk now made Treasurer-depute, and Lord Carmichael now Secretary.——Wishes something may be done for Himself and his Son.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Feb.
1699.

Your two worthy friends and mine are posted as I could have wished them; and, as I commend the one's frankness in acceptance without any hesitation, so I cannot but a little blame the other for his unwillingness to the post he is now in. Its true, his unfriends (as you may perchance know) used all their utmost pith and power to keep him out of the session, wherein it seems they think they prevailed; but I attribute it rather to his Majesty's inclinations to have him treasurer-depute, as fittest for his service, (which I ever was, and still am of opinion of), than all the endeavours any could have used against his being in the session. But, to tell truth, no man can lye under greater discouragement than he does in that treasury, whereof you cannot be unacquainted; and the Secretary will give you a fuller account of it. Although, Sir, I have got the ball

a little at my foot, and some good fruit to put in the dish with very bad, yet, till there be a change in the treasury, all is to little purpose. Rome, I confess, was not built in one day; it may take some small time, and by piece-meal, to put us more and more righter than we are. We have had changes of chancellors, and of several secretaries; and, methinks, it should be easier to change a treasury wherein some has plurality of benefices that needs not, but may very well be satisfied with their shares otherwise. My Lord Secretary, who has as much personal courage as any man alive, I am afraid, will need strait stoutning; if it be thought fit to call up the treasurer-depute, he will take a large share in giving his Majesty a most faithful account of all things. My good Lord Secretary will incline to please every body, and take as little choking-stress as he can. However, I hope a little time may persuade him to what is absolutely necessary for his Majesty and our poor country's interest. His colleague will seem very fond of his Lordship. His servants writes down, that their master prevailed with his Majesty that my Lord Carmichael should be joined with him. I wrote one to you before, that, if we needed a chancellor, the properest person was Lauderdale. It daily appears we will, and does need one; which I am sorry for. I could not wait upon the Secretary to London at this time. I have sent up that gift of my son's and mine, in case the other be out of the way, for I think I am to expect little good of my Lord Seafield. Dear Sir, if it be thought fit to call up the Treasurer-depute, and me to bear him company, I shall be very ready; and I think this gift may lye unpassed till I come, in case that, by my Lord Secretary's friendship and your's, something else may be found as proper for me. There are a great many new pensions besides the old, which will impede all payments, except these who may have favour among the commissioners of treasury; so that these that has pensions are more disobliged (being unpaid) than if they had none. Now, Sir, to make an end of my long letter, I have recommended my poor son, the Captain, who was one of my Lord Secretary's captains, and has been fifteen years in his Majesty's service in Holland, (where he began

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with

with a musket), in Scotland, in England, and several campaigns in Flanders, where I had a third son died there in his Majesty's service. I know my Lord will do what he can for him; but, dear Sir, I beg you may mind his Lordship to put him in some employ or other, since he can be of no other trade; and but, ripining, idles away his time with me. Sir, you see with what freedom I give you the trouble of all my troubles, but shall be very loath to give you any unreasonable strefs of your infinitely obliged humble servant. Dear Sir, it being out of fashion to sign letters, adieu, till you procure me a summer's campaign.

Sir, this inclosed is a double of the gift that is in my Lord Seafield's hands. It differs only in this, that it is conceived in favours of my son and me, or the longest liver of us two. The reason of it is, to give my son the better title after my decease. But the gift carries, as you may read in it, All is during his Majesty's pleasure: So that there is nothing pretended to any liferent but during his Majesty's pleasure. So I hope, Sir, it will be thought reasonable that this may be procured, and the former laid aside. You may do with me what my good Lord Carmichael and you thinks fit. I am sure, if ever I had an opportunity to get any good done for me or my family, now is the time. Again, I say, adieu.

EARL of BUCHAN to MR CARSTARES.

Disappointed in not succeeding Ruglen.—Begs Mr Carstares to procure him the Arrears of his Pension.

S I R,

I had your's of the 9th, and am sorry to find your kind endeavours for me have proved so unsuccessful. I confess I never doubted but, if I missed the mint, I should at least get something more than I have at present; but, though I have met with a disappointment, I
neither

Carinne,
Feb. 19.
1699.

neither trouble myself, nor do at all repine at it; and I have the satisfaction to find most people regret my ill fortune, which I hope in God will not be always so bad. However, Sir, I think myself as much obliged to return you my hearty thanks for your concern in me upon this occasion, as if I had obtained my desires; and I am entirely convinced of the sincerity and kindness of your intentions towards me, which I hope I shall always acknowledge as becomes me. Sir, I am afraid this preference you say is given me for my pension will not make it effectual to me. I know certainly that there is a considerable sum must be paid to the treasury before any of us can get a farthing; for the Lords of the Treasury, having been so kind to severals as had pensions out of the bishop's rents, as to cause pay them out of the treasury, have ordered the receivers of the bishops rents to repay to the treasury what was advanced that way, and none other should be paid till that were done, which I believe will not be this twelve month; and, if the preference now granted me secure me not from that inconvenience, my pension will be the same as formerly. I must also tell you, Sir, that there is near L. 900 sterling of my bygone pension due me; and I was hopeful you would have obtained me an order for paying at least a part thereof, which, if you would be pleased to do, you'd do me a very great kindness. And certainly I have the misfortune to be most unkindly used, if, while others that have much of the King already, are either getting additional employments, or considerable pensions added to their former offices, I can not so much as get the just bygones of a poor inconsiderable pension paid me: And I am confident, if his Majesty had been but sufficiently informed, by such as were the promoters of the late changes here, how much was heaped upon a few, while many others, as firm to his interest, could not get the just arrears of his own free gifts to them, certainly his goodness and justice would have induced him to take at least some other measures: But, since my own experience upon this occasion convinces me, that other advice than your's has been followed, I shall not stick to say, that nothing that is done surprises me. Sir, I have troubled you
with

with too long a letter, which I hope you will excuse to one that can hardly forbear telling a part of his mind to a friend he can trust; and as there is none I could use more freedom with than yourself, so I beseech you to believe me to be most sincerely,

S I R,

Your most obliged, faithful, humble servant,

BUCHAN.

I have written to the Secretary by this post about my pension and arrears; but, though I am not much obliged to him, I have written with all respect imaginable, and have expressed none of my small resentments.

LORD CARDROSS to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the same Subject.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Feb. 23.
1699.

My son writ to you some posts ago, and to my Lord Seafield; it was anent his bygone pension; and I have given his Lordship the trouble of one from me on the same head. It would be a great favour to my son, though but little to the public: And, Sir, because what you was pleased so kindly to propose for me would not, it is like, be obtained, and this both; therefore I should rather be satisfied it was passed from, if the other was more considerable. I have a great load, and no ease, by my son's marriage, but a considerable addition; and my other children, some of them who are come to be men, are at a great loss in their breeding. I remember, Sir, I was once speaking to you about my second son, if it was possible to get a company in some regiment for him; he is about 20 years, and promising enough for his time, and good inclinations, which is a satisfaction to me: If any favour of that kind could be got, it were well; but I am ashamed we should still put you to so much

much trouble in these things, and none to assist you in what concerns us. People in our circumstances have few friends; but you are not of that humour. It is not thought that my son's pension can be effectuate on that fund as the treasury hath ordered it; and several great men hath out of it, who, by interest, will be preferable. I beg your pardon, Sir, for my so frequent troubling you, which is uneasy to me to do, though I know your goodness will excuse it from,

S I R,

Your much obliged friend and humble servant,

K. CARDROSS.

Give my service to Mrs Carstares, whom I long to see.

HUGH CUNNINGHAM to MR CARSTARES.

Of his own Affairs.—Marriage betwixt Hopeton and Annandale's Daughter.—Lord Ross, baulked of the Secretary's Office, expects to be considered for coming twice down from England to serve the King in Parliament.

S I R,

I made your excuse to the great folks you named, for not writing to them; and all of them took it very kindly. I have got Mr Murray's precept forth of the treasury, and my Lord Chancellor has promised it shall be very soon paid; and I doubt not but I will get it to answer. His bill you mention is drawn on me, though it is not yet presented to me. Col. Wishart writes me, that you will see me minded in the establishment. I wrote to you fully about it; and I hope you will think it more reasonable I should be continued in the establishment, with the additional trust as clerk and secretary, than Mr Aitken, though I am satisfied he shall share of it; and, if my Lord Teviot designs otherwise, I never deserved it at his hands; but

Edinburgh,
March 2.
1699.

but I will not think it. My Lord Treasurer-depute is ill of a trouble in his throat, and has kept the house since yesterday at twelve o'clock : They took blood of him this day : I know not if he will be able to write this night. There is a marriage on foot betwixt Hope-ton and the E. of Annandale's daughter, which I hope will make a better understanding betwixt them. The struggle there is about the commissary-office makes a great talking. My wife gives you and Mrs Carstares her hearty thanks for your kind remembrance of her; she would be glad to have a new occasion to signify her obligations to you. My Lord Ross tells me he writ to you, that, seeing he is baulked at this time of what he expected, that the King will consider him for coming twice down from England to serve him in the parliament, and that he may have allowance for it. I must again mind you about Dalmenie; and that David Calendar's son-in-law be not wronged by Mr Ramsay. The papers concerning your brother Mr M'Kie I gave to Mr M'Farlane his doer, which he knew not of till the inclosed was written; but he has account of them last week.

DUKE of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Competition in the Affair of the Commissars.—Leaves his own Pretensions to be pushed by Mr Carstares.

Edinburgh,
March 5.
1699.

By this the flying packet goes a letter from the treasury to the Secretary. In obedience to his Majesty's commands, relating to Commissars, we have sent the best offer by much; others made offer, but nothing so advantageous. It is thought by the treasury, that no better bargain can be made at this time; and should any under-hand dealing be, by making offers at London, as indeed I advertised the Secretary some time agoe, that it was jealousied, would be the result which, in a great measure, did hinder frank offering upon the place: I say, if any such thing be admitted there, when we of the treasury

treasury have done our outmost here, whose proper sphere it is to act in those matters, it would, to be plain, anger us not a little, and reasonably too. I have not spoke so plain to the secretary; but I leave you to make what use of it you think fitt. I am certainly informed, L. Collonel Wihart has writt letters to those who we incline to prefer to be admitted in the number which they have refused; so you may judge he will not be wanting to grumble at the matter; and he wants not interest with L. Carmicheal and V. Tiviot. There is Livingstone and Woodside have a small concern, on purpose to make all easy. They were amongst the last Commissars, the other sett that made offer, but fell shorte, were headed by Provost Hume; which put the chancellor out of humor that he fell in a passion before I came to it this morning, whilst none were there but Annandale and Mr Francis Montgomery, and said, he liked not these peoples names nor faces. But indeed no such thing past whilst I was there. I must tell you, the D. of Queensberry, Annandale, Mr Francisse, and myself, were of a mind; so the Chancellor signed the letter. I am resolved to write no more to the secretary of my particular pretensions, but recommend them to you to push him as is proper, and act for me yourself as you see convenient. If I asked an unreasonable thing, I were to blame; but, since I can vindicate my pretensions to the world, I am in amaze at the stand, and must fancy I know not what. I am, Dr Sir, your's.

The treasurer-depute is ill of a squinnance and keeps the house.

EARL OF ARGYLE TO MR CARSTARES.

In very bad Humour.—Seafield's neglect of him in various instances—Several Persons who have Pensions, and do not deserve them—His Brothers must want.

I had your's by this day's post, and against next post shall write to E. P. and follow the exact method you advise me. I send you inclosed a letter I have writt to Viscount Seafield, to read, seal, and deliver; for I am resolved to writt no more repining letters to him,

N n n

but

Edinburgh,
March 14.
1699.

but shall take the most gentle way to prevail on him to do me right. By my letter, and the account he will give you, it is easy to understand all I hint at; and I leave to you to judge if they should have suffered the matter of master-gunner to be decided, untill he had informed himself of me what grounds I went on: Nay, without hearing further from me, he ought to place so much trust to my management, as to be persuaded I would not have embarked in dispute with V. Teviot, unless I had gone upon sure ground. If he fancies me one that ventures upon slight grounds, or that he do not yet vindicate my reputation in this matter, and to the King, not with an overly word, but to demonstration; I say, if this be not done, indeed my letters shall not hereafter be troublsome. I am sorry to find my Lord so easy when his friend's reputation is at the stake. That which I am afraid of is, he has yeilded to Teviot in this matter before the King; and he will think it a disparagement to himself that he was not better informed: But he may blame himself. Pray, Sir, do me right in this matter, or indeed I must give over business, if a secretary that is my friend suffer me tamely to be baffled, when I am so much in the right; and you may see, by the beginning of my letter, where he has suffered Teviot to worst me when I have much the better reason on my side. I have had 3 or 4 letters, one after another, promising me he was to see the King such a day, and such a day, and that he would mind some little particulars I recommended to him, as my two brothers, who bought their commissions, and enjoyed their places but a small time; one of which posselt not his place a full year: This is a fortnight ago, and never since does he make the least mention to me. I have suggested to him, but not regarded, that those who are turned out of the government for flying in the King's face keep their pensions, and, except myself, who will not sign them their precepts, others have; for indeed I perfume they are forgote. There is that rogue Forbes, fifeteen shillings sterling a day net. There is Major Burnet has eight shillings a-day; there is one Dunbar, a cowardly rogue, has eight shillings a-day; there is the Laird of Glengary has L. 200 sterling a year of pension, a papist, and in
Lord

Lord James Murray's name; and mean time my brothers must want, and I not gratified in a trifle since I came from London. All this I have over and over again represented to V. Seafield; but to no purpose. I am at a deal of drudgery in writting long letters to him; but all is lost: And, if you cannot cause him doe me right, I shall give over my correspondence; and I must tell you, who I conceal nothing from, I cannot easily digest it. He fancies me the easy fool—but it is not I. Sir, pray excuse this from one is your's. Adieu.

—————to Mr CARSTARES.

A spirited Letter.

S I R,

These several posts we have had nothing worth troubling the Secretary with. This day being the day the parliament was adjourned to, the councill was called extroardinar, to declare the parliament current. I'm sorry it has been too often forgot. We hear of a new establishment coming down; I hope your friend B. Maitland will suffer nothing by it.—There is one Ramsay was a servant of my Lord Rath's; he was in a chamberlaynship under the treasury; he slighted it; and a very usefull servant about the treasury was preferred to it: I gave my Lord Seafield information of it a good while ago; and his Lordship was very obliging in his return; my Lord Carmichael was so likewise at parting. So, if that valet-de-chambre come to piss on the Lords of treasury, it can only be thro' your moyen; and, ere a commission pass in his favours, the King shall determine the matter between him and me. This may seem a little brisk to write thus to Mr Carstares; but, while I serve, I will maintain the post and the credit of it; and when ever his Majesty pleases to dismiss me, there is no man in the government will propose more ease to his mind and body both than I can doe. Pray make my excuse to both secretaries; for I have nothing worth the

Edinburgh,
March 14.
1699.

while to write; and allow this to give them my most humble service. Farewell.

EARL OF ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Heavy Complaints against Teviot, who in a letter treats him like a little Ensign——His Son is to be with Mr Carstares soon.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
March 16.
1699.

I have writ at length this day by my son, who is gone for London, as to that affair betwixt Teviot and me. I have proved to a demonstration, by exact documents, that the King has been in use, and has actually granted commission for those in that post, disputed since the revolution; and I have sent doubles, and the original commission. I have likewise proved, by authentic papers, which I have sent up, which proves themselves not to be controverted, that it was by virtue of his power of granting acts over all in the army, that he gave an act to Capt. Sletcher's son, who died lately in that post. I have sent up a letter or two of his to Capt. Sletcher; in one of which he treats me like a little ensign, which I will not bear, whatever be the event. When you see the papers, pray act as you see just. I send inclosed E. P.'s letter open, with the inclosed declaration, which you'll please to look upon, and convey it to E. P. as you see fit. I gave no cause for this dispute; but am most innocently attacked. I shall say little; but I am resolved. I am your's. Adieu.

I judge my son may be with you the day after this, if not sooner. Pray, give L. Carmichael an account of this matter betwixt Teviot and me. I have touched it but in general to him, he having been upon the road when it begun; and I have referred him to you for particulars. Once more, adieu.

EARL

EARL OF ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

In a violent Passion.—Refers Portland to his Son, who can tell his Tale pretty well.

S I R,

I writt you by last post a pretty full letter, and sent the Secretary's letter inclosed to you to read, seal, and deliver, with a small message to him. I am by this day's post, by a letter from him, now fully confirmed in what I feared; he has yielded all to Teviot's stubborn, positive, resentive humour. (You remember Tullibardine said he was irreconcilable to me.) The guards are to be burthened beyond the dragoons. I value the foil in it more than the burthen; and, mean time, Teviot sends down a letter to Captain Sletcher, full of insolence, the double whereof I send inclosed. My son has the principal, which I took from Sletcher in presence of the Justice-Clerk. The Secretary, in this day's letter, advises me to live well with Teviot when he comes down. I had better not live at all, if the King redress me not, or allow me, with his favour, to redress myself. I have writ to the E. of Portland in general, and refers him to my son, who can tell his tale pretty well. I must desire the favour of you to get E. Portland to acquaint the King, that I have business which requires my presence at London. I am resolved to write no more; for my temper has left me, being affronted by my mortal enemies, slighted and exposed to my enemy by my friend: I'll rather chuse to be out of employment than not to speak once to the King, who, I flatter myself, will do me right, when matters are rightly represented. If either I omit what I should say, or say too much, excuse me. I am so ill used, I can bear no longer. I am your's. Adieu.

Edinburgh,
March. 16.
1699.

I send you inclosed a double of the King's commission granted to George Calcleugh, immediate predecessor to Captain Sletcher's son who died last, in whose place Teviot now has placed one. My son has
the

the principal commission to show. If this gives me not advantage enough, nothing can; and it is time for me to follow something else. I ask but common justice, and I will be heard, whatever the event be. You see how some people can assert, and how others can be tamely led away to the destruction of their friend. I shall pass no further commentary, but leaves it to you to improve all to do me but right. Adieu.

I caused Mr Aiken, secretary of war, Teviot's own creature, to give me a double out of his books of Teviot's act to Sletcher's son, and a double of an act to an ensign; both are exactly the same stile, has the same narrative, nay, all along the same but the names; by which, you see, comparing them, that he grants the same act to Sletcher's son to be master-gunner, by virtue of the power he had to grant acts in general, it running in the same stile with the ensign's: And there can be no shadow, by the inclosed double, that he granted it by any particular instruction. My son has the doubles writ by Mr Aiken's own hand.

Copy V. TEVIOT's Letter to C. SLETCHER.

S I R,

I thought you understood your duty better as to disobey orders from such as command you, which, in time and place convenient, we shall talk of; and now only once more command you instantly to place that Crecutt, who formerly was Lieutenant in Sir William Douglas's regiment, to be gentleman of the cannon in the artillery company. It seems the Earl of Argyle will continue to meddle in business he is not concerned in, which you may tell him, he was not in this. You did very well. Know that a gentleman of the cannon never had the King's commission; and, if it had been so, it was not the Earl of Argyle's to meddle with. I am,

S I R,

Your servant,

(*sic subscr.*)

TEVIOT.

LORD

London,
March
1699.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Earl of Argyle and Teviot.—Dalmeny.

S I R,

I have your's, and likewise my L. Seafield's, and shall write to the E. of Portland as I am desired; but this night having been kept out unavoidably till after nine, and being to write not only as above, but to both the secretaries, and to yourself, at some length, I must defer till the next post. My L. Argyle hath told me what farther is done about Captain Stevenson and Richardson their declarations: That young man is very unhappy to talk so unadvisedly and madly of so worthy a person. I am also surpris'd at what is fallen out betwixt E. Argyle and V. Teviot; things of that nature may go to great extremes, which I wish may be prevented; but the E. gives the true and full account of the whole matter, and I with the Viscount may consider it. Pray, excuse my not writing. The next post shall supply all. My most humble service to my Lords the Secretaries, I am your's most sincerely.

Edinburgh,
March 16.
1699.

Dalmeny is very sensible of your kindness, and prays to be still remembered.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

Against Teviot, and in favour of Argyle.—A Necessity for the King's giving the Command in Scotland to some other than Teviot.

S I R,

I would trouble you oftener with my letters, if such extraordinary occasions as brings you this should happen. While my Lord Teviot continues to treat people here in so insolent a manner, you can never expect to be free of our complaints. He has now again, in

March 18.
1699.

a letter to Captain Sletcher, used my L. Argyle very cavalierly. You will see by the copy of it, which my Lord Lorn carries up, what may be expected from that gentleman when he comes here to command, not only contrary to all our inclinations, but after so many endeavours against it. You'll also be convinced how far he is in the wrong, when you shall see that my L. Argyle maintains only the King's right against an unwarrantable encroachment of his upon it in the office of gentleman-cannon: But of this matter I have wrote so fully to my L. Seafield, (which I believe he will shew you), and I know my L. Argyle has wrote so fully to yourself, that I need say no more; only, I hope that this will convince his Majesty of the truth of what has been represented to him, and prevail with him to think of some other person to command here, that his service may go on with vigour and unity. There is just now arrived an express with the King's pleasure about the commissaries; but, having not yet seen his Majesty's letter, I cannot give you my thoughts of it; only, this I can say, that the officers were none of my choice: For, since the K. thought fit to take that affair out of the treasury's hands, I never concerned myself in it directly nor indirectly; nor, on the other hand, do I know any just reason of the exception made against them, if they purge themselves by qualifying according to law. My next shall be more full; so I shall only now add, that I am your's, &c.

EARL OF ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Takes his Correction patiently.—The Commissars determined to his Mind;—But Teviot displeased.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
March 21.
1699.

I had both your letter and my L. Seafield's with the flying packet. I took my correction very patiently; though I must own it did not a little mortify me, when I considered the foot's pay and dragoons

goons were augmented higher than ever since the revolution, and the guards reduced to the lowest; and yet the greatest burden laid on us gentlemen, who must not work, and do those mean things to assist us, which both dragoons may, and does do. I represented this my grievance formerly at large, both in treasury and elsewhere. I have been silent, complained of no body, not so much as of my own misfortune; and, whilst I was almost in despair, smothering my concern in my own breast, a blessing befel me; for, whilst two parties were contending who should be commissars, those who prevailed outbid the others; and, with one breath, delivered me, and freed the King of any additional charge, and has gone lower than any former offer, and not altered from the method the King inclined to accept, in so far as it tends for the advantage of the forces. They advance the same sum as formerly offered, take 8 d. poundage off the foot, 12 d. off the horse and dragoons, renouncing any more from the King; and they are to forage both horse and dragoons for 6 d. a-day. I hope it will not be took amiss, that I am delivered when the King is freed of an additional charge, and the whole done cheaper than any formerly offered. All here are mightily pleased; and I hope none but Teviot will be displeased. The commissars are Baillie Meinzie, Dean-of-guild Blair, and Mr M'Clellan, with their sureties, which the treasury are satisfied with. Some of Teviot's creatures were the competitors. To-morrow I hope to sign the contract. I have not writ to the Secretary, nor will not, till I see if he doe me justice in that affair with Teviot; for, indeed, I would not have left him at a loss. I am your's. Adieu.

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EARL

EARL of MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Gift for his Son, married to Sir George Campbell's Daughter.

—The Advocate and President called up to give their Opinion, in point of Law, as to the Manner of the African Company's taking Possession of Darien.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
April 3.
1699.

I could not get leisure the two last posts to write to you ; neither can I now do it so fully as I desire, and intend to do afterwards. My son Alexander tells me, that he has written to you about a concern of his the same post that he wrote to the V. of Seafield and the L. Carmichael. I desire that you will speak to them both, and assist him as you think reasonable in this affair. I wish it may be done without any noise. When I matched him with Sir George Campbell's daughter, who is indeed both a very good woman, and a very good wife, I paid in a considerable portion, considering my fortune and circumstances, to Sir George, for securing his affairs ; and he did infect them for it ; and the portion he gave his daughter in lands out of which they should have the annualrent. Alexander, since, finds, that the lands in which they are infect hold ward, and that their security for their stock will be very loose, unless he get the gift he desires. I did not indeed examine how the lands held, but treated *bona fide*, reckoning it Sir George's interest, as much as mine, to secure their stock to them. You know Sir George's humour, and I believe have some guess of his way of managing : And I will assure you, that what is done for my son shall be made no further use of, than to secure to them the money which Sir George is obliged to pay them, and the annualrent in the mean time, till the term of payment, which is long delayed, most part of it not to be called for while Sir George lives ; so that his heirs or successors to him in his estate are to be the payers. I need add no more upon this subject. I have written to both Secretaries what
in-

information I have about the way our colony took possession upon the Isthmus of the Darien, which you may see from them. The Lord President of the session and Advocate were with me this afternoon, and will be quickly there. All here are possessed of an opinion, that they are called up to maintain in law the justice and agreeableness to law of the colony's procedure and practice. This notion is exceeding pleasing, and renders them very favourable to the people here, who are exceedingly bent upon the prosecution of that undertaking; and I believe will stick at nothing in their power to do for that purpose. It is an unaccountable thing, to find so great a disposition in people to go thither as there is; God knows what shall come of it. I am going to the country to-morrow, my health very much requiring it. I have not time to tell you what I have written to both Secretaries about the Chancellor's house in the Abbey, where I intend to dwell, when in town, finding my living where I did very prejudicial to my health. Give my service to the E. of Portland, and make my excuse that I have made no return of the letters I had by Major Paton, whose business is done, not without some difficulty; but, finding my Lord concerned in him, I did indeed all I could for him, as he will tell you. My own hand serves me seldom to write; but, in the country, I will have more leisure, and, I hope, better health; then I shall write to my Lord. I am,

S I R,

Your humble servant, and true friend.

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

In his own Vindication.—The Generality of the King's Council would rather have no Army than Teviot for Commander.

S I R,

I have received your's dated March 23d. I am fully persuaded you are my sincere friend. I do believe you to be a man of honour

April 3.
1699,

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as well as conscience; and I confide in you as such. How I have been used by others is too apparent, and the issue will demonstrate. I am now determined to make no London journey without encouragement. I fought no quarrel; and, being attacked, I think, as you say, I have made myself very clearly to have been acting warrantably. If others be countenanced in telling the King falsehoods, and insulting me to the boot, I have no reason to think myself well used. I have, as directed, offered my mite to serve E. Portland: I cannot think but he will please to have some regard for me. It would appear, by Teviot's offering that exchange with Ramfay, that he looks not upon a forfeiture in these days as a good and firm security; for the one is certainly more valuable than the other. I shall say no farther as to that peer; but I believe the generality of the King's great council in Scotland would rather have no army than him for commander: So, what the consequence may be, time will show. I am, dear Sir, ever your's.

COCKBURN of Ormiston, now Treasurer-depute, to Mr CARSTARES.
*Of the President and Advocate's Journey to London upon the Darien
 Affair.*

S I R,

Edinburgh,
 April 4.
 1699.

You have here inclosed a few words of hearty thanks for the letter of recommendation. You know I'm not good at compliments; but this will say for them, such as they are, they are sincere. I thought this day to agone to the country; but found myself abundantly wearied with my visites in the morning; as our great men are called to court, it was the first of my going down stairs these ten or twelve days; so I put off my journey till Thursday. We have nothing among us here, but that these great men are called up about our African Company. Some speakes with fear that they will do hurt; and these stand not to express what their resentment

ment will be upon their return. But all that has spoke to them agree in their desires, that they would stand up boldly for the maintenance of that new plantation, on which the interest and well-being of the nation so much depends. The president was this day a long time present at a pretty frequent meeting of the directors, where, after the compliments of recommendation of the company's concerns, he had a full information given him of their procedure. He exprest himself with a great deal of affection, and with many good wishes for the prosperity of the company; and, if it were in his power to do service to its interest, he would think it his happiness. The directores named some of their number to carry their desires to my Lord Advocate, and to compliment him on his journey.—*Exitus acta probat* *. When 7 8mw6 8tq 1298 then 78 duxx

wz2d

APRIL 4. 1699.

ORMISTON'S CYPHERS explained.

* When the 7 (Advocate) takes the gout, then 78 (Ormiston) knows all is not right. Ormiston hopes, that seeing 24 would not keep the Dutch guards, it will not fare the worse with 65 (Scotland's) company. I'm sure this is strong sense. I know not how it will sound with 22 (Mr Carstares); but, if Ormiston hear that Carstares bids the Advocate stand firm, then all is well; but, whatever come, let Carstares keep 76 (Carmichael) from being brought upon locks now in his first waiting. The Advocate has not, by this journey, a 41 or 69 to him out. Will Carstares endeavour that 43 (the King) make offer to 83 (the President) of a remission to 64 (Lord Stairs) for Glenco? This will be a recompence for the President's journey. Now, after reading this, will Carstares have hopes that Ormiston will not die at this time? One post gives us Teviot to be coming down to command; next post gives us Ramsay; and every one speaks as he affects; and Ormiston holds his peace. 76 (Carmichael) and Carstares cannot with more sincere affection mind Ormiston than he minds them.

ORMISTON'S ALPHABET.

m	a	u	i	7	r
n	b	w	k	6	s
o	c	x	l	8	t
p	d	y	m	9	u
q	e	z	n	b	v
r	f	2	o	d	w
s	g	3	p	a	y
t	h	5	q	c	x

wz2d nxx u6 z28 7ust8, 78 t23q6 8tm8 6quzs 24 d29xp z28 wq
 q3 8tq p98ot 19m7p6, u8 duxx z28 rmu7 8tq d276 du8t 65 ozy3
 mza I'm fure this is strong fence; I know not how it will found with
 22; but if 78 tqm7 8tm8 22 nup6 7 68mzp ru7y 8tq2 mxx ub dqxx;
 but whatever ozyq xq8 22 wqq3 76 from nquzs n729st8 b32z x2
 ow6 z2duz tu6 ru768 dmu8uzs. 7 tm6 z28 na 8tu6 uz97za m 41
 and 69 82 89 72 298 duxx 22 endeavour that 43 ymuq 2 irq7 82
 83 2r m 7qyu6buzz 82 64 r27 sxqzo2 8tu6 uz 7qo2y3qzoq 2r
 83 u97za, now after reading of this will 22 have t23q6 8tm8 78
 duxx z28 pyq m 8 8tu6 8uyq. One post gives us Teviot to be
 coming down to command; next post gives us Ramfay; and e-
 very one speakes as he affects; and 78 t2xp6 tu6 3qmoq. 76 and
 22 omzz28 du8t y27q y6oq7q more o8u2z uzp 78 8tqz 78yuzq6
 8tp7. Farewell.

LORD JEDBURGH TO MR CARSTARES.

Vexed that he cannot grant him a favour he asked.

Dear S I R,

Torn,
 April 15.
 1699.

I had the satisfaction of your kind letter tother day; but there
 was one thing in it vexed me, and it was your recommending of
 one to be a quartermaster in my regiment, it being a thing I know,
 when you receive this, yourself will be satisfied of the impossibility
 of it; and it is, we have six quartermasters in the regiment, and the
 order bears but five of them to be broke; and Lieutenant Kerr the
 adjutant, who yourself knoweth, is broke likewise. And, to be per-
 fectly free with you, from whome there is none of my concerns I
 will keep up, having payed the regiment all this while, and with
 it done all my particular business, the least I could do in gratitude
 was to give it him; and to get it done, to hinder my own particular
 loss, if parted with him, I was forced to satisfy him, who had the
 right to be quartermaster another way. So, Sir, I humbly beg you
 will be pleased to let me know from yourself that you are not an-
 gry

gry for my not complying with your desire in the affair: For, if I be an honest man, Mr Kerr is so, and hath been so serviceable to me all along, that, if at court any had got that commission which I believe would have been soon, if not for yourself, upon my account, I behoved to have had your assistance with my Lord Portland to have got it altered. But, not to trouble you any further, upon the word of a gentleman, before I had been forced to have made an excuse to your only desire to me, I had rather lost almost the regiment; but I know you believe me unworthy to be, without affectation, dear Sir, your most affectionate and most obliged humble servant,

JEDBURGH.

EARL OF LEVEN to Mr CARSTARES.

Refuses to comply with an Order of the Council to give two Brass Guns out of the Castle to the Earl of Argyle.

S I R,

There was a letter read in council from the King, ordering them to give out two brass guns out of the castle to the Earl of Argyle. This made me take occasion to acquaint the council, that my commission (as all others that were before me) was to obey only the King; and that, therefore, although I was far from disputing the council's power, yet, in a matter that was so essential to the being of a garrison, as was the dismounting the greatest guns thereof, I thought not myself sufficiently authorised to do so, without his Majesty's warrant to myself; and, therefore, I have prevailed with his Grace to write to the Secretary, that I may have such a warrant, which I intreat you to assist me in. Pray, consider what shall become of me, if this his Majesty's letter should fall by, or be taken away in a mob, or miscarry any other way. If I were challenged afterward, why I gave these guns, since I was obliged to obey none but the King, what could I say to vindicate myself? for all I can have is a warrant of council; which, if I had an ill sitting sheriff, I doubt would.

June 27.
1699.

would not be a sufficient excuse. If I am obliged to obey the council to give two guns, by the same rule, if they should order me to dismount all the rest, and send them away, or do other things, which I need not name, I were obliged to obey; and, therefore, it has been always reckoned the interest of the crown to have the castle to depend solely on the King: And, therefore, my niceness in this will not be misconstrued, but approven, since I have no design therein but his Majesty's service. I will expect to hear from you by the first. I am, Sir, your most humble servant.

If it had not been that I am unwilling to be absent at this juncture, I would have made a London journey, to inform his Majesty of the consequences of this. I have wrote to the King of this.

EARL OF ARGYLE TO MR CARSTARES.

Of the Proceedings in the African Company upon the Return of their Commissioners from Hamburgh.—An Application to the Privy Council prevented;—but no Possibility of preventing the Address to the King.—The Ferment in the Nation.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 29.
1699.

I have not troubled you with a line this long time, having indeed nothing worth it. I have now been a month clos'd at business in town; and, especially, I have plied treasury-business, going through the accompts, which I think no pleasant exercise; and I think, in a little time, we may give his Majesty a tolerable account how the affairs of the treasury are, and the state of them. In other matters of judicatory, little of consideration has occurred: Never so little business either before council or the session. The chief cause of my writing now, is to give you an account of what has pass'd upon the return of these commissioned by the African company to go to Hamburgh, and what people's behaviour was upon it, particularly those in the government; which I desire you'll please to acquaint the

E.

E. Portland of. Upon the return, these concerned chiefly, such as are of the council, all repaired to Edinburgh; and, being met at a general council-day, I chanced not to be present, being upon the accompts of the treasury with Sir John Maxwell. At the beginning of the meeting thereafter I did not go, since I was not at the beginning. It seems they chose E. Annandale president; and immediately they run to a great height, I may say, almost unanimously exclaiming against the memorial given in by his Majesty's resident at Hamburgh, and voted to address the King, and the secret council to convey their address to his Majesty: This was before E. Tullibardine came out of the country. We were alarmed at this hot and sudden procedure, not knowing what bad consequence it might produce; and therefore, the D. of Queensberry and Secretary Ogilvie, and all of us, I may say, of your friends, did use their utmost endeavour to pacify them, and get them to a calmer manner of procedure, using a deal of convincing arguments; insomuch, that Sir Francis Scott, Drummelzier, Sir William Scott, Mr Henry Maul, and Gosfort, all men of interest, besides metal, were brought over to use the method which is now taking of addressing from themselves to his Majesty, without applying to the council, and transmitting it privately by the Secretary; yet so violent they are in their resolutions, that, if a return come not betwixt and August, they will follow methods which none of us can prevent, a delay being alike destructive as a denial. I am afraid the stile of the address will not please; for a smoother could not be obtained, some being absent, and others of us fearing their heats, did absent designedly: So they chose L. Yester president, who pressed the affair with heat and violence, as did Earl Panmure, and some others that I should have thought our other secretary might have had some influence upon. This occasioned the address to be so positive; but, of two ills, the lesser is to be chosen. I wish, with all my heart, his Majesty would, some way or other, take off the stop; for, in faithfulness to his Majesty, I must desire you to acquaint E. Portland, that the kingdom is in such a ferment upon it, every body

P p p

having

having money in it, that I know not how bad the consequence may be, if not remedied. I am ashamed I have got nothing done in your own business in the treasury; but L. Q. Sir John Maxwell, and I are resolved to fight it, as we shall likewise the under secretary's concern, who writt to me about it. I am sorry to hear my son's regiment is in garrison; I having sent over 240 recruits, which all the officers will acknowledge was the best went over. It's probable my son may go to camp; but I would not have him stay. I am ever your's. Adieu.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Duke of Gordon set at Liberty.—Two of the Frazers reprimed by the D. of Argyle's Interest.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 8.
1699.

You will excuse me for not writing this week, having been so ill that I was forced to lie above my bed: In the mean time, nothing of consequence has occurred but what I have wrote fully of to Mr Pringle. The council were at first very much incensed against the Duke of Gordon, as I wrote formerly; but he being sensible of his error, and having applyed by a petition to the council, in submissive terms, they have now allowed him to be set at liberty. Mr Pringle will also acquaint you with what is desired in favours of the batallion of foot-guards that does duty at Edinburgh. Major-general Ramfay will take it as a singular favour if it be obtained. His petition to the treasury will acquaint you with the reasons why he desires it. Two of the Frazers that were accomplices and assistants to Captain Frazer of Beaufort are reprimed: They were faulted in absence, and so had no access to defend themselves: But, however, according to the law, the Lords of the justiciary did appoint a day for their execution; but now they have their reprimed till December. My L. Argyle did push the reprimed, and the granting

ing of it at that time. The Chancellor, the Advocate, and several other, were for a delay, because the petition was ill drawn; however, it was just enough to allow them time to represent what they have to say for themselves. The D. of Queensberry continues very ill with a pain in his throat, and is going to the country for his health. This is all at present from, Sir, your M. H. S.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to MR CARSTARES.

About to set out for the Bath on account of his Health.

S I R,

I doubt not but you will think strange not to have heard from me since you went beyond sea; but I had too just cause to hinder me; for, besides that I had very little worth troubling you with, I was not able to do it, having been very much indisposed this long while, and I am so still, in spite of all the remedies I have used; which, by the advice of all the physicians here, obliges me to go immediately from hence to the Bath; which I should not have thought on without first acquainting the court: But, being still in hopes of finding some good effects from so fine a season as we have had, made me put off any resolution of that kind till now, that the season for the Bath is too far advanced to admit of any delay: So I design to part from hence to-morrow; and shall be very glad to hear from you, when I am at the Bath, how the affairs of our little world are like to go, for there are very different reports here about it; but I do not think them worth troubling you with. I had the honour of a very kind and obliging letter from my L. Portland before he went over, which I delayed answering, because I have never been since in a condition to do it with my own hand; and, therefore, I beg the favour of you to make my excuse for it; and, at the same time, to assure his Lordship, that no man can have a greater sense than I shall always have of the favours I have received from him, or shall be more

Drumlang-
rig, Aug. 2.
1699.

ready to serve him, if ever I be so happy as to have it in my power. If it please God that I recover my health at the Bath, I resolve to come from thence back to Scotland in October, unless his Majesty shall think fit that I should attend my duty at court. This is all I shall trouble you with at present, but to assure you, that I shall ever continue,

S I R,

Your real friend and servant,

QUEENSBERRY.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Wishes to stay in the Country for some Weeks.—Has called his Son after the King and Lord Portland.

S I R,

Cullen house,
Aug. 2.
1699.

I received your's of the 28th last night, and it is a very great satisfaction to me, that my Lord Portland does continue to act in our affairs. The letter concerning the D. of Gordon I did deliver to my L. Carmichael; and I believe it was read the council-day after I parted from Edinburgh. It will be very acceptable to all that are concerned in the government, to find that his Majesty does discountenance those public and avowed meetings of the Papists in contempt of our laws. My Lord Duke did indeed grossly misbehave when he appeared before the council at first; but he was very sensible afterwards of his error; and he having behaved with so much calmness on other occasions, they did generally incline to set him at liberty upon the submission he made. I have very much to do in this country, and I would gladly stay three or four weeks here; and I hope I may do it, seeing that Mr Pringle writes, that the King, in all probability, will not be over before October. My wife is brought to-bed of a son, and I have presumed to call him after his Majesty, and next to him after the E. of Portland. I would not trouble you with

with my domestic affairs, were it not that you desire it; and I assure you, I am most sensible of the kindness you have shown to me on all occasions. I did stay at Edinburgh till the last week of the session, attending his Majesty's affairs, and so long, that my wife was brought to-bed before I came here; and all our statesmen are now in the country as well as I. I hope you will continue to let me hear from you; and, before you can return any answer to this, I will be again at Edinburgh. Colonel M'Gill's cloathing will answer to the King for the cloathing of two of the present batallions, and the expences of the recruits does not at all lie upon Scotland; and, if any man had a title to it, it would be Colonel M'Gill himself; so you was very right in speaking plainly in this matter; and I truly believe that my Lord Teviot would have had as much advantage by it as Colonel Hamilton. I have company in my house, and so can write no more at present. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

— to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon a Report of Lord Portland's abstracting himself from Court.

S I R,

I have forbore of a long time to give you this trouble. Your distance from this might at present excuse me; but that I cannot longer forbear to regret the noise of your noble patron's abstracting from court more than he had wont to do; but the secretary has settled my mind a little, in persuading me, e're long, that affairs will run in their former channel. Sure I am, if it should fall out otherwise, it would be a *coup de ciel* to both church and state in this poor country, whose interest he has ever espoused, and most affectionately protected. We hear that he is as much in his Majesty's

Aug. 15.
1699.

jefty's favour as ever, who obliges him still to meddle in all business as he used to do. If he state himself in a downright opposition to any rising favourites, it is too great favour done to them: They will vaunt of it, and be proud to cope with so great a man. Let him remember, that flies are not the eagle's prey. But, if he be resolved to retire, either from choice, or by advice of his friends, I remember the answer the late Marquis of Tweedle gave to his friends when they advised him to retire from following after all public business, as more advantageous, he said, "It was very hard for an active spirit to tather itself to a melancholy sedentary retreat." He had met with many great disappointments, and a series for many years of court-discouragements, whereof none was of his own procuring; so that he had the more to say for himself. Sir, You may remember, that, when the great advocates of the session had procured their own banishment, at bottom upon a state-intrigue and personal picks, as if the session could not have been served without them, and so to have baffled the bench, as that his Majesty should be forced to part with them they levelled at; and when they found it did not answer the end they proposed, the ill blood fell from their heart; and, by humble addressing, they were allowed to return, and even truckle under those they thought to have foiled. This design was laid by our greatest statesmen. I hope, Sir, this noble, generous gentleman will be far from any thought of retreat for his Majesty's sake, for the sake of all honest men, and for his own sake, who all alongst has shown such prudent and wonderful management amongst the confederates, besides his great metal in discharging so ticklish an embassy with the French King, upon which the peace of Europe depended; as likewise his undaunted courage when he was wounded in his Majesty's view at many bloody battles; when milk-soaps did not appear, and are now creeping up and down courts, when there is no fear of war or danger. And shall all this great soul's actions, either by himself, or any other way, be extinguished like the snuff of a candle? God forbid. It will make a very bad exite to future generations in history. Sir, I beg pardon for dipping

ping so deep in so mysterious an affair. I would fain hope and believe, that all matters, against his Majesty his return, will be adjusted to the heart's desire of all good men: And I am persuaded you will contribute with all your pith to have it so. Sir, I am tempted by the secretaries, but most especially by my L. Seafield, to make a winter-campaign at London: Really my health is growing uncertain; it is like I would not be the worse of a journey, except as to the expence, which I am unwilling to, unless they can find some way to bear my charges. I have spent so often so much at London already of my own, that I am unwilling to do so any more. My Lord Seafield promises very fair to find something for me. I know not indeed what can make him so earnest. I confess, Sir, to see you once more at London, is my greatest temptation; for I have many politics to discharge upon you. I hope, that either to myself, or by some other hand, you will let me know you have received this letter, wherein you will still oblige, in the wonted manner, the old gentleman, your most faithful servant,

A. M.

LORD CARMICHAEL to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the same Subject; and offering to resign.

S I R,

Tho' I had little to writ, yet I would not have been so silent if you had been at Loo. I came to Edinburgh some days before the Viscount Seafield went north, and attended till the judicatories were up. There was little past, save what I give account of to Mr Pringle before I parted from that place. I do much long to have a return of my last letters, to hear of my noble friend's resolution; for you know, by what I said, both to his Lordship and to you, how deeply I am bound, and fully determined, if his Lordship be not to meddle in affairs;—but having spoke freely at parting, I need say the less now. I hope, against this comes to your hands, you may

August 7.
1699.

may let me know when the King designs to be in England. My Lord Seafield intends to be at the council the 12th of September, and in a week or two to take journey for London. So, Sir, I only wait your advice how to dispose of myself; for, if I were to stay at London, I would by no means leave my family behind me; and, if otherways, you knowing my circumstances, and being a matter of the greatest consequence to me, I again intreat you (who I acknowledge has always been the most concerned friend to me I ever had) may be pleased to write your advice freely and fully, when you have the happiness to be with that noble person. I beg you may give his Lordship my most humble service. I am, Sir, unalterably yours.—My Lord Seafield and I, when in town, lives together as you desire.—My service to Mr Pringle. I have ordered Watson to send you some verses on Darien; those I got are torn, else I would have sent them.

—————to Mr CARSTARES.

The African Company busy in sending out Men and Vessels to Caledonia.—The whole Country concerned about the King's Proclamations by the Governors of Jamaica and New England.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
August 8.
1699.

I have not had a line from you of this long time; and I am glade to hear, by a line Mr Cunningham told me he had from you, to hear that ye are in health. I am going to the country to-morrow; but I design to be here at the councill-day in September; for Seafield designs then to part from this for England. We have no news here, only our African Company are busied in sending men and vessels to Caledonia. The whole directors are at Glasgow upon that account. You cannot believe how great an edge is upon persons of all degrees and ranks here for that plantation: How it may thrive I know not; but they and all this country are very concerned; for two proclamations, one by the governor of Jamaica, and

and the other by L. Bellmount governor of new England, whereby all the country are discharged to give any aid, assistance, or keep any correspondence with the Scots at Darien; and the proclamation bears further, that its by warrant from the King. This doth allarm many; and the King's unfriends endeavour to make great advantage of it. Its said here, that Albemarle hath got the Dutch guards from Portland, which makes all here think that Portland will not return to court. I bid you heartly adieu.

LORD CARMICHAEL to Mr CARSTARES.

Determined, by Letters from Mr Carstares, to continue to act as Secretary.—An affair of the Conservator's recommended to Mr Carstares.

S I R,

I thought very much long to hear from you, which you will perceive by a long letter I writ a few days before I received your two last letters. They do fully answer what I demanded; for what my noble friend hath said, and you advise, determines me; so that I am resolved, God willing, to carry my wife and family to London. I intreat you may let me know when you think the King will be over; for, till you assure me of his time, I will not part from Scotland, because I desire not to be long there before his Majesty comes. Sir, the Conservator, who you know is my very good friend and nearest neighbour, and his lady my near relation, has a business intrusted to his care by the royall burrows, with one Vyox in Camphire; it being the poors money, he is much concerned (as he ought to be) to get it rightly managed. I must intreat you may be pleased to give my humble service to Monsieur de Longi, for whom I have a very great esteem. I earnestly desire he may give the Conservator his friendship and assistance in this matter: I spoke to him about it at London, and he was pleased, at my desire, to delay the getting the King's answer to a letter from Camphire, till the Conservator should know what he had writ. I shall trouble you no further at present, but I am most sincerely your's.

My wife gives her hearty service to you.

Q q q

LORD

August 12.
1699.

LORD ADVOCATE to MR CARSTARES.

*Of the African Company.——The Nation bent one Way;——the
King another.——Quarrel betwixt Argyle and Crawford.——
Cyphers.*

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Aug. 12.
1699.

Since my last to you the 4th instant, I was taken with a great indisposition; but I bless God it is now over, and I am gone to the Gutters, all our courts being up, and all gone to the country. The principal persons of our African Company are at Glasgow and Greenock, to send away the Rising Sun, and some other ships, with 1200 men to Caledonia. This country is mighty intent on this business, and our ministers pray as heartily for its success: But we meet with great discouragements; for, first, the copies of proclamations, emitted by the governors of Jamaica and New England in April last, are come here; wherein, in obedience to his Majesty's orders sent to them by Secretary Vernon, they say the Scots have settled in Darien without his Majesty's knowledge, and contrary to the treaties with his allies; and therefore forbid all to assist or correspond with them in any sort. And, next, we have news that two of the principal managers of the colony, one Jolly a broken merchant, and another, Montgomery, have been endeavouring to betray it to the Spaniards, and are fled for it. I am truly grieved at this matter; the nation is bent one way, and the King is of another persuasion; and whether it succeed or not, it is like to have ill consequences; for, if it prosper, it is but a state of war, which we cannot maintain with the Spaniard, but must soon be exhausted; and if not, yet much is laid upon it; and we will be ready enough to blame whom we should not blame. But, be it as it will, this affair must take some other turn before the meeting of parliament, or otherwise things will go very cross here, which I heartily wish may be a good turn for us: In the mean time, I can advise nothing. I wrote to you of some passages

passages had fallen out this summer about the reprove of the two
 Frazers, the abatements, the conflict of jurisdictions betwixt the ses-
 sion and exchequer, and Thom. Bruce the muster-master. Our se-
 cretaries behave well; but Secret. Seafield was a while indisposed,
 and is now in the north; and my L. Carmichael was also much in
 the country. E. Argyle, after the session, went to the race at Ca-
 verton-edge, with some of our young noblemen, his companions.
 I hear E. Crawford and he quarrelled, for some words Argyle gave
 him in his passion, when he lost the race; but, when Crawford sent
 the challenge, Argyle took it away wisely, by confessing his excess.
 I believe he is gone from that to Newcastle. D. Queensberry is in
 a dangerous state of health. E. Annandale is in town: His daugh-
 ter is to be married to Hopeton. All others are in the country,
 and the council adjourned till the 12th of September. But, leaving
 those things, I shall write of our friends and private concerns: Mr
 Hamilton's deportment in that concern of Mr Erskine's was into-
 lerable; for it was an affront to Mr Chalmers to cause him grant
 what had been so insolently demanded; and Chalmers's reputation
 should not be prostitute for private picques. 55 neither does, nor
 will do good, which 32 is sorry for. Mr Campbell, after Mr Hay
 was gone north, was very earnest for a stop of what was done Au-
 gust 24 25 23 34 30 32 37 29 37 38 20 and had almost ob-
 tained it; but all are for 32 33 29, and the contest betwixt 37 21
 39 34 37 32 37 25 and Mr Murray's court must be helped.
 29 was too keen in it, and Stewart blew the bellows. Hume thinks
 9's interest so far concerned, that he should notice it; and, if Hay
 and his neighbour were here, 32 would advise a letter of advice
 to be given for settling that matter before the winter; for it is like
 to be very prejudicial to White's affairs; but his concerns are small;
 and it is happy neither he nor we have more to do. Our harvest
 is begun, and promises well; but we have had broken weather these
 ten days. Secretary Seafield will be in the north till September;
 and, till then, we will be very quiet in this place. Were I with

Q q q 2

you,

you, I have many things to say; but, while the main is well and safe, I am easily satisfied. I am your's. Adieu.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

His Transactions with the Members of Parliament to prepare them for next Session.—Culloden's Pension must be continued.—Bracco has agreed for L. 200 per annum.—Of the Clergy in that Diocese.—The Importance of Fort-William.

S I R,

Cullen-house,
Aug. 17.
1699.

I shall never loose courage so long as you keep it; and I am sure neither of us needs be afraid to be at court, so long as the influence of the E. of Portland continues. I am glad that his Majesty has gratified Major-general Ramfay in granting that warrant in favours of the battalion of guards that are at Edinburgh. I am doing all the good I can towards the preparing the members of parliament for the next session. I find many of them very well inclined. Culloden has been with me; and I think, if his pension be continued to him, we will have his assistance. I think also that Bracco will be assisting: I have agreed with him for L. 200 a-year, and to-morrow he is to sign the disposition; but I think you must help me to pay a part of the price. Mr Thomas Thomson, the moderator of this diocese, has been with me, and I hope to hinder their proceedings against the protected ministers here; but Culloden tells me, these in Ross are very violent; and it is very hard to turn out ministers who have the Irish language in these countries, when they are qualified. I had a letter last night from Br. Maitland: His garrison is in very good order, and well provided; and he writes, that, before Martinmas next, the third part of that fortification will be built of stone-work. I do think, that, before the next year, it will be adviseable, that it be compleated with stone; for the earth does not continue, but crumbles down to nothing. The Papists
and

and Jacobites in this country expect an invasion before the next parliament; but I do not believe it, since the King hears nothing of it. I had almost forgot to have informed you, that Brigadier Maitland did, upon the receipt of the Chancellor's letter and mine, write for Sir Donald M'Donald to come into him, and accordingly he did surrender himself to the garrison; which, to shew the great use of that fort for preserving the peace of the Highlands. This is all at present from,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

EARL OF SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

His Diligence with the Members of Parliament.

S I R,

I am much obliged to you for the good advice you gave me in your last. It is my duty to be thankful to God for the providences I have met with. I find likewise, that you think the King will not stay long after the Duke of Zell returns; so I resolve to go from this on Monday, and to make what haste I can to Edinburgh; and shall wait the first advertisement, which I hope you will give me timeously, as you promise to do; and I doubt not but my journey to this country will be useful to his Majesty; for I have had all the parliament-men of the three neighbouring shires here, and I can assure you we have lost no ground amongst them. This is all at present from,

S I R,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

EARL

Cullen-house,
Aug. 31.
1699.

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

*In great Anger with both Secretaries.—His Character of Seafield.
—Lord Basil Hamilton drowned, a mighty Shock to the Grum-
bletonians in Scotland.—The Ministry in England unpopular.*

London,
Sept. 9.
1699.

I am several letters in your debt. I do not in the least doubt your friendship to me, nor can I blame you to be cautious of breaking measures with either, or both of the secretaries; though, at the same time, I must tell you, V. Seafield has broke his word, his honour to me, as I can instruct by letters under his hand, the one materially contradicting the other; and he led honest Carmichael in to be the actor of his treachery, which I will not forget, though he thinks it an easy task to please me. D. Q. is gone to the Bath; and, before he went, understood Seafield's scurvy treating of me, so endeavoured to soften me; but, if I should stand alone, I continue of the same opinion I gave his Majesty, and shall serve him faithfully; though I can instruct, none can be safe to act in conjunction with Seafield, in whom there is neither honour, honesty, friendship, or courage. If I thought it were not lessening of my self to say it to a man dares not resent it, I'd send him as much signed. In those circumstances I am, and, were it not my gratitude to the King, I should rejoice to see them split. Seafield appeared to Whitelaw to be very forward for him; nor did Whitelaw spare to give him all encouragement so to do; but, in a day's time, a fright takes him, and he writes to me, if D. Q. be positive, all will go to ruin; and so importing as much as it were the properest method to yield to him, since he believes I design only the King's service, wherein he guesses right, and therefore must be firm to my opinion, whatever discouragement I may meet withal. Carmichael has not spoke one word to Whitelaw. You have heard Lord Basil Hamilton is drowned, and Lord Selkriigg looking on. It is a mighty shoke to that family, and weakens the grummeltonian party in Scotland. As to my son, he
has

has been a considerable time in Lorn ; but, as yet, the lady has not been in a condition to be seen since her having the small-pox. But, on the 15th instant, we are to have a review, and I propose to make all dispatch. As far as I can understand the humour in England, generally all over, grows against the present ministry, and the slow proceedings (at least) of the late house of commons. Papers to that purpose are daily printed ; some whereof Lord Strathnaver will show you, who I hope you will assist, and it will encourage him to serve the King : He is of presbyterian breed, which makes me the more concerned. I am your's. Adieu.

Your last news was very welcome.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Deposition of two protected Clergy in the North by the Presbytery of Ross.—Wishes the Episcopalians were not so much encouraged to make their Complaints to the Court ;—and that Church-matters were left to the Privy Council.—The African Company.

S I R,

I have your last return the 9th August. I think I wrote to you, that the presbytery of Ross and Inverness had fallen upon two protected ministers, the one Forbes, and the other Ross, and had summoned them for immoralities, errors, and supine negligence ; and, for their non-compearance and contumacy, had deposed them. The two protected men came hither, and brought letters from the Lord Tarbet, and others, that the whole protected clergy took the alarm, and were to complain to the King. I was troubled at what had fallen out, and took advice, and then wrote to the presbytery, That, though it were not provided in the act of parliament, that the protected men should be exempted ; yet the parliament, on the other hand, did expressly wave the making them subject to presbyteries, and other church-judicatories ; but provided, that, upon their application,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 12.
1699.

cation, the church might assume them or not: And, therefore, it was by my advice that the presbytery should look upon them as persons without, and pass from the judgement and censure they had pronounced, by letting it fall to the ground. But this proposal and expedient, though offered by the approbation of persons most proper in this place, hath had but ill consequence on both hands; for the presbytery complain, that their jurisdiction should be questioned, and say, that, if it be not countenanced, their authority in these parts will be contemned. On the other hand, the protected persons insult, as if the proceedings of the presbytery had been condemned. And it is gone that height, that some that had formerly submitted to the committee of the synod of Aberdeen have since declined; and Mr George Seaton, of the protected ministers, hath had the confidence, or rather insolence, to write the inclosed letter to the said committee; and, therewith, I do hereby send you a copy likewise of Mr James Osburne's letter, by which you will understand this matter more perfectly. The brethren of the said presbytery of Ross sent two of their number here to attend the quarterly commission of the assembly; and the commission appointed a committee to meet with them; but thought it not fitt to bring in the business to the full commission. I wish the presbytery had not meddled with their brethren; but things may be forborn that cannot be so well retrieved. All I can do, is to make Mr Seaton understand, how far he mistakes himself. But I heartily wish, for his Majesty's quiet as to these complaints, that they might be wholly left to his Majesty's council here, and that these protected men may have no encouragement to make their complaints at court; for you know that they have many in England, who understand not the circumstances of our affairs, to take their part too readily; but, if all their complaints were barred by this one answer, That they belonged to the council of Scotland, it would free the King of much trouble, and keep the protected men within measures; and I durst undertake that they shall get no wrong; because I think the council would really study peace and edification; and, when his Majesty comes

comes back, that our secretaries shall be with him, I hope this matter shall be better understood: And I think a letter might be drawn that would keep both sides within their just bounds: But this may be thought on at leisure. This day Mr James Garden, a person who was not an actual minister under the bishops, and hath not the benefit of the protection 1695, was convened before the council: That, though deposed by the church, yet he presumed to set up a meeting-house at Montrose, and suffered deprived and unqualified men to preach there, and was a great fomenter of the disaffection of that country: But the council very justly ordained him to remove from that parish, and that that meeting-house should be shut up. The man has had the confidence to inform, that he was pursued for giving the communion to his hearers; but he was truly pursued upon the laws against intruders, and ordaining deposed ministers to be removed; and the giving of the communion was only libelled as an aggravation of his intrusion and presumption, that he, being a deposed minister, should not only offer to preach, but to give the communion in another minister's parish; especially, when it is well known, that it was truly intended to convene all the Jacobites in the country: But my Lord Seafield, who was perfectly acquainted with the disorder this man hath occasioned in Montrose, will give the best account of this matter. I have seen what was writt by Mr Pringle about the French complaint of our folks in Darien: I was very glade that his Majesty did so far notice the company; and the company will give a very clear vindication of that matter; for the French Captain is but a *frappe*, and lost the ship by evil conduct, and was obliged very much to our colony: But now it seems he is put on to make complaint of it, to give the French an occasion they have long desired, of attempting these parts: But the company's narrative will fully satisfy all men. I long much to hear of my son's safe arrival, and recommends him again to your kindness. My nephew, James Cultness's son, is got in to be conjunct clerk with the Provost's son, to the town of Edinburgh; and both

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of

of them pay well for it. I shall be always glad to hear of your own, and Mr White's, and Mr Fall's health and prosperity. Adieu.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

The King much longed for.—Of Keppoch.—The Highlanders in general disaffected to the Government.—Darien Colony.

S I R,

Whitehall,
Oct. 3.
1699.

I received two or three of your's when I came to this place, and am very glad to find that you have hopes to be so soon over. I find, by all I meet with, that his Majesty is longed for with impatience; but I tell them, that he has certainly something of importance to do, otherwise he would be here. The commanding the Spanish ambassador from this place makes some noise amongst the merchants upon the Exchange, who have their effects in Spain, they being afraid of a rupture betwixt his Majesty and that crown; but all do acknowledge, that the memorial was so impudent and impertinent, that the King could not bear it. I shall write into Scotland this night, concerning the reducing of Keppoch to obedience, and the taking notice of those come from France. Our forces, and the garrison at Fort-William, does make the Highlanders peaceable; but I am convinced of their bad inclinations to this government; and, therefore, we who are entrusted by his Majesty ought to be very careful. As for Keppoch, I find he has been making some propositions to Brigadier Maitland, of which the Brigadier writes to me in general; and I expect very soon to have the particulars from him: But I do not think it honourable to treat with such a one as he is; but he meets with very many friends, and has been recept through all the Highlands; and, if they did their duty, he had been taken before now. A party of the forces had near taken him in the Laird of M'Farlane's lands; but he escaped by

by the help of the boat: He had about that time with him above 80 men. Mr Secretary Vernon was with me yesterday morning, and read another letter he received by the Weymouth galley, which confirmed the news he had formerly received from Sir William Beston concerning our colony in Darien: But, after all, I still think it needs confirmation; for, in Scotland, they have had no intimation of this kind from the colony, but, on the contrary, that they were very healthy, and that they doubted not but to oppose the Spaniards. I will not now trouble you with an account of what may be the consequences of this, if it holds; but, at meeting, you shall know every thing that past upon the subject when I was in Scotland. Duke Hamilton had a most splendid entry; and there has been a great deal of pains taken to represent it here truly greater than it was. It is likewise said, that at Berwick he was received by a double discharge of all the cannon, and that the drummers beat a march as he past; and our gazetteer gives an account that at such a day he was to set out for his palace at Hamilton. This is only to yourself; and, if you please, Mr Aird may know it; but I shall inform you more fully at meeting. This is all at present from, Sir, your M. H. S.

I am glad to find my Lord Portland's winter-provision is laid in, which gives me hopes of his being here with the King.

TREASURER-DEPUTE to Mr CARSTARES.

A particular Detail of the Proceedings of the Darien Company upon hearing of the Desertion of their Colony.—Prompted by the D. of Hamilton.

S I R,

You cannot imagine what a general concern this nation is in upon the news of our peoples deserting their plantation at Darien. The directors did what was possible for them upon this emergency; but there was a necessity of the general council of the company

October 21,
1699.

R r r 2

their

their meeting; so Wednesday last was appointed. At the last meeting of the synod of Glasgow, a motion is made that they appoint some of their number to wait of the Duke and Dutchess of Hamilton, and welcome their Graces to Scotland: Accordingly, Principal Dunlop, Mr John Dickson, and Mr Thomas Linnen are sent, who came to Hamilton Thursday the 12th, the same day the presbytery was appointed to meet for regulating the maintenance of the poor. So they went all together to pay the compliment; which the Duke took very well, and returned them thanks; then immediatly discoursed them upon the sad news of our colony's desertion; that the nation never suffered a greater loss; and that it was cause of mourning and fasting; and the church might consider if a day ought not to be set apart for that end. The ministers leave his Grace, go and keep presbytery, and the synode's deputys with them, when the Duke's proposal is considered, and a letter agreed on and sent to the moderator of the commission, to call the commission, that they might search into the causes of the desertion, and get a day of fasting and prayer appointed. The moderator, Tuesday last, produces this letter to his brethren of the presbytery of Edinburgh, at their meeting upon the admission of a minister in the West Kirk; where they unanimously agree, that he shall return them for answer, that they had gone too far to write in these terms; and, in short, put them off with a † dilator 1098 y7 720aq78 daxxuq u6 m8 87q n288 27 of both the 728u22 uz 6a22pthe rm68 and the xq88q7 82 8tq y2pq7m 827.—To return to the meeting of the councill-generall (which was feared would be very unfrequent, by reason of the short advertisement, and it being vacation-time.) I have not of a long time seen so frequent a meeting, † 10 omyq 82 70 8tq night before, and its said tu6 17moq tmp d728q ou709xm7 xq88q76 expostulating with

* Dilator; but Mr Robert Wylie is at the bottom of both the motions in synod, the fast, and the letter to the moderator.

† 10 (Duke Hamilton) came to 70 (Edinburgh) the night before; and it is said his Grace has wrote circular letters expostulating with members.

with the yqynq76 82 n88qzp, and every one shew a great zeal for the recovery of the colony; no man would spare his purse and entered their credit for borrowing money, till it should come in of course: All were at one in this. But when it was told, that our advancing of money would not retrieve the business, it was at that low ebb, that nothing but King and parliament could do it; so there behoved to be an address to his Majesty, that the parliament might meet the day appointed in November. This motion had many difficulties in it; therefor it was urged, by the Earls of Leven, Annandale, Northesk, Lord Ruthven, president of the session, and their deputies, that it might be delayed and people might have time to think of it. No; that could not be granted: Severall things were reasoned upon that might be the work of the parliament; but, when they were straitned in these, then they return to the general, to call the parliament, and leave it to their wisdom to fall upon remedies. So, after a long debate, the vote was, "Delay, or proceed to address?" It carried for the latter; for, except the above named, and one or two more, there was none for delay. While the debate was managing, the proclamations of Jamaica and Boston were mentioned, and then ordered to be read. You may be sure all would agree in one reflection upon these. A committee is named to draw the address, viz. Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Yester, Lord Basil Hamilton, Lord Balhaven, Gleneagles; and, for decorum, they named the president of the session, and some would needs add the treasurer-depute; but indeed the first five had stood up champions for the address; yea, no man so keen as Belhaven, who (tho' a director) has not attended so much these twelve months as he has done this week; * n98 tqu6 m xq88 q7ymz. After the committee was named, another motion is made, that some be appointed to speak with the moderator of the commission, to call the commission, that they may appoint a fast upon this exigence;—no stopping of this current; so they named 3 or 4. By this time it was upon the ringing of ten at night; so we parted till next day at four, and the committee to meet in the morning. † You must know

mxx

* but he is a letter-man.

† You must know, all this had been thought of at Hamilton, and agreed to here before the meeting.

mxx 8tu6 tmp nqqz 8t2qst8 2r m8 tmyux82z and ms7qqp 82 tq7q nqoz7g 8tq yqq8uzs. Next morning, all the seven of the committee met, where they reasoned a long time about this address; the two last of the nomination agreeing that they address upon the proclamations, and use their endeavours to have the force and effects of them removed. But, for the calling the parliament, they could not but know the circumstances of the King's affairs could not allow of it; and it was highly inconvenient to address his Majesty for that, which, at the same time, they knew he could not grant. This was too far at such a juncture, and when such a humour was raging in the nation, to lay the sole remedy of our disease at his Majesty's door. Well, this cannot be heard; and the draught of an address is presented, the petitory part whereof is only craving a parliament. The two above mentioned still urge, that the petitory part may only relate to the proclamations; for it is again said, the inconvenience was insuperable, and the method had not many precedents, if any. They yielded to take in the remede of the proclamations; but that of a parliament they would by no means part with. After two hours most earnest reasoning, the committee parts; my Lord Belhaven taking up the address, said, he would take upon him to adjust it again afternoon, upon what had been said. So they appoint three of the clock to meet * 8tqu7 puzqp m8 726-6q6 10, 69, 73 mzp 6qbq7mx 28tq76 dtq7q 14 xmup p2qz nqr-27q 8tqy the mp7q6 mzp 8u6 myqzppp m6 6mupu6 n98 68ux 8tq main thing wqq388 uz, 82 omxx 8tq 54, only the words added where it runs,—to meet the day appointed in November, or as soon as possibly his Majesty can allow it. The committee meets; but Belhaven is some time after the rest, and the President some time after him; so my Lord reads it with his amendments; and the treasurer-deputes asked how he liked it. He said, he was still of his opinion

* To meet at their dinner at Ross's. Duke Hamilton, 69, 73, and several others, where 14 laid down before them the address; and it's amended, as said is; but still the main thing kepted in, to call 54 (the parliament.)

nion as to the last paragraph. No more said; but Belhaven cause write it out *in mundo*. While he was doing this, the President came in * dt27 8tqa tmp 67228typ r27 uz 8tq r27222z 83 dm6 wqqz qzq-9ft n98 dtqz 14 79897zqp with it mxx dm6 6mup b28q u8 82 nq 87mz6yu 88qp 82 8tq 029zoqx sqzq7mx aqm 27 z2q, 83 bz8qp z2z xu59up only 78 b28qp z2; and so they went in to the council-general, where the debate was managed by these mentioned of the night before, and Principal Dunlop; but they made few or no converts. Some warm words now and then passed among the nobles. At last it was moved for a vote, 'Whether to coall off that last article or no?' That could not be obtained. Then it was moved, to vote the first part of the address, wherein we seemed to be more at one. That could not be obtained either. Here I must make mention of Sir John Hume, who pled much for the last part, viz. the calling the parliament; and said, it was only proper to address for that, at least more proper for us to demand than the first part. Then the vote was, 'Whether to vote the address in whole, or in parts?' It carried, 'In whole;' and then it was approven. I need not name them over again who were against it; you have them named already. My Lord Belhaven was, by his party, thought worthy of the chair; and I believe none else envied him of it. He was desired to transmit the address in a letter from himself to the Secretaries. Then came out * 8tq 7q-68 2r8tq 02zoq78 a motion to address the privy-council. O! says another one, let us first have an answer from those were appointed to speak with the moderator of the commission. They had not yet waited of him; so they were again ordered to do it next morning. Then to the motion of addressing the council, 'twas told, that the opinion six of the privy-council had delivered there, might very well a discouraged any such motion; for 'twas not to be thought that

* The President came in, whom they had smoothed; for, in the forenoon, he was keen enough; but, when 14 returned with it, all was said was, 'Vote it to be transmitted to the council-general, yea or not?' The President voted *non liquet*; only Ormiston voted, *not*.

† The rest of the concert.

that board would go along with that address. "O! but we'll address." Here my Lord Annandale said, he would then treat that address as it deserved. My Lord Tullibardine said, these words were not to be endured. Here was heat enough for a while. I thought they should have thrown the candlesticks at other; but all ended in a vote, "Address the council, yea, or no?" It carried in the affirmative; and a committee appointed to draw it; then adjourned till next day in the afternoon. Next day, many members went out of town; and, amongst the rest, the treasurer-depute, *62q dtm8 3m68 aq68-q7pm mr8q7z22z78 omz228 subq 22mzq moo8; only I heard they had been waiting of the moderator, and he had told them there was a committee of the commission to meet Tuesday next, and should advise with them, †22 y968 wz2d 8tm8 8tq y72r 68mu7 dm6 37-q6qz8 8tq sqzqzmx o29zoqx mxx 8tq paq86 372y38uzs 8tq 7qy-nq76 (m8uzs z28 b6dmx r27 mza 82 nq 37q6qz8 n98 yqynq76) wz2d xawdma6 that Tuesday as is omyq 82 70 tq 6t29xp mpuzqp d864 n98 6q28 tu6 qco96q m2p 64 omyq uz22 dqppqz6pma mzp puzqp d8 10 dtqz 8tqa dq7q mx2zs 8uyq ox26q 82sutq7 and that night 67 umyq6 pmx7uy3xq dm6 wqqz r27 mp7q 66uzs, 22 duxx uy3m78 8tu6 82 76 n98 nq 63m7uzs 2r 7410 tm6 82xp tu6 r7uq2p6 tq7g 87m8 78 d728 82 74 b32z 8tq pu6 o26q7uq 2r 8tq 3x28 82 m 66uzm8 43 8tm8 10 6t29 xp nq 87aqp r27 tu6 xurq and pup 6tqd tuy ymza 2r78sxq88q76 however, there was a motion not very favourable in the council-general concerning 74; he is, indeed, thought not favourable to the company, and people take a liberty of speaking even of 43 himself, 22duxx 7qmp 8tu6 m88 xqz8t 8255 with 78y268 t9ynxq 6q7b-uoq. I will make no apology for the length of this. Farewell.

LORD

* So what past yesterday's afternoon, Ormiston cannot give Carstares any account.

† Carstares must know, that the Mr of Stair was present in the general council all the dyets, prompting the members, (a thing not usual for any to be present, but members.) Know likewise that Tuesday, as D. Hamilton came to Edinburgh, he should have dined with Stair, but sent his excuse; and Stair came in on Wednesday and dined with him; where they were a long time alone together; and that

night

LORD PORTLAND'S Secretary to MR CARSTARES.

Of Duke Hamilton's proving a zealous Presbyterian.

Dear S I R,

I received yesterday your letter, with the inclosed for my Lord, which I delivered immediately. I give you my hearty thanks for the news, and hope that the King's good subjects in Scotland will prevent that the great ferment there may not be of ill effects. Indeed it is a perplexing affair, and such petitions of dangerous consequences. I don't question but it must be surprizing to you, and all others, that Duke Hamilton proves to be a zealous presbyterian, and that something of great importance must lye at the bottom of his turning that way. I'll ask my Lord if he has nothing to acquaint you with, and if he will not write himself to you this day or to-morrow? The King came yesterday before noon to Windsor, and went directly into St George great chappel, dined by their Royal Highnesses, and will hunt this day in the park. My Lord was yesterday at court till two o'clock, and spoke long with the King. You will know what passes to-day. If any thing of moment occurs, his Majesty will dine to-morrow at Hampton-court, and be at night back at Kensington. Last night came here in the Lodge my Lady Essex and Mrs Howard, from Cashio-bury. They are to stay some days with us. Though the weather is bad, we are all in good health except Mrs Van Dorp, who is a little lame. Believe me your true friend and humble servant, W. L.

Windsor
Great Park,
Oct. 31.
1699.

———— to the EARL of PORTLAND.

My LORD,

This day I came here with my family from the country, which says I have not much to trouble your Lordship with. Only I hear

Edinburgh,
Oct. 31.
1699.

S f f

that,

night Sir James Dalrymple was keen for addressing. Carstares will impart this to 76 (Carmichael,) but be sparing of 74 (Seafield.) D. Hamilton has told his friends here that Ormiston wrote to (74) upon the discovery of the plot to assassinate the King; that D. Hamilton should be tryed for his life; and 74 did shew him many of Ormiston's letters of the King himself.——Carstares will read this at length to 55, with Ormiston's most humble service.

that, if the council had met this day, according to appointment, (but the chancellor not being come, 'tis adjourned), we had got the address about Darien, as also an address about the committee of the commission for a thanksgiving, to which they add some causes of humiliation, viz. the great sickness and death in all the corners of the land, the sufferings of the protestants abroad: And here, they take in among the rest the sad account we have of our colony in America, and the disappointment of planting the people there. I have not seen the paper, but am informed it is well enough worded. The ministers did not please those were commissioned from the council-general, that they did not either of themselves propose a fast only upon that head, or then call the commission *pro re nata*. Mr Robert Wyllie minister of Hamilton came in of purpose to propagate that desire, but he returned not so successful in his errand as the D. was in his. I did write a line to Mr Carstares, which he was to communicate to your Lordship, as I doubt not you'll do this to him. We hear the chancellor sent off a flying-packet the 26th; it is not known for what. I am your Lordship's.

The TREASURER-DEPUTE to MR CARSTARES.

Of the Meeting of the Privy Council, and the Schemes of the Company.—Lord Portland is said to have quitted all his Places.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Novemb. 4.
1699.

* 22 may remember 78 d728q 82 tuy 8tm8 78 2n6q7bqp 74 fmbq 9 & 29 moo2qz86 2r dtm8 78 d728q 82 tuy 'tis too probable 74 dt2 b32z the qz87a 2rt66 37q6qz8 employment was in full friendship with 10, and mxx8tq rmyuxa 2r tmyux82z did z28

wqq3

* Carstares may remember Ormiston wrote to him, that Ormiston observed 74 (Seafield) gave 9 and 29 accounts of what he wrote to him. 'Tis too probable Seafield, who, upon his entry to his present employment, was in full friendship with D. Hamilton, and all the family, did not keep matters very close, not having been used to do it. However, Ormiston only wrote that to Carstares.

wqq3 ym88q76 bq7a ox26 not having been used to do it; however, 78 only d728q 8tm8 82 22, not to go any further. The Chancellor came to town last night, and called the council this day at 11 o'clock, when the King's letter adjourning the parliament was read, and a proclamation accordingly signed. The not keeping the council Tuesday last, which was the time appointed by the last adjournment, occasions several reflections here; and the Chancellor writing for all the councillors to be here against Tuesday night, occasions no less discourse. 'Tis surmised here, that, if there come not some answer to the company's address to the King, there should be a design of getting addresses from all the shires of Scotland. The Chancellor told me this day in the council-chamber, that Maj.-Gen. Ramfay told him, my Lord Portland had quitted all his places, save his military ones: I told him I should be sorry for it, if it was true. I hear the solemnity ends this night, with a great ball, at Major-Gen. Ramfay's.

The TREASURER-DEPUTE to Mr CARSTARES.

In favour of Lady Rothes and her Family.

S I R,

Last post I was in haste going to a tryst of a bargain of land; I know not if you would make sense of what I wrote; and this night I am weary writing to both secretaries; yet I must obey a lady's commands to excuse her to you for not writing: 'Tis my Lady Rothes, who hopes you will continue your friendship for her and her family; and, if there be any place for obtaining these tyths to her family, she does persuade herself of your care and assistance. I know there needs not many words with you; get a sight of what I have wrote to L. Carmichael; if better cannot be, we will take the tyths of the parish of Kinglassie, and let 46 and 72 try their court

Edinburgh,
Novemb. 11.
1699.

S f f 2

about

about the rest. * The session is not throng yet; 78 is smelling some things 2r 62yq r2xw6 z2 d29xp z28 q63qo8 u8 2r 3m78uo9xm7-xuq 7. tq u6 qc37q66uzs tuy6qxr msmuz68 m 68mzpuzs m7ya 78 rqm76 10 tmb 62yq uzrx9qzoq n98 z28tuizs 2r 8ta6 8ux 22 tqm7 r978tq7. Farewell.

LORD BLANTYRE to Mr CARSTARES.

Begging his Assistance for the more regular Payment of his Pension.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Novemb. 18.
1699.

I shall be glad to hear of your health from your own hand. I adventure so far upon your kindness and goodness, to give you the trouble of this line, to acquaint you, I have not had any of my pension this two years. I am sure I have done nothing to deserve my being neglected, nor have I been very troublesome about it: Now there is L. 400 owing me, which would be a very great help to my family at this juncture. The King was pleased to say to myself, that he would take care of my family; therefore, I hope you will take such measures as your prudence and kindness will suggest. I am sure your getting me helped at this time will be both a generous and kind action. I shall not press you any further upon this account, only expects you will let me hear from you what you think can be done; for, out of the bishops rents it's not possible to be got. If his Majesty will be pleased to order me payment of my bygones out of the civil fund, it may be done; and I am sure his Majesty shall not have reason to think his favour misplaced, nor you your labour. I am,

S I R,

Your's affectionately to serve you,

BLANTYRE.

* The session is not throng yet. Ormiston is smelling some things of some folks Carstares would not expect it of; particularly, he is expressing himself against a standing army. Ormiston fears D. Hamilton has some influence; but nothing of this till Carstares hear farther.

TREASURER DEPUTE to Mr CARSTARES.

Cyphers.

S I R,

Why was you not so kind as to send me the King's speech? 78
 thanks 22 for his freedom uz 7qxm8u2z 82 pm7uqz 22 y968
 q0096q 78 r727 subwzs mza mzbdaq7 uz d7u88uzs 78 omzz28 o2-
 zpqqyz 74 nor 76. 78 tu6 3dz uzoxuzm8u2z6 are for a 3qqoq 2r
 y2zqa 7m8ty7 m6 m 8u8xq. m6 82 77 let the 37qoq38 nqm7
 8tq uzox26qp zm7 7m8ubq, and 78 has ground to believe it will
 be dutifully received; and I hope it may do service; let u8 nqm7
 m 37q6qz8 3mayqz8. 43 tm8t qxqbm8qp 8 with tu6 x2psuzs6
 n98 u8 6 6mup 10 tm6 r97zu897q uz 8tqy and 43 duxx sq8 m
 xq88q7. 75 tm6 these two days been very mzs7a du3t 85, because
 85 d29xp z28 busz extravagant moo86 2r 91^s x27p duxx az9 p2q
 228tuzs du8t 91, m y268 uz6uszuromz8 ymz. 8 p7ub6 75 m8
 37q6q28 bq7a tm7p 8tqa m7q n28t tust 632z u8 m8 37q6q28.
 75 822w u8 uxx 78 pup not acquaint him ere tq om96 qp m3-
 37qtqzp o2xx s7mtmy and 8 this night dtqz 78 mo59muz8qp
 20 and mywqp 8tqu7 approbation fmbqtuy m 39rxuow pubpmuzr9x
 uanq, but let 43 xma tub ozymzp6 2z some other 78 u6 z28 o2b-
 q8296 2r u8 22 yma w22d u8 3986 22 y2za uz 78 32owq8.

I have given a touch of 77's affair both to 74 and 76.

The queries I sent you last post are handing about here. I doubt
 not they will be printed with you. Adieu.

TREA-

Edinburgh,
 Novemb. 21.
 1699.

TREASURER DEPUTE to Mr CARSTARES.

In Cyphers.—Secretary Vernon has brought much Mischief on Scotland, and King William's Interest.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Novemb. 25.
1699.

* 78 has on observe, that the y27q rmb2976 43 o2zrq76 or 8, 8 8s72d6 the more 9z6933278mnxq r27 ru88uz6 moo8 tq zq6q7 dmb m8 2zq t2976 3muz6 aq8 tq is the comon advocate r27 m-nm8q7qz86, and just aq68q7zust8 tq tqo827qp 8tq qcotq59q7 62q that they were necessitate to pqxma m n966uzq6 'tis true mzp7qd ya7829z dm6 o2zoq7zqp, so is om38 du6tm78 dt2 u6 z2d with you. There is a design on foot of m zqd mpp7q6 r72yq 8tq o2-73mza 82 43; 64 is m8 8tq n2882y 2r u8 this week 78 was m8 m ym7umsq with 83 dtq7q 83 822w occasion to speak of it to 78, and told that tq 632wq bq7a r7qq xmsgmsq 82 55; 78 6mup tq wzqd 228tuzs 8tqu o29xp mdd7q6 r27 n98 82 fq 88 8tq7q y9z 7qxqq6qp dqqq 37u62zq76 du8t 8tq 63mzum7p6, z2, 6ma6 83 pray God help ye xq8 z28 3q23xq x226 a interest in their coun-try 82 3xqm6 m o2978. tq7q dq7q omxxqp 82 dinner. 83 said he behoved to speak with 78 msmuz, 22 y968 w22d 8t96 u6 8tq language 2r 7 200, though 7 knows better than to speak so very plain. Just now I have news of our ship the Caledonia being re-turned. I have wrote to the Secretary, so can say no more. Your man Mr Vernon has brought much mischief on Scotland, and K. W.'s interest in it. Farewell.

EARL

* Ormiston has one observe, that the more favours the King confers on 8, 8 grows the more unsufferable; for fitting accompts, he never was at one hour's pains, yet he is the common advocate for abatements; and just yesternight he hector'd the exchequer, so that they were necessitate to delay business. 'Tis true, Andrew Myrtoun was concerned, and Capt. Wisbart, who is now with you. There is a design on foot of a new address from the company to the King. Stair is at the bottom of it. This week Ormiston was at a meeting with the President, where the President took occasion to speak of it to Ormiston, and told,

EARL of MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Concern of the whole Nation about the Success of the Darien Expedition.

S I R,

I have not had time till now to write to you in return to your's of the 16th. It is indeed a regrettable thing, that many honest people should be so much imposed upon as they are by some who make a very bad use of what has happened to the colony in America: But these persons discerning how much many are bent to support that project, and what a reckoning they make of it, as that wherein the honour of the nation, and a great interest of it too, is deeply concerned, lay hold upon the occasion, I am persuaded, with very bad intentions. The humour is abated of late; for there has been much pains taken to do it; yet I find plainly that the hope and fancy of the Scots, their being already repossessed, and that we will quickly have an account of it, is what more than any thing else makes the mind of men, and, consequently, their motions, more quiet and easy. The stock and expence is indeed considerable; and they are many who are concerned as interested in the project: Yet that is but a small thing in respect of the concern which appears of persons of all ranks, and even of the meaner people, who are not particularly interested, and have no shares in the stock for supporting and prosecuting that undertaking. It is a thing scarcely to be imagined. I will assure you, any that would pretend here to persuade any body, that the following out that design may prove

Edinburgh,
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1699.

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told, that he spoke very free language to 55. Ormiston said, he knew nothing they could address for, but to get their men relieved who were prisoners with the Spaniards. "No, says the President, pray God help ye, Let not people lose an interest in their country to please a court." Here we were called to dinner. The President said, he behoved to speak with Ormiston again. Carstares must know this is the language of 7 too

a prejudice to this nation, would prevail nothing, but lose himself, and carry the ill-will and disesteem almost of every one. What the matter will turn to, the Lord knows: But, from the first, till now, and still on so, there is such an earnestness and disposition towards that matter, without any sparing, either of their persons or purses, that every observer must think it wonderful. I assure you, Sir, I am in difficulty enough to carry so as is necessary for his Majesty's service; and, if it were not the reflection which I hear people make upon what my circumstances have been in the world, these in this kingdom who force a bad construction upon every thing, might prevail to make others jealous of me as to what I am sure I am innocent of. I pray you let me hear how matters go with Mr Don, and give my hearty service to him; likewise, if Mr Williams succeeds to any of his factories. Let me know likewise what is Mr Man's part, and whether he stays or comes. I hope you will follow the old way with me, and acquaint me with what passages occur that come not in the public. I shall add no more now, but that I am,

S I R,

Your humble servant and very affectionate friend,

MARCHMONT.

TREASURER-DEPUTE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of one Kennedy apprehended.—Lord Basil Hamilton sent up with the Darien Company's Address to the King about Pinkerton, and other Prisoners in Spain.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Novemb. 30.
1699.

This being our thanksgiving-day, the secretaries will excuse me I do not write; only you will acquaint them, that I did apprehend Mr Kennedy, Collean's son, and did immediately acquaint the Chancellor, who called him before several counsellors, and desired I might

might acquaint the lords with the grounds upon which I gave orders to seize him. There were present the President of council, Es. of Loudon and Annandale, Mr Francis Montgomery, and Sir Robert Sinclair. I was asked by the Chancellor 8t2d 78tmp dmu-8yp 22d May, in the morning; and 82xp tuy dtm8 1729zp. There was 82 6963qo8 tuy before these lords, particularly whence my information came. I told I had it from the secretaries; but having made inquiry in the south country about one Scot, whom they named, I believed their information mistook the man's name; for I had information from the south, that this Kennedy might be the man. He was called in, and examined; refused all manner of intelligence, or carrying of letters: There was found upon him a letter from Patrick Graham at St Germain's, which lets see he was in a correspondence with him. This letter mentions one from Kennedy, with inclosed, which Graham promises to deliver. Mr Kennedy is put under bail for L. 200. * 78 p2986 z28 n98 8tq xmpa xm7s2 wzqd mxx r72y 6r 72nq78 ngr27q dinner. 78 is indifferent for tq ub 7q62xbqp 82 yqpxq z2 y27q uz 8tq6 matters u8 3722bg6 no 6q7buoq 82 the 12bq7yqz8 and 78 nqsq86 8tq uxxduxx 2r 8tq6q uz 8tq 126q7yq z8, as well as of the Jacobites. I shall say nothing of the pu60297msyqz86 78 7qq86 within the 3268 22, &c. forces him into. You will have Lord Basil Hamilton quickly with you. The general council of our Indian Company met last night, and voted, that his Majesty might be addressed in behalf of our countrymen were taken with Pinkerton, and are detained prisoners at Carthage: No body could be against this. Next, it was urged, that one should be sent from the company with this address. The friends of some young gentlemen,

T t t

who

* Ormiston doubts not but Lady Largo knew all from Sir Robert Sinclair before dinner. Ormiston is indifferent, for he is resolved to meddle no more in these matters. It proves no service to the government, and Ormiston begets the ill-will of these in the government as well as of the Jacobites. I shall say nothing of the discouragement he meets with in the post Carstares forced him into.

who are of the number of these prisoners, were very earnest for this: Well, the desire was yielded. Next, who should be the person? Here the allowance was to be first spoke of: A hundred pounds is agreed to. Then my Lord Belhaven moved, that the person might be instructed to endeavour, that, according to our last address, the restraints laid on by the proclamations might be taken off. Here some reasoning began. This brought the new proclamations to be mentioned. Instructions not only in that parliament, but about the three men of war must be. † (mxx tmp nqqz o2zoq78qp.) Next came the person to be named; and Gleneagles names Lord Basil. His Lordship was not present, which wayed with some of us, not to lay such a burden upon him, without he was previously acquainted. However, his three sisters husbands were all for his being the man. ‡ 22 may remember 78 d728 82 a29 2r a new mp7q6. I say no more this night. Farewell.

[The Blank in the Correspondence from the 30th of November 1699 to the 4th of June 1700, is owing to Mr Carstares being sent down to Scotland during that period.]

EARL OF MELVIL TO MR CARSTARES.

The various Schemes of the Friends to the Darien Expedition, particularly upon the Supposition of the King's coming down to Scotland, as was proposed.—His Thoughts of maintaining a Standing Army.—Hints at his being neglected, and his Services ill rewarded.

Dear S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 4. 1700.

You conjured me to write to you; and I am resolved to do it impartially and faithfully, to the end that, knowing matters of fact truly, you may be the more qualified to suggest good measures, which, at this time, is at best not easy to be done. The addressers, to make ostentation (which by the bye is needless, for it is sufficiently, without their

† (All had been concerted.)

‡ Carstares may remember Ormiston wrote to him of a new address.

their care, known) of the great concurrence they have, have a second draught of the same address, word for word, going about to get the hands of such members of parliament, as either were out of town, or, by some accident and the shortness of the time, were prevented of signing that which is sent. The vacant places in parliament are filled up entirely (as I hear) with men to their mind, such as Glenney is, for Dumbarton, and the like. They have had under their consideration, how they should behave, if the King himself should happen to come down. They considered, that probably men would stand more in awe to make opposition in his presence, than now when he is only represented. They have therefore judged it necessary to secure and tie the members the more firmly; in order to this, there are addresses to be sent from all or most of the shires and towns to the parliament, of the same tenor that these are that are already presented against a standing army, and in behalf of Caledonia; and with these, and some, who perhaps send no addresses, there are to be sent positive orders to these members that they concur against a standing army, and stand (as their expressions are) by the interest of their country, and particularly of Caledonia; or otherwise, that they need not think of returning home. I fear we may find this; and, however out of rule this practice is, and however, (if not violent), at least over fervent; yet the circumstances, and present humour, will not permit it so much as to be blamed. This makes the thing more considerable than it is in itself. They do also talk bigly of the freedom they will act and speak with, if the King should come here. An eminent man amongst them, who is either really inclined, or, to please me, owned himself mightily disposed to a tenderness and regard to the D. of Queensberry, said to me, that the King would find them, if he were here himself, less disposed to comply with him, or to recede from their pretensions than they now appear to be: That the D. of Queensberry had never injured nor offended any man in his administration; and therefore they showed at least (said he) a greater calmness in their opposition now, than they would do otherwise. These things shew a sad and lamentable temper and frame of spirit; and yet I fear we

would find it true. As to the standing army, I have seriously inspected into the state of that matter. I did think, (and so you may remember by what past before your parting betwixt you and me), that the King might keep the guards, and as many forces more as the annexed excise would maintain; and that he was warranted so to do by the acts of parliament which gave the excise, viz. the 13th and 14th acts first parliament of K. Charles II.: And, therefore, I thought that, unless they were now, by a posterior parliament, disbanded, the King might, of himself, I say, keep up as many. But, comparing the article of the claim of right tolerating that matter, with the act of parliament for keeping them up, and giving the necessary supply, passed in E. Marchmont's parliament, I find, that the army cannot (though there were money to maintain them) be kept up after the first of November next. The words of the claim of right are, 'That keeping a standing army in time of peace, without consent of parliament, is against law.' The Earl of Marchmont's act is exactly fitted to this as hand and glove, and framed just to suit it. It says, 'That finding it necessary to keep them up till November 1700, they do therefore consent to it.' From this it evidently follows, that the consent of parliament is withdrawn from their being kept up any longer. Another thing is going about here; and the case is put, What if the King consent to let it be voted in parliament, that the acquiring that plantation is legal, and the right good; and allow what addresses can be made to him for that purpose; only that, for good reasons, he will not consent to an act, seeing that were to engage him in quarrels that he desires to evite, or for other good reasons moving him? It is answered, We can expect no answer, but, that it will fare with these as with former addresses, viz. That no regard has been had to them. Next, that, if his consent cannot be had to an act, what can be expected he either will or can do upon an address? Thirdly, say they, his reasons do either concern Scotland, or are exotic as to Scotland. If the first, let us know them; we will be very ready to comply with his greater wisdom. If they

they do not concern Scotland, then, say they, this gives ground for an unanswerable argument, that the crowns of England and Scotland are incompatible, seeing it is not to be supposed, that, where the interest of England and Scotland do irreconcilably interfere, the King must act in favours of England: And the more important the difference is, and the more strength the reasons have which move the King, and the more valuable they are, they indeed excuse the King; but they fortify this argument, by making the remedy the more impossible, and putting it further out of the King's power to help it. God help us! it is an unlucky business, and we are in a bad state. I ever dreaded bad results from this affair, as you may remember by what I told you I had said to M. of Tweeddale when the matter was a-hatching. Mr Carstares, I have no part in the government that gives me place for giving my advice, or suggesting matter for it; and, give me leave to tell you, my losses have been such, and my services such, and have been so little regarded, as there lies no obligation on me to go out of my road in behalf of it: But I do (what I now do) for your sake; and I cannot lay aside my good will to the King's service, of whom I have ever found, that he was very ready to be just and kind to me; but you cannot deny, I have been prevented and deprived of the good effects of it. After all, I foresee yet greater matter of heat and contestation shall fall out upon the constitution of parliament, and worse to be cured, and such as I fear the torrent of the populace may carry too far: What I mean, arises from the adjournments of use to be made, (not only now, but also formerly), upon the propounding of any cause or question that occurs, by which, say they, the freedom of debate is most effectually debarred, the claim of right invaded, and a private power usurped over the parliament; which, (say they, and they say right), is more than a negative, seeing by it the right and design of parliaments, viz. to give advice, is utterly prevented and overturned. I have also considered this matter thoroughly, and turned over all the cases that I could find relating to it. But I am nobody;
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so I have nothing to say; it is out of my road. I wish you all happiness. I pray God may direct you; so, without ceremony, farewell.

MURRAY of Philiphaugh to Mr CARSTARES.

The Commissioner's and his own Opinion, whether the King ought to yield to the Resolve about Caledonia, or not, &c.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 5.
1700.

I shall be glad to hear of your safe arrival, and if the guide I sent with you took care to have you conducted to Carlyle as he promised. I was resolved to have written to you my own little observations and thoughts; but the commissioner hath ordered me to write and acquaint you with his sentiments. His Grace has acquainted the King's servants of his design to dispatch a flying packet, and desired them to write their best advice; he hath heard some discourse their opinion, and seen what some have wrote; and, however he may differ in his own judgement from some things proposed by others, yet he is content all be laid before the King. You know the great question now is, Whether the King will yield to the resolve proposed about Caledonia, or not? and, whether his Majesty should come here himself, or not?

His Grace, I observe, is very desirous the King should come; and has good hopes, if his Majesty were here, he might, by yielding that point, cut off all other unnecessary questions that some project to obstruct business, and establish his government here; but, if his Majesty's other affairs cannot allow him to do this nation that honour, his Grace thinks, that, upon yielding to that resolve about Caledonia, the King's servants should all be ordered to go on vigorously and unanimously to do his Majesty's business, though there may be difficulty and struggle, because of the popular handle some have had; yet, if all in the King's service go forward hand in hand, there may be some hopes of success: And he frankly says, that if
these

these now in the King's service are not able to serve him to purpose upon the just and honourable terms proposed, he thinks, in honour and justice, they ought to quit, and desire the King to employ such as can do him more effectual service, and he will shew the rest an example himself. And, if the King yield that point, he thinks it most advisable the parliament should sit without further delay. But, if his Majesty will not yield to that resolve, there is no hopes of doing any thing at this time in the parliament; and he dares not say that the King's own presence would influence the members to pass from it; yet, perhaps they might compound the matter for a vote or address asserting the right to our colony, and not insist for an act requiring the royal assent: For many have been positive for an act, upon persuasion, that the King would comply; and probably such, if they saw the King truly straitened, might be more easy and tractable on that matter. For what I see, his Grace does not relish the conference and treaty proposed by some; he seems to think it can be of little use to the King's service, and that it will not be very honourable or safe for the King's servants; and I doubt not, you will easily perceive the inconveniencies such a measure might bring upon yourself and your best friends.

If the King shall think fit (as some propose) to break all his troops here, except the guards and garrisons, it is very probable this might adjust all difficulties; for several of the principal abettors of the resolve have owned they were willing to lay it aside until cess was demanded for maintaining the forces. If the parliament shall be adjourned before the 20th of this month, the commission falls and evanisheth; and it will be fit to consider well if it will be safe or adviseable to leave the government so naked after such a step: But, if the parliament meets, and is adjourned by the Commissioner, his commission continues during the time at first appointed; and, though the King should think fit to call his commissioner, and others, as some propose, to wait upon him, yet I humbly think it adviseable, that he should continue here some days after the adjournment, in that character, until the members were retired home. As also,

also, I think it decent that the Commissioner should first be with the King, before others were called for.

Now, Sir, I have freely told you of what I know of his Grace's sentiments, with some of my own weak thoughts, and persuade myself you will make discreet use of both. I shall add no more but tell you that I am fully persuaded his Grace has perfect confidence in you, and is your firm sincere friend; and you may be fully assured of my most faithful service, to my power. Dear Sir, adieu.

P. S. I forgot to tell you, that I am credibly informed that those who are gone up with the last address have instructions, and gave their parole, not to speak with the King a-part, though desired; and that all the addressers gave the same promise and parole: So it seems, though the King should call one or two, they could not go without a dispensation from their neighbours.

[The following, and several other letters in the same hand, are from one who signs himself J. STEWART. He seems to have been employed by Mr Carstares, as a spy upon all the different parties in Scotland. He gives his own sentiments with great freedom; and his letters give us a lively picture of the state of the country at that time.]

The various Reasonings of Coffee-house Politicians about the Effects of the King's holding the next Session of Parliament in Person.—He is against the King's coming, but clear for Portland's being sent down Commander in Chief and Chancellor for the Time. This the only Remedy to the present Diseases of the Country.

Worthy S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 8. 1700.

It is believed by many here that the King will come down, and people reason variously about it. They say, that, if he be not resolved to assert the legality of the colony's settlement in Darien, he will
return

return (*re infecta*); which is not for his honour. And, if he be resolved to pass that act, he needs not come; for there will be no great difficulty as to any other business; in that point only the party is superior. Others say, that, if he shall come down, and lay before his parliament the difficulties he is under, and danger of that act, the granting a subsidy for the supporting the company in general, without mentioning Caledonia or Darien, may perhaps disconcert them, or, at least, divide and weaken them; which is the same. This, indeed, had been easy work for King Charles; and I hope our King may do it; but there is a great danger, if it happens otherwise. All the hope I have of this is in my Lord Portland, who, no doubt, will come along with the King. It's true, he will have no interest with the ill-designing faction of this party, (they are not to be contented but with the ruin of the government); but I am very hopeful that he will carry off most of the presbyterians from them, when they see the present settlement, both of church and state, may be endangered by the measures they are fallen into, and that it is not possible for the King to comply with them. These are the reasonings of our coffee-house statesmen. For my part, I am still against the King's coming down; for, if all this could be got done, yet there is a necessity of breaking some part of the army, (if they dispense with that act, one way or other, ye must gratify them;) and it is inconsistent with the honour of the King, when he is here in person, to break any. And I am afraid it is scarcely possible to carry Caledonia and the army both; and to yield either is dishonourable. Now, supposing the King grant them their Caledonia, some think it will encourage them to be high on their other demands. The topic is, 'Charge him home, and he will yield.' If it fall out thus, it is well worth the King's while to come down, and he is sure to return with honour; for, if he assert the right of their colony by his Commissioner, this will infallibly divide them, if they insist on other things; and, if the King come down, he will carry the presbyterians to one man. So that I make little doubt but they may give him a liberent-cess for his army; for they will see the necessity of it, there

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being

being a party who designs to quarrel with the King at any rate ; and I know no other thing can do it, but supposing the King is so stated that he cannot consent to that act of Caledonia. So the question is, What is to be done ? The parliament must be adjourned, my Lord Portland must come down General of the army, (and, I think, Chancellor of Scotland for some time). There must be ten men added to every company of the army. This is a bold step, and will enrage the party ; but, at the same time, it will let the presbyterians see, that are joined with them, that they have brought the King to extremity ; and that he is resolved to stand the worst. Your chief business is with the presbyterians ; lop them off from the party, and it is gone. The army can yet stand by law near six months. *Multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra.* (If my Lord Portland were here), they will think twice, before they resolve upon a rebellion. These of that party who wish well to the government will have time to consider together, whether they will chuse New or Old Caledonia. My Lord Portland is the only man can do the work ; he may make state upon the presbyterians, and all the friends of the government. He will secure the army to the King against corruption. In short, its he alone can retrieve this nation to the King. Before this be done, it is the case of absolute extremity. The King must write to his parliament his straits as to Caledonia, and shew them what length he can go in that and other business ; and if they, after all, insist, then the last remedy I have spoke of must be applied. Thus, now, I think I have diverted you with my politics, (and I think I see you laugh heartily), as I would have done Mr Newton, had I sent him a problem of geometry. I am, with all respect,

Worthy Sir,

Your faithful and obliged servant,

J. STEWART.

The news has been here, these five or six days, that my Lord S. broke open Duke Hamilton's letters upon the road—foreign weeds :

That,

That, in the dividend of the Spanish monarchy, the States of Holland have got Cuba and Hispaniola. This makes a mighty noise.

LORD NAPIER to Mr CARSTARES.

Recommends his Son to him for a Pension or Place.

S I R,

I was not a little surpris'd and troubled, at my return to this place, to find the divisions and confusions so great, that I lost almost hopes of being in any tranquility in my own country, my humour differing extremely from those people that thinks to fish in troubled waters; and not pretending to reap any advantage by my journey to London, because of the uneasy circumstances I found the King and his friends in when I was there, I hoped to have help and favour here at my return, from your kindness and sense of my condition and patience: But, Sir, since it was necessary for you to return with the rest, I submit to God's will, who is pleas'd to afflict me in most things. Yet, as it is noways forbid us to use lawful endeavours for our relief in necessities and straits, so I resolv'd to intreat your minding of me in what way you think most feasible to succeed. My son hath dedicate himself to the King's service, but entirely upon my own charge. As my inclinations are loyal, so, while I live, I will keep him close to his duty; and, when I am gone, I hope he will be more capable to shew the principles I have inspir'd him with. He is to be a peer of this land; and therefore I beg that he may have some mark of the King's favour, as others have, who deserves no better than he. I mentioned a pension for him, because I had L. 200 a year, and now has only the name of 100; but, if that be not so easily procur'd, there is a place here vacant, Master of Works, which will be dispos'd of to one or other; and I doubt not but it may be procur'd him; for he is now a man, and a very sensible one. Young people of quality should be encouraged. I beg, Sir, that you

Edinburgh,
June 11.
1700.

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will propose it to the Secretary, who promised me great favours, and do your own endeavours to make it succeed; which will put an eternal obligation upon,

S I R,

Your very faithful friend and servant,

NAPIER.

LORD CARMICHAEL to Mr CARSTARES.

Wishes the King could be brought to yield a little in the Affair of Caledonia.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 11.
1700.

I have been out of town this four days. I still long to hear of your safe arrival at London. I know Mr Pringle will give you an account of what I have wrote. If any thing of consequence had occurred, I had not failed to acquaint you sooner. The temper here is much as you left it; and, as I can never believe the high-flown party cares not for a good return to their address, if his Majesty could yield any thing, it might undeceive some honest men that are gone in that way. I have been lately with the Commissioner, who is a sincere friend of your's, and the worthiest man ever I knew. My sincere service to your Lady, and my duty to my noble friend. I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate and real servant,

CARMICHAEL.

The

The TREASURER-DEPUTE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a new National Address in the Affair of Caledonia.—Of a false Story spread of his having said something to Argyle's Disadvantage.

S I R,

I was glad to hear, of your safe arrival. We long for news from you. *mzp du6tq6 8tqa yma nq s22p **. This place affords little worth writing. You will hear of one Paterfon and one Watfon their being taken up for disperfing and printing pamphlets. The Advocate is ordered to profecute them. *† nq8 dtm8 duxx o2yq 2r u878 omzz28 6ma r27 8tq7q m33qm76 z2 bus297 126qq72yq28 m8 37z6q28*. No tackfman of any of the publick funds will at present pay a farthing, pretending all of them to legal deductions; and this puts a ftop to all payments. I doubt my letters would find my L. Seafield at London, is the reason I do not write. Farewell.

Edinburgh,
June 13.
1700.

Though you fent down *‡ a xq88q7 oxm7uzs 29s o2yyu66u pqz82 68 mzp yet* feeing you thought a *xq88q7 zqoq66m7uq 83 and 3tuxxu3t m9st*

* And wifh they may be good;

† but what will come of it, Ormifton cannot fay; for there appears no vigour in our government at prefent.

‡ Tho' you fent down a letter declaring 9 (Queensberry's) commiffion to ftand; yet, feeing you thought a letter neceffary, the Prefident and Philiphaugh think a new commiffion neceffary; Therefore you have a frefh draught. Ormifton apprehends it will not be needed. Seafield's friends are much concerned he be not to draw the letter containing the King's reasons why he cannot comply with the parliament in his declaration, in cafe of adjournment. 85 fays to 76 (Carmichael) the declining to do it here was putting the thorn in Seafield's foot. Carftares knows 76 (Carmichael) would not take that well; yet, at the fame time, 85 faid he durft not advife it to be done here, not for all he is worth. 85 and Seafield's friends are in great fear. This day after dinner, I was in the Abbey, when the Prefident introduced Mr Robert Wyllie, I left him with Queensberry; they had been a good time together. 8's letters to his lady gave account of all Queensberry's letters bore. Befides, Seafield's men write to their correspondents, all that Seafield writes to Queensberry, about the King's defign to have his mind known either by letter or declaration; and they are making ready to meet either.

What is on the other paper, you may fhew to the King, if you think fit.

most 8tazw6 azqd o2qyu66u2z zqoq66m7ug therefore you have a
 fresh draught 78 m337qtqzp6 u8 dux z28 nq zqppqp. 74s
 r7uqzp6 m7g y9ot o2zoq7zqp tq nq 398 82 p7md 8tq xq88q7
 containing 43s 7qm6226 dta tq omzz28 o2y3xa wt 54, 27q tu6
 pqoxm8u2z in case of adjournment na 20, 856mup 82 76 8tq
 pqoxuzuzs 82 p2q u8 tq7q dm6 398uzs 8tq 8t27z uz 74s r228, 22
 wz2d6 76 would not take 8tm8 dqxx, yet at the same time 85 said
 tq p9768 z28 mpbu6q u8 82 nq p2zq tq7q not for all 85 u6 d278t,
 85 and 74s r7uqzp6, (78 8qx6 22 msmuz) m7q uz s7qm8 rqm7.
 This day after dinner 78 dm6 uz 8tq mnnma dtqz83 uz872p9oqp-
 y7 72nq78 daxxuq, 78 xqr8 tuy du8t 29 8tqa tmp nqqz a good
 time 82su8tq7. Yesternight there was a meeting at Steel's at
 the cross-kees; they are forward upon a new national address. Some
 were for delaying it till the fourth of July. They are meeting again
 this night. 8s xq88q76 82 tu6 xmpa sbmq moo8 2r mxx 29s xq-
 88q76 n2m7, nq6up6 74s 2qz d7u86 82 8tqu7 o277q632zpz86
 mxx that 74 d7u86 82 29 m6298 43s pq6usz 82 tmbq tub yuzp
 wzzdz qu8tq7 na xq88q7 27q pqoxm7m8u2z, mzp 8tqa m7q ym-
 wuzs 7qmpa 82 yqq8 qu8tq7. What is on the other paper you
 may shew to 43, if you think fit. There is a false story, they say,
 writ to the E. of Argyle last night of me; the E. of Crawford was
 said to have been the author, and should have said he heard me say
 the ly: But my Lord Crawford has this day publicly vindicate me,
 declaring he never heard me have any such words; nor did he ever
 give any body the least reason to say I did. I pursue the thing no
 further; but wishes people may not industriously spread stories of me
 to my L. Argyle. I design and desire to live well with his Lordship,
 and desires you will give him my humble service, as likewise to the
 E. of Annandale. This flying packet should have come off yester-
 day; but the draught of a new commission to his Grace has been
 the stop.

COLO-

COLONEL FERGUSON to Mr CARSTARES.

The whole Country in Flame, and Feuel both from France and England to feed it.—Sends a Copy of a satyrical Poem, written by Dr Pitcairn, upon King William.

Dr. S I R,

Since you went from this, things are grown rather worse than better; the ferment still continues, and new addresses are daily coming in from all parts of the country, to be presented to the parliament, when they sit. God help us, we are ripening for destruction. It looks very like Forty-one. Yesterday there came an address from the town of Glasgow to Powhill their representative: Its much of the same nature with the rest; for redressing of grievances, a legal settlement of our company in Darien, and to be eased of all subsidies and taxes. There are likewise some officers who have been desiring the army to address for their arrears. You see, Sir, what kind of people we are, and how the King our master is served by us. But God be thanked, there are more honest men amongst us than knaves: So I hope there will be no address from the army at this time. Monday last was a great day amongst the Jacobites here, being the birth day of the pretended Prince of Wales; and it was solemnized by a great many this year, who never did it before. I send a poem upon it, made by Dr Pitcairn. Its an allusion to that fable in Æsop of the frogs desiring a King from Jupiter, who gave them a stork. There are a great many satyrical and obscene reflections upon the King in it. You see, Sir, that they are now above board with us; for treason is become so common, that no body takes any notice of it. They talk publicly that, unless the King will grant them the legal settlement of Caledonia, that they will address him again with forty thousand hands at it, and call a convention of states. We are all in flame; and I am sure the feuel comes both from France and England, to keep it up. The Lord preserve our master and counsell from ought; and let all his enemies be confounded from Dan to Beerseba.

Edinburgh,
June 15.
1700.

ba. I think, Sir, you are very happy and safe where you are ; but, upon my word, I am not where I am, nor no honest man. If our master be necessitate to break some regiments, I hope he will have a regard to his old servants ; for there are four or five younger than that which I have the honour to command, viz. Portmore's, Strathnaver's, Hamilton's, Maitland's and Jedburgh's dragoons ; for we were upon the Scots establishment before any of them : Besides, Sir, we have our good service to plead for us ; and that we have been honest and loyal from the beginning, and will continue so to the end. Pray give my most humble duty and service to our noble friend and patron. I have writ to him since you went from this. I hope he will continue his protection and favour to us ; for we never will, nor ever did depend upon any but him, whom I pray God may long preserve Adieu.

Fab. 2. Lib. 1. Phaedri Metaphrasis.

Ranarum proceres, paludis hujus
Et prati indigenæ, palude cincti !
Nonne audistis, avos patresque vestros
Securos potuisse stagna circum
Exultare sua, et venusta prata ?
Rex Ilignus iis dabat beatam
Vitam, atque otia non periculosa.
'Tunc quæ me puerum puella Rana
Castis, Jupiter ! osculata labris,
Quot dein rettulit osculationes,
Et cura vacuas metuque tristi !
Quot nunc millia vidimus profecta
Ad ripæ ulterioris inquilinos !
Quos illic veteres novosque lusus
Una lufimus advenæ hospitesque,
A Sole exoriente ad occidentem !
Sed Ranae fuimus ; fuit paludis
Ingens gloria, lausque clara prati.
Ah ! Sors nulla diu potest placere
Ventoso populo ! Sed ipsa tandem
Libertas gravis, et graves penates,
Ut Saturnia displiceret Ilex,
Quæ prati indigenis palude cincti
Ranis otia fecerat beata.
Irato Jove, coelitemque coetu,
Optatur novus inquietusque rector,
Rectorque eligitur Ciconiarum,
Quarum exercitus ales hæc pererrat,
Hæc impune pererrat atque vexat
Ranarum patria ac avita stagna ;

Nec nos visere nunc licet cohortes
Ranarum per amoeniora fufas
Pratorum æquora, et invidenda regna.
Obscoenæ volucres, malæque pestes
Stagni ! nonne sat est vorasse gentem
Nobis sanguine moribusque junctam,
Nullae ut jam superent in Insula illa
Ranae legibus atque rege junctæ ?
At vos, O proceres, ducesque nostri,
Clari militiae, domique clari !
Si stirpem veterem, incolamque prati,
Servatam cupitis palude cincti,
Hæc gratis animis labrisque castis,
Mecum ter memorate verba læti ;
Et nulla audeat hic natæ Rana,
Quæ non hæc memoret ter ipsa verba :

Illicis sacrae geniale Numen !
Quippe te priscae coluere Ranae,
Juniis, si nos vetus Arbor audis,
Annue votis.
Quæ tuas ales peregrina Ranas
Certat infesto violare rostro,
Sedibus nostris abigatur omnis
Trans mare magnum.
Nos, tua nobis ope restitutæ,
Illicis circum saliemus aram,
Principis laudes celebrare gratæ
Praticolarum.

MURRAY of Philiphaugh, now LORD JUSTICE-CLERK, to Mr
CARSTARES.

*The Commissioner Duke of Queensberry's Sense of Mr Carstares's
Kindness in procuring him such encouraging Letters from the King.
——Anxious that Seafeld, Argyle, and Annandale, be sent down;
——particularly the first, of whom the King's Servants are jea-
lous.——His own thoughts of the Measures proper in the ensuing
Session.*

S I R,

I had your's by the flying-packet. I did not expect so much
compliment from you; I am sorry I was never so happy as to de-
serve it; but you may be assured I shall be very ready to serve you,
to the utmost of my power. I shewed your's to my Lord Commis-
sioner, who was much satisfied therewith; and his Grace is sensible
that you have not only done him justice, but great kindness, in your
accounts to the King of business here; and that you have contri-
bute not a little to the procuring such encouraging letters from his
Majesty. His Grace bids me make his excuse for not writing him-
self; he has so many to speak with, and so much to write, before
the flying-packet or express go off, that he cannot possibly have time
to write; but, he bids me tell you, that it is indispensably necessary
that Argyle and Annandale come here quickly; for, not only may
their presence, being men of great quality and sense, add life and vi-
gour to the government, but several of the King's servants here
are jealous of their being at court; and the Chancellor, President of
the Council, Carmichael, and Treasurer-depute, have complained
to his Grace, this very day, of their absence; and plainly told, that,
if they do not come quickly, and concur and join hand in hand, they
will be very cautious, and leave it upon them to take measures a-

Edinburgh,
June 19.
1700.

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bove,

bove, and answer for them. And this his Grace wishes may be signified to the King. I shall tell you also, as my own thought, that I suspect, if Seafield stays at court, he needs expect little advice from this about the framing of any papers; and you'll perhaps see an unexpected instance of this by the very packet that carries these: So, if he have a mind to take all upon him, he may stay; but, if he desires only to take a share with the rest of the King's servants, he must be present with them. I shall not trouble you with any thing about the return to his Majesty's letter; I know you'll have full accounts of that from others. You were pleased, in your's, to desire my thoughts about the Commissioner's going up, and about what allowance might be proper for the King to give his Grace, in case he thought fit to continue him commissioner for some months. I do find his Grace perfectly devoted to his Majesty's service, and cheerfully content to stay here, or go where his Majesty thinks most proper for his service; and truly, I humbly conceive, its almost necessary that he should continue here as commissioner for some time after the King shall publish the letter or proclamation now proposed, for reasons which you can conjecture better than I can write. But I shall freely tell you, I perceive the Commissioner is desirous, if his Majesty think it fit, to wait upon his Majesty, if it was but eight or ten days; and, if the King goes not to Holland, this might be, as I humbly think, best in the beginning of August: But this I trust you'll make use of or not, as you see cause. There's no hopes of diverting the parliament from insisting on the resolve, by all the reasons the King can give for his not complying; and some think these reasons may engage more to be for it; so there's no doubt, if put to the vote, it will carry by a considerable plurality, rather almost an unanimity. You'll find its not thought legal, nor safe, if the parliament meets, to interpose the negative, so as to prevent the debate and vote about that resolve. On the other hand, frequent adjournments, and concluding a session without an act, is cryed out upon by some as a novelty, and against our law and claim of right; and, perhaps, it will not sound well with our neighbours: So the only mids
occurs

occurs to me is, if the parliament should be allowed to sit and vote the resolve, and if it should be essayed to bring them to other business; but there are so many obvious inconveniencies in this, as well as the other methods, that I dare not propose or recommend it; I only suggest it; for, certainly, the parliament must either meet before November, or the army must be disbanded: And I see little reason to expect that frequent adjournments will alter their minds. And if the army is disbanded without payment of their arrears, which are considerable, and for which there's no fund, its to be feared some of their thoughts may alter, and that the government may not only want their support, but may find some more desperate men disaffected. I can say nothing as to the allowance at this time, but you may expect my thoughts fully by the next. Dear Sir, adieu.

Original Letters from Pinkerton, and his Fellow-prisoners at Seville, to the African Company.

Right Hon. Lords and Gentlemen,

Yesterday our cause was debated, and the fiscal endeavours to prove us pirates, and fortifies it by the reason of the King's proclamation in Jamaica, &c. as also by some words from the King's own mouth to the Spanish ambassador in England, which are transmitted to the council of the Indies in writing, in which the King disowned your undertakings; all which, the foresaid accuser says, proves clearly, that we had no commission from the King; and, for any other patent or warrant for our proceedings, there appeared none. This day we had this information, by a letter from the consul of this place; and, notwithstanding of all his defences, he advises us, that to-morrow the sentence will pass against us (as pirates, in loss of lives and goods, &c.) The consul hopes to do better by his appeal above, at Madrid; there being no minister of state here, nor any to appear in our cause, makes it dubious. We therefore humbly desire you

Capt. Pinkerton's letter.

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would

would be pleased to send with all dispatch (in case it be too late) the copy of your patent, and act of parliament in your favours, attested by some justice of peace, is what our lawyer requires; as also, the King's disannulling the Jamaica proclamations; and that you would be pleased to send the copy of our sailing orders, seeing that they will not be persuaded: But we knew we were bound directly for Golden Island, of which we knew not, (as we have declared), when we sailed from Scotland; and that ye would be pleased to transmit them to Sir Martin Westcomb consul in Cadiz. The King's letter has not appeared here. All that at present offers.

Right Hon. Lords and Gentlemen,

Your humble servants in all respects,

(Signed)

ROBERT PINCARTON.

John Malloch.

James Grahame.

Ben. Spenser, alias Penso.

David Wilson.

Right Hon. Lords and Gentlemen,

Publ. papers,
Sevilla pri-
son, in irons,
June 19-31.
1700.

The sentence of death is passed against us all, (the boy excepted); and we are in irons. This is the third letter we have wrote to your Lordships since this unjust sentence is passed against us, (and we expect to be separate every hour.) We have had only one letter from your hands since our transportment to this country, in which ye was pleased to send us the King's promise to demand us; but there wants his performance; so we are innocently fooled of our lives, and unjustly condemned. The consul has appealed to the high tribunal at Madrid, and wants the authentic copy of the commission that constituted the company, after it was touched with the great seal. The King's demand has not appeared; wherefore we humbly beg ye would be pleased to send, search, or cause to be searched, in the secretary's office, to know whether the King has sent his letter, to whom, or by whose hand it should be delivered

ed to the King of Spain. We have not as yet got a copy of our sentence, which is to us death; and, as informed, chastisement to the governor of Carthagená, for not executing or transmitting to Old Spain the rest, the ship *Dolphin*, and goods escheat to the King. (And, not satisfied with an unjust sentence on shipwrecked men), it wills his most Catholick Majesty to demand of King William, the Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Tweeddale, and Earl of Panmure, (and whom others of that company) estates should be confiscated, to make reparations and satisfaction for equipping of a fleet to the Indies, and for all other damages, and their persons to be seized. We humbly recommend to your Lordships considerations our miserable state, which cannot admit delay. We are, in all due respect,

Right Hon. Lords and Gentlemen,

Your very humble servants,

(Signed)

ROB. PINCARTON.

John Malloch.

James Grahame.

Ben. Spencer.

LORD ADVOCATE to MR CARSTARES.

Illuminations for Caledonia.—Meeting at Steel's.—Schemes of the Opposition.—Desires he will spur Argyle and Annandale to come down.—Of Argyle and the Treasurer-depute.

Dr S I R,

I had your's by the flying packet, which was most welcome. I have been with Mr Hamilton anent the extract of these papers concerning you, and he has promised them to me this week. Our flame here continues. It is reported we are to have illuminations for Caledonia, without any order from the government, this night. His Grace the D. of Hamilton met at Pet. Steel's, where it was resolved, that a national address of-new should be obtained, and that there might be a voluntary supply uplifted for the support of Caledonia

Edinburgh,
June 20.
1700.

donia in the mean time; but they are to consider on this the night again. They are so high upon it, that they will not have my L. Commissioner's commission to subsist by the letter; and it will be necessary a new commission be given. I was yesterday with my L. Commissioner; and I find he is very anxious that my Lords Argyle and Annandale should come down; and he expects you will spur them to it, for he much needs their help. The commission of the assembly have done their parts; for, except Mr Wylie and Mr Linnen, with Pardivan and Mr Archibald Dickson, there was no more voted for the address; but I know you will have a more full account of this from others. We are in a sad taking here. I was told this day, that, if I had not my windows full of candles this night, there should not be a glass left in them. You will perhaps understand from my L. Argyle, that he has accounts that my L. Treasurer-depute was lately unkind to him; and, when I heard of it, I spoke to my L. Treasurer-depute, who told me, they were liars that would say so; and he has said so much to my L. Argyle's friends; and I know they will write to my Lord that he has said so, that there may be no mistakes upon it. And this is not the time that the King's servants should differ. Your plaids are now all shipped, Mr Cochrane tells me; and I hope you shall have account very soon of their arrival. My wife gives her most humble services to Mrs Carstares and you. Adieu.—I find my Lord Philiphaugh expects you will keep a correspondence with him; and I must say it is worth your while. David Callendar's son-in-law is to be attacked again for his commission as chamberlain of Monteith; he must be had a care of, for he is a great servant of your's.

DUKE

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY, Lord High Commissioner, to MR CARSTARES.

Greatly encouraged by the gracious Reception Mr Carstares met with from the King upon his return from Scotland.—The King will not comply with the Resolve proposed.—His Commission objected to, and must be renewed.—Grateful to Mr Carstares for his Representations to the King, and will endeavour to fulfill what Mr Carstares has promised for him.—The King's Service will suffer, if the Noblemen are not sent down directly.—The great Perplexity of the King's Servants in Scotland; all timorous, if not worse.—Impossible to make Examples of any that are Disaffected; for he is told that Money is given by the whole Opposition to those whose Business it is to prosecute.—Affraid, if the King gratify Annandale, he must also gratify Argyle and Lothian in their Pretensions.

S I R,

I had the favour of your letter of the 10th from Hampton-court, and think myself extremely obliged to you for the full and free account you give me in it of our affairs, which I desire you may continue to do. I was glad when I heard of your safe arrival; and am more pleased to know the justice the King did you in receiving you so kindly; it will always be a great encouragement to his servants, when they see that they can be protected by his Majesty in their honest endeavours for his service. I am very sorry that the King's circumstances could not allow him to comply with the resolve proposed, because business is like to be interrupted by it; and his enemies have still the handle, by which alone they have, or can hereafter pretend to, for obstructing his affairs; though I am convinced, at the same time, that neither the nation nor the company would have any solid advantage by the granting it. As to the continuing, of my commission, you may easily judge, that I can be no other-wise fond of it, (when it is attended with such uneasiness), than by

Holyrood-
house, June
20. 4. P. M.
1700.

it

it to be able to serve the King, when the people have lost the just regard they ought to have for some of his ministers, and while others of them are trimming, if not betraying him to his enemies. But I must tell you, that the angry party does object against the legality of continuing my commission by a letter; because, they say, that the adjournment by proclamation makes my commission void, which nothing can make up, but another commission under the great seal. And, though my L. Advocate says they are in the wrong, and that I design to stand by my letter in the mean time; yet he, and all our other friends here, think it will be proper to send me a new commission to the same effect of the letter, that all scruples may be removed; for they watch all opportunities that ambition or revenge can prompt them to. I have now sent to my Lord Seafield the draught which the Advocate has made of the new commission, which must be immediately sent down; and I have also writ to the King about it. I am very sorry to hear that his Majesty intends to go to Holland; for his enemies, both here and in England, will grow the more bold, the more that he is at distance from them. It would certainly be a great happiness if his affairs would allow him to stay in this island; however, he must be the best judge in his own concerns. I give you many thanks for the kind representation which you made to his Majesty of my behaviour here in his service. I do sincerely intend to do, and venture for him, what you promised in my name; and shall always wait with patience his time for any favour he designs me; nor would I ever have appeared with so much concern in that affair, which he has been pleased to promise me, if I had not thought, that, by it, I might have been enabled to serve him; and that this country would have looked upon it as a mark of some regard to them. As to the sending down of the noblemen with you, I am daily more and more persuaded of the necessity of it: They are much more forward in the King's service than the ministers I am forced to act by here; and their example would help to raise the spirits of some who are sunk, and put the chancellor to some ease, who gives his place for lost, and acts accordingly.

One

One other reason for their being sent here is, that some of the King's servants are not willing to bear all the blame that may attend the ill success of councils, but would have others chargeable with a part of it; so that, every way, the necessity of sending them immediately hither is evident, whether his Majesty should think fit to call me up or continue me here: And, if they be not with us by the 4th of July, his Majesty's service will suffer mightily by it; so pray let them be here by that time, if possible. I have written to themselves, and the King too, of my earnest desire to have them with me; for I am now in a manner quite alone; so, what can be expected that I can do? Your advice to me of making some examples of such as are notoriously disaffected to the government, is very just, and might have the proposed effects. But I cannot be able to do it, when others will not second me, and while I am told money is given by a whole party to such as should prosecute them. I am mighty well pleased with the accounts you give me of my Lords of Argyle and Annandale; and, as to my L. Seafield, I shall never conceive the least umbrage of his behaviour, either with regard to the King or myself. You need not make my wife and me any compliments for our civility; you have deserved better things of us both than we have yet in our power to pay you. When we shall have done you any service, we shall not decline your thanks; till then, assure yourself, that nothing but an opportunity is wanting to shew our just sense of your kindness. It was not in my power till now to dispatch this express, though I have lost no time in the affairs which were recommended to me. The King's servants have been twice or thrice every day with me, in order to concert matters; but I could hardly find them twice in the same mind; so that papers were drawn and destroyed almost as often as we met. All of them here are become so timorous, if not morose, that they dare not venture on any advice; and the best that can be said of them is, that they fear to incur the odium of the country, by prosecuting the present measures: However, such advices as they are, I do send them to my L. Seafield; but, whether they will please or not, is a question.

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However,

However, it is all I could get. If the declaration of the King's pleasure, with relation to Caledonea, be sent by way of a letter to the parliament, I see, by the humour of his own servants, that there are few of them that will offer to vindicate his reasons in it; so that his Majesty can expect no success by that method. If he intends to do it by his council, there must be two different papers. The declaration must be by itself, and contain an order to print and publish it; and the adjournment of the parliament must be by a warrant apart. In both these cases, they will obey; but not, if it narrates that it is done by the advice and consent of his privy council; which, if the King's mind be made known by proclamation, must be inserted in course; and, if it were offered at so, I do not believe that a quorum would be got that would consent to the publication of it. So you may easily judge what a condition I am in, when these persons who I did expect help from in the difficultest points of his Majesty's service, do, out of some reason or other, abandon his Majesty and me in his service. If there be a considerable adjournment, and that his Majesty can stay some time in England, matters must be otherwise concerted than now is either fit or possible to be done; and, in that case, it will be proper for me, in some time after the adjournment, to be called to court; but this I leave entirely to his Majesty's pleasure, who is best judge of his own measures. Pray, give my most humble service to my L. Portland, and tell him from me, that, as I am proud to believe he has friendship for me, so he shall always have proofs, where I can show them, of my gratitude to him. I do not trouble him with letters, because I know that you will give him account of what I and others can write.

I have, by my L. Annandale's earnest desire, laid his claim to be a Marquis before his Majesty. I could not refuse to do it; but the King may do in it as he thinks most convenient for his service. In my opinion, fair words, till business here be some way over, is best, otherwise he must resolve to gratify the Earls of Argyle and Lothian as to their pretensions, or lose them, which is not fit at this time.

time. I expect to hear fully and frequently from you; and am, with much kindness, your's.

MURRAY of Philiphaugh to Mr CARSTARES.

A particular Account of the Rabble at Edinburgh upon the 20th of June 1700.

S I R,

I wrote to you on the 19th, and gave my letter to Mr Stewart to be put up in the commissioner's packet; but I understand this day it was not dispatched by mistake; however, I have sent it forward under this cover.

Edinburgh,
June 21.
1700.

We had, last night, one of the most numerous and most insolent rabbles that has been here of a long time; the pretended occasion was, that news were come, of the Spaniards making a descent and an attack upon our colony of Darien, and that our people had routed and defeated them. Upon this, it was resolved by the meeting at the Cross Keys, (as I hear), that all true Caledoneans (as they call them) should have illuminations in their windows; and this resolution was handed about; and, without ever taking notice of commissioner, privy council, or magistrate, there were in the evening lights put up in many windows, and some bonfires set on. The mob gathered to hudge crouds from all corners, and fell to breaking the windows that were not illuminated, without distinction of the in-dwellers quality or character; or, if they made any distinction, it was to do most mischief and insolence to those in the government; such as the President of the council, Carmichael, Treasurer-depute, though you know he is not in the fore-street, (where illuminations use only to be required.) And, in short, they made havock of all the windows wherein there was no illuminations, but especially of such as belonged to any that are of the government. And I am told they destroyed above five thousand pounds Sterling worth of glass.

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They attempted twice thrise to get into my Lord Carmichael's lodgings, and they broke in upon the Advocate, and procured a warrant from him to liberate Paterfon and Watfon ; but others of them had not patience to wait for the warrant, but, by fire, and other means, broke up the tolbooth-door, and let all the prisoners out : And, when some of the magistrates and town-guard went to save the prison, they were beat off by a great many in gentlemens habits, who came briskly up to them with drawn swords. I hear they made particular inquiry after Mr David Blair, and gave him many ill names, as rogue and villain, that did not pray for Caledonia, and broke down his windows.

I am afraid they frightened Lady Seafield too much ; for they were so rude and barbarous as to throw stones, long and furiously, at her windows. I shall not trouble you further with particulars ; for I think the Advocate is to send up an account of them, which you will see : Only, they took the key of the Netherbow-port, for fear the guards should be brought upon them. But the Commissioner was gone to bed before an account of the tumult got to the Abbey, and knew nothing of it till this morning ; and then he went up to the council-house, and sent about to warn all councillors in town to meet presently ; and truly they met very frequently on so short an advertisement, and appeared all unanimous and forward in support of the government, and for punishing the authors and abbetors of the rabble when discovered. The minutes of council will tell you their resolutions.

Sir, You see how fast things advance here ; and, if there is not vigour shewed upon this occasion, which may frighten people from such abuses and insolence, the government, and such as own it, shall probably be very soon trampled upon. I wish the officers of state may get encouragement from above, to be active and diligent in finding out, and vigorous in prosecuting the guilty. I doubt not they will do their duty. But I believe those with you, when they hear this account, will be anxious, and make haste to be here, that they may contribute their share.

There

There is great talking and bustle made by some about the commissioner's taking upon him that character after adjournment of parliament by proclamation, whereby they say his commission under the broad seal expired, and a letter could be no warrant for continuing that character; and there have been a great many consultations among them about it. Some of the first quality do own, that they shun to come near his Grace on that very account. You may be sure nothing of that nature would deter his Grace from obeying his Majesty's commands; but he has advice from some to have a commission under the broad seal, narrating and approving of the letter; and, by others, a simple commission in the ordinary stile, to begin from the fourth of July, and to continue during his Majesty's pleasure, with the ratification of the letter in a paper-a-part, and bearing warrant for affixing the great seal. It is necessary these commissions be quickly expedite, and sent down, least, if any should happen to disobey his Grace, they should pretend to cover their disobedience with his want of what they call a *formal* or *legal commission*; and it is not fit that any thing of that kind be left doubtful at this juncture.

I expect you will be so kind, as you promised in your's, to write to me some times at least, and let me know if mine come safe to your hands. You see I write with great freedom. Dear Sir, adieu.

MURRAY of Philiphaugh to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the late Tumults in Edinburgh.—The Commissioner much pleased with Mr Carstares's last accounts.—Of a Jaunt to Cockenzie, with which Mr Carstares had been alarmed.—Of what Allowance should be given to the Commissioner.—The Rate of every thing much higher now than formerly.

S I R,

I cannot give you the particulars of what discoveries are made as to the abettors and actors in the late tumult. I hear the Advocate
Edinburgh,
June 26.
1700.
is

is to write an account to Seafeld, which I doubt not you may see. I shall only say, I see little probability of tracing the matter to the fountain, whence every body believes all the disorders sprung. I have, by the Commissioner's order, wrote to my L. Seafeld some general hints of the state of things here, and which his Lordship is desired to communicate to you; and I have nothing to add, and shall not trouble you with repetition. I had your's of the 20th last past, and communicate it to his Grace, with which he was much satisfied, and is perfectly convinced of your sincere and useful friendship to him; and he bids me tell you, that the going to Cockenzie was a mere chance, proposed by the two Dutcheffes, to which he complied, and had no more design of compromising with the person named than with the Pope of Rome. And I can tell you, but to yourself, I find his Grace does not take it well to be in the least jealousied on such points; for he values himself upon being a firm friend, and reckons the deserting of friends a dishonourable thing. I can give you demonstration, there was no compromise; for, since the parliament was adjourned, till Sabbath last, neither D. Hamilton, nor any of the chief men of that side, came near his Grace; and abroad, they forbore, because they would not own him as commissioner; and, when D. Hamilton came on Sabbath afternoon, he made the first visit to the Dutcheffs, and then asked to see my L. Duke; which method was thought of purpose to let people know he visited him as D. of Queensberry, but not as King's Commissioner. As to the allowance to be given the Commissioner, if his Majesty shall think fit to continue his commission for some considerable time, I think there will be scruple made of giving the full allowance till the 4th of July, and during the parliament, if it meet, or for some days after it be adjourned; because it will be necessary for that time still to keep up the same pomp, until members of parliament and throng of company be gone out of town: After that, indeed, I think there may be a retrenchment of expences, and the allowance may be restricted by the half; that is, to twenty-five pounds Sterling *per diem*. I confess I hear, that, upon such occasions,

fions, other commissioners before have got less during the intervals of parliament; but I must tell you, that not only wines, and other things, are now much dearer, but the whole train of equipage and living is become far more pompous and expensive among all ranks of people. And his Grace has been, and is daily, at a greater charge than others before him used to be; and any that knows him will readily believe he is not covetous, nor does not propose to enrich himself by this station; and there's no reason he should bestow his own money. Dear Sir, adieu.

EARL OF MELVIL to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the late Rabble.—The deplorable Situation of the Country.—Want of Activity in the Government.—Apprehensive of the Consequences, if the King go abroad.—The unsuitable Returns he has met with for his former Services.—Among other Insolencies of the Rabble, the Music Bells played all the Time, Willful Willie, wilt thou be wilful still?

S I R,

I wrote to you since the rabble, which was such a contempt of government as cannot be instanced. I am not to reflect on the magistracy, or others; the magistrates were ill treated themselves. I have seen rabbles before, where the magistrates were put to shift for themselves, and seen them compesced too pretty quickly; but this grew without controul untill the next morning. I have often told you the proper and most probable way of compescing them was, the having the castle well provided, &c. But this, amongst all other things that I formerly suggested, was slighted, otherwise we had not been at the pass we were at this day. It seems only an after-game, if not a lost game. There has been much talking in town these several days of another rabble, which would be worse; but they have not yet adventured on it. But I would hope, if people be not altogether grown mad, that the bringing in of the forces may

Edinburgh,
June 27.
1700.

may help to prevent it; though some were not for this, for angering the town. How this affair will be prosecuted, or what will be done to prevent the like, I know not. Though there were a great many gentlemen concerned in this, it's like to be fixed on few. It were to be wished that there were more activity and courage amongst us. They have been talking, that, if they had known that this business would have been so much prosecuted, (though others think all the vigour of the world is not evident), they would have done more, which no doubt was possible, if their business had been rightly digested before hand; for it was but too easy to have blocked up the castle. If they had done so, which could not have stood out above two days, there being no provisions in it, and neither reparations nor guns in good order, nor a sufficient number of them, being no more men than serves to keep the ports, and keeps centry. It may come to this yet, if not timeously adverted to.

The humour here grows still; they begin to know their own strength more than at the down sitting of the parliament. There are not only addressees upon addressees, from all parts of the country, to the parliament, but they talk of a general address or remonstrance, in high enough terms, as they say, designed, if the parliament do not fit. And, it is likewise talked, that, if so, since they look upon themselves as the major part, if they cannot sit here, they will go somewhere else and sit. But what may be in this, I know not; but it is certain, whatever number of the parliament they have, they have almost all the people on their side. What may be the issue, when the King goes abroad, God Almighty knows. It may rationally be dreaded, and its hard to know if a man, not of their way, can securely stay at his own house. There is no more speaking to people now, than to a man in a fever. I can say little more than what I confusedly wrote to you three or four years ago, upon your desire, which I desired might be burnt. There was enough said there, if adverted to, to have prevented much of this; but you may say, *Quid nunc agendum?* The question seems a little too late. The King knows his own affairs much better than we can, and what

what are his circumstances elsewhere, and what they may require of him ; and it were great presumption in me to advise his not going abroad at this time ; but it seems too evident that it cannot be, without the hazard of the loss of this kingdom ; which, though it be inconsiderable in itself, but only to do mischief, as it is now stated, yet the consequences of it may be of very great concern : But it is not fit for me to meddle in things above my sphere. The things necessary speedily to be done is, the modelling of what forces there are a-right, and placing fit officers upon them, and the providing for the security of Edinburgh castle. As for the first, I shall say nothing but what I have from the officers the King can most trust, that it will be found a mistake, if it be thought many of these that fought for him in Flanders will fight for him in Scotland, but rather against him, if it come to a rupture ; but great caution, and a good choice is to be used in a change ; and possibly, if I had a vote in it, I might even differ from those officers, who may be sufficiently trusted themselves in the choice, having more reason and occasion of knowing some than they have ; but this is out of my sphere. I wish they may make a good choice. As for the castle, you may remember your own thoughts long ago how it might have been surprized. It is evident, to a demonstration, were these discontented masters of it, they would be also masters of the kingdom. If any notice be taken of this, it would be provided without noise, whether provisions or men ; and, whatever men be put into it, they would be picked-out men, and hand-wealed. A few guineas will go far upon people that are starved upon a groat a day, if their governor were not kind to them. You may consider the dearness of the place. Much might have been said, if peoples opinions had been timeously asked ; and much might be, if folk were present, that cannot be wrote. If methods could be fallen on to allay the present ferment, it would be a happy thing : And, though I dare not take upon me to advise the sitting of the parliament at this time, yet, I think, if it do sit so long as the King is in Britain, there seems less danger from the sitting than from the adjourning ; because all rational things may be

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proposed

proposed for the good of the country which the King can do, and, wherein he may be straitened to comply with what some desires, the reasons might be freely told; which might contribute to the taking off of some engaged, and take off that aspersions of some men, 'That it is only humour, wilfulness, and favour to the Dutch, that makes him consider so little the desires and interests of his people.' Amongst the rest of the insolencies committed at the rabble, the bells were ordered to play, and the first tune was that called *Willful Willy, wilt thou be willful still*. Since this was writ, we have the unpleasant account of the affair at Darien; what effects it will produce, we know not, as likewise of the time of the King's going for Holland; which leaves no place for what was said. I wish you may be more deliberate and composed than we seem to be here at present; I pray God direct you and us both. Though a thousand things might be said, yet, considering my former freedom hath met with so little suitable returns, you may think me very imprudent and unadvised in using so much, which I am sensible of myself.

LORD CARMICHAEL to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Changes in the English Court.—The Colony has quitted Darien; this makes no Change of their Measures.—Suspicious that they are encouraged by some, even at Court.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 29.
1700.

It being ten o'clock at night before the packet came here, I received your's, and likewise one that gives me no good news, that the Earl of Romney is now in my noble friend's post, which goes near to my heart; and Jersey's being chamberlain will give great encouragement to those here who are allied to him. I have not had a letter this several posts from the Viscount of Seafield; and this is the second from you since parting, which I indeed do excuse, considering how mighty matters you have in hand; and, by what I can learn, since the bad news of our colony's quitting Darien; yet they
who

who were for ratifying their former act, will still insist, by which you may perceive their design. I wish they may have no encouragement from some, even at court, (for this change there, will make them magnify upon the interest they now have). I have not time almost to read what I have writt. Earl of Kintore and Forglen are with me, who give their service to you. My humble service to the Viscount of Seafield; Kintore drinks his Lordship's health and your's. A flying packet is impatiently expected. My service to Mr Pringle. You will hardly read this. I am sincerely your's.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

*In Answer to a Letter from Mr Carstares recommending Vigor.—
Wishes he would send down a Doze of it, for it was not to be found:
—Of the Commissioner's Allowance.*

S I R,

I have your's. I still heartily wish the King were not to go; but, since he is to go, no man thinks the parliament can meet in his absence; and therefore, neither I nor others can advise its meeting in August. You apprehend that the defeat of Darien and the mob may change tempers; but, at present, they change neither measures nor tempers; and his Majesty's going away helps well to keep them up. I write plainly, but, I am sure, sincerely and faithfully. I remember I wrote in April, that the parliament might be delayed till August, hoping time and events might help us; and, though I was far from wishing what hath happened, yet, you see, I am not mistaken; but now the matter is not entire. You do well to recommend vigor, but I wish also you would send us a good dose of it, for I protest it is not here to be found. The Commissioner's Grace presses very earnestly, and the Treasurer-depute and Advocate do what they can; other tools we have not; however nothing shall be omitted that can be done, as I have wrote to my Lord Seafield. The Com-

Edinburgh,
June 30.
1700.

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missioner's

missioner's establishment cannot be changed without his loss; others keep tables and entertainments, and now is the time of the session; what can he then abate? till the tenth of August it ought to stand, and thereafter what shall be thought fit; but pray conceive that we are not in an ordinary recess, and his authority and treating of persons is as much necessary as in parliament; and he declares plainly, he is only upon the saving, and has no thoughts of gaining, as he is ready to instruct, and I verily believe. Dear Sir, believe me, I am no more feared than any man at Hampton-court, but I am sure you apprehend not our condition as I see it; and I must again tell you, that I see not where it will end, till persons be sent for, and matters adjusted here soon or syne; and I am sure you know I shall be none of that number; for all left to me, old and infirm as I am, is, to wish well, and do my best at home. The Lord direct all. Adieu.

Mr WILLIAM STEWART, Secretary to the Duke of Queensberry,
to Mr CARSTARES.

Apology for the Duke of Queensberry.

Rev. S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 30. 12
o'clock at
night.

My Lord Duke desires to be excused for not writing a return to your's by this flying packet. His Grace has now only written to my Lord Seafield, which his Lordship will shew you: So his Grace thinks it needless to repeat the same things to both.

His Grace orders me to tell you, that he finds the King is not well pleased with him for not sending forces to suppress the rabble. I do assure you, it was none of his Grace's fault, for he knew nothing of the matter till next morning, that I told him. It happened to be that night that a flying packet was dispatched; and, just as I was sealing up the packet, the servant that waits on the keepers of the signet, and carries the packet to the post-house, told me what
the

the rabble were doing, which I then gave my Lord Seafield a confused account of; and, by the date of my letter, his Lordship might know his Grace would be a-bed. My Lord Duke has ever since been very angry with me for not waking of him; which, tho' possibly if I had done it, might have proved of fatal consequence. The ring-leaders of the rabble are like to meet with their deserved reward, which may prove more terrifying than to have suppressed them in their fury. My Lord Duke desires that you will take an opportunity of informing his Majesty of the true occasion of his not sending the forces to suppress the rabble, as I have now told you it; and I am heartily sorry that my Lord Seafield did not understand, by the confused letter I wrote to him, that his Grace was then a-sleep, and that I wrote without his knowledge.

It shall learn me a lesson hereafter, not to write any thing without my master's knowledge; since, it seems, it is understood there his Grace knew the same things I then wrote. I am,

Reverend S I R,

Your most humble servant,

WILLIAM STEWART.

EARL OF MELVIL to Mr CARSTARES.

A repining Letter.—That the Fever increases and threatens the Life of the Patient.—Great want of Vigor in prosecuting the Rabblers.—As if they had all dropped from the Clouds, and were carried up again.

S I R,

I have your's of the 26th of June. I wrote twice to you lately; I July 2. 1700. with they may have come to your hand; I can add little more in writing, though much more might be said. You will hear the sentiments of others. Its but melancholy enough to think to what pass our affairs are brought. In some respect it is but folly to reflect upon what is past; though you cannot but remember insinuations and remedies were, and would have been timeously given, if they could have

have been listened to. I am neither to reflect nor censure what has been the management, for yesternight cannot be brought back; but it were good things were so remembered, as seriously to consider where wrong steps have been made, in order to future management. Tho' much or most of our present unsettlement might have been prevented, and that I think easily, yet all we are to do now is, to look forward. The humour at present, for what I can learn as yet, seems to increase; when this fever will cool, I know not; if it do not speedily, it seems much to threaten the condition and state of the patient. It is a folly for one to give their opinion when things are past; but, had I been a statesman, and my opinion timeously asked, I would have been for the sitting of the parliament timeously, and when the King was in Britain; for there was less hazard in that than from the adjournment. The parliament 1690, in every whit, had as bad an aspect as this, considering all things, which I shall not enumerate; but now things are much changed, discontented people having much time to practice and know their own strength. What will become of the business of the rabble, I know not. It seems a little strange, a business so public, and where there seemed to be such a multitude concerned, there should be like to be so little made out, as if they had all come out of the clouds, and were carried up there again. The not prosecuting former tumults as they ought, gives always occasion for new ones. You were long since told, that a sufficient providing of the castle was the best and most probable way of suppressing those, and certainly were so for the future, for we have no certainty of being free of them; but this may be misconstrued; so I say no more of it. If time, or other emergents, bring not people to a calmer temper, and to more of their reason, I know not what is like to become of our country, which grows every day poorer, which occasions more discontents, and makes people more susceptible of changes. But I know not what those, who pretend to be so great countrymen, can answer, that they refused to do for the good of the poor sinking country what might have been done, because all could not be done that they would have had. There seems
little

little question but that there are different designs amongst these who call themselves patriots. If these could be discovered, which cannot be done, unless by accident, without a great deal both of money and application, it would serve much to disappoint bad designs. Your old friend spared nothing of this kind, and it pleased God to make him successful in it; and somewhat of it sticks to him to this day. It were to be wished, that the King's return to Britain might be as soon as his affairs can permit, that solid measures may be laid down for the future. It were much to be wished, that any could be so happy, as to be instrumental in making a good understanding between the King's true friends, and those who are really concerned for the protestant religion in both kingdoms, and to remove mistakes; for, without this, I cannot probably see a good issue, but that things shortly must come to a crisis. The King's magazines here are empty, money wanting, and the disposition of many of the forces not good, and those who are discontented undervaluing the government; few in it but they have their censures of them. It were good things were timeously adverted to. I can say no more. 78 wrote to 76, and inclosed to the Secretary. He wrote also to 33, the last post save one, to which he will expect a positive answer.

The TREASURER-DEPUTE to MR CARSTARES.

Anxious for the King's speedy Return.—His Majesty's Presence in Scotland absolutely necessary.—Would willingly beg of the King, upon his Knees, to give his Office to some one of the Opposition, if it break the Party.

S I R,

The accounts we have of his Majesty's fixed resolution to go beyond seas gives but small, or no hopes, that the bad state his affairs are in here (whereof he is acquainted by several of his servants) will make him alter his resolutions. I hope his Majesty will have thoughts

Edinburgh.
July 3.
1700.

thoughts of returning to Britain, yea to Scotland, before October next; things call loud for it. I pray God they call not yet louder. It seems the opinion sent to his Majesty by the last memorial does not please. The commissioner, on Monday last, called severals together, and asked what they would advise the King as to the meeting of the parliament the 13th of August. They have unanimously agreed, that his Majesty's presence is most necessary, and the most probable remedy our distemper can get at present to settle them. You will no doubt see the memorial; there is no other remedy proposed from that meeting; but I know it has been suggested to the commissioner, that, in case his Majesty cannot come in person, he may send for some of either party, viz. 29, 76, 78, 83; for the other 10 and 69. I agree to the proposal; and it will have this effect, as it will create jealousies among them of the one side, so will it of the other too. I must say further, that there seems to be an absolute necessity of his Majesty's speaking with the leading men of the other party. Much might be said against this method; but so are matters and things circumstantiated at present, that I cannot but go alongst with the proposal: Yea, and if the office I bear could take off any of them, and break the course of that party, I would beg it on my knees that his Majesty would so dispose of it.

Monday's night, they concluded a new address, which is designed should be as national as possible; it's much smoother than once I heard it was like to have been; many of the heads of it are in the memorial sent up, so shall not repeat them; they began to sign it last night; and, by the accounts we have of the many addresses were coming in, had the parliament sat to-morrow, it's not to be doubted they will get a great number of subscriptions. They are as keen as ever in asserting the right to Caledonia; the sad news has rather encreased their earnestness in this matter; and the business of the rabble has not taken one man from the meeting at Steel's. By the expence the troop of guards are at while they attend the Commissioner, and the allowance the commissaries have, by a letter from his Majesty I read in the treasury within these few days, to
retain

retain in their hands the clothing-money due to the 8th troop, will so diminish the funds, that there will hardly be subsistence for October. * By 8's xmpa 'tis understood here, that 8 is z28 3xqm6qp r27 6tq 02y3xmuz6 2r 22 and 74. What 8 says of 78's being uz8u7qxa uz du8t is p2q6 8729nxq 78, 78 wz2dq6 8 so well that he will neither speak nor write of him. Farewell.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

In the same Strain with the foregoing.—Necessity of the King's accommodating Matters.

S I R,

Our difficulties are like to grow instead of abating. We have agreed to a very plain and honest memorial; but there appears a necessity for an accommodation one way or other; that is, either by his Majesty's presence here, or his calling for some to meet him there; and, if yielding or siding be judged expedient, I know more than one that would very willingly quit both place and pension for resettling his present disorders. I heartily wish that the thoughts of accommodation come not too late. All the vigour we can use here is well enough known; but, plainly, matters are gone so far, that all the vigour possible will not retrieve them without a just management elsewhere: But I have writ so fully, that I am weary to repeat; only, I write the more freely, because I know my own sincerity, and that I have neither desire nor design but to do his Majesty all the service that I can, while he thinks fit to require it of me; but rest and quiet was never more desirable. I am your's.

Edinburgh,
July 3. 1700.

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* By 8's lady 'tis understood here, that 8 is not pleased; for she complains of Carstares and Seafield. What 8 says of Ormiston being entirely in with Duke Hamilton does not trouble me. I know 8 so well, that I will neither speak nor write of him.

TREASURER-DEPUTE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Letter from Pinkerton and his Fellow-prisoners, which blows the Coal.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 9. 1700.

By a letter last post from Capt. Pinkerton and his fellow-prisoners, dated at Seville in Spain the 27th May, we understand they are in very bad circumstances, the process going on against them, and the court ready to sentence them to death as pirates. This they found upon the Jamaica proclamation, and something the King should have said to the Spanish ambassador; a copy of the letter is sent to his Majesty. You may be assured this does not a little blow the coal here. I confess the usage is hard. You will have heard of a ship, in which our company had a share, lately come from Guinea with some gold-dust to the value of L. 5000 Sterling: They are seeking to have it coined here, and that the company should have a mark upon it, as the guineas in England have the elephant under the King's head. I shall be sorry this be refused. We have nothing more of moment; they are going on with their address, getting subscriptions to it. They are putting themselves under a resolution to drink no French wine, nor to wear any thing but what's manufactured in Scotland. God send his Majesty safe and soon back to us again. Farewell.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

*Entreats him to have Persons called up to London from both Parties.
—An Accommodation more and more necessary.*

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 12.
1700.

Your letters by the flying and ordinary packet came right to hand. The King's ministers have again given their opinion and advice as plain

plain as they can, which, in few words, you may understand that we have only subsistence for the forces to the first of December; that, after December, even for guards and garrisons, we have but the excise, not exceeding *per annum* L. 26000 Sterling; that there is a great sum of arrears due; that the dissatisfied people grow in their demands and practices; and that a parliament we must have, or go to confusion. Men advise all that is decent; but, in such cases, more must be understood. I heartily pity the Commissioner, who has neither satisfaction nor concurrence; and, it is not strange concurrence should be so backward, when no body can see what shall be the issue. Some say, there is no fear of a rebellion; and I am sure there is not; but rabbles there may be; and, if not, yet things may turn so as the government shall be insignificant. And, therefore, I entreat with all earnestness, let not only the parliament, but persons, be pleased, so far as the security of the government will allow; and remember, that necessity and prudence does often supersede the points of honour and pleasure. He is certainly an unhappy man that is not in any case for an accommodation; and nothing so wise, just, or good, as first to save and resettle, and then take measures. I suggested from the beginning persons should be called for, and to that it must come, if his Majesty come not amongst us. I have no place either to fear or to seek; but, had I the best in the government, it should not stand in the way. Confusions are also contagious, and they will not be bounded, either in or to Scotland. I again, therefore, obtest, that things may be justly considered without delay; and God direct all. Adieu.

Sir, tho' the memorial doth only say, that his Majesty's presence is a probable mean of adjusting; yet it is the opinion of others, as well as mine, that his presence would be more than a probable mean for adjusting and composing either one way or another; and, if persons must be noticed, and an accommodation made, his Majesty may incline rather to take that course here than to send for persons; for, whatever way things be settled here, if not by downright yielding, (which, it's hoped, in this case, will not be the strait), it will always

be his Majesty's honour and advantage; and therefore his coming is very much desired. Sir, pardon all this freedom; for such is my sincerity, that, if I were permitted, I think I would say the same in his Majesty's own hearing, and, at least, obtain his pardon. Thomson's good treatment offended very much; 13 hath neither the merit nor the weight. Carse and Hay are blamed for this; but I think 33 gives him a hint to the contrary; and 32 wished first all well, and then it's time to reward; for his part, he oft thinks it would be a good reward to be at rest and free of this fatigue; but 9 is just and good.

MURRAY of Philiphaugh, to Mr CARSTARES.

The Parliament must meet, or the Army be disbanded.—The King's own Presence in Scotland the only Remedy to the present Distractions in that Country.—The Malecontents keep a Correspondence with some Members of the English Parliament.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 11.
1700.

I received your's of the 4th of this, and designed upon Tuesday to have written by the post; but I expected a flying packet was to go off last night or this morning; and I know the Commissioner designed it; for he is very anxious to have a plain state of the King's affairs laid before him, with a plain and clear advice from his servants, what measures are most proper for his Majesty in this juncture; and, for this end, his Grace has had conference frequently with them; and I believe, with the packet these goes with, his Majesty will receive a memorial containing the result of all these conferences.

All I can tell you is, that it seems indispensibly necessary that there be a good correspondence preserved betwixt the King and his parliament;

Thomson, Annandale.

Hay, Seafield.

13, Queensberry.

32, Advocate.

Carse, Mr Carstares.

ment; for, without that, the meeting of parliament might be of most dangerous consequence; and, without a meeting of parliament, the government cannot be legally supported for any time, especially after so many addresses for its meeting and sitting. After the strictest account, it is found, that there is but subsistence for the present forces till December; and, without a parliament give new funds, and consent to their continuance, it is doubtful if by law more forces can be kept up in peace than the inland excise can maintain, which, as I am informed, amounts now but to L. 26,000 Sterling. The reason of the doubt in this case is, that though there be no express act discharging the keeping up an army; yet, it is one of the reasons of the forfeiting King James, and it is one of the grievances represented to the King by our meeting of estates at the offer of the crown. And the act of parliament 1698, laying on funds for two years for paying the army, bears expressly the parliament's consent for their continuance for that time; so it is not to be doubted, but cautious wary men will be shy to concur any way in the owning or paying of such an army after that time, when they have so much reason to apprehend the parliament, when it meets, may take them to task for it. The only way that the King's servants can yet think of it to bring us to a desired temper here is, the King's presence amongst us: And, though they will not perhaps take upon them to answer positively for his Majesty's success, yet I hope he will notice their repeated advice in this matter; for, if he does not, I am affraid he will have occasion, ere long, to come another errand; for, truly, with submission to others, I suspect neither his present commissioner, nor any his Majesty can employ, will be able to serve his Majesty in parliament any way to his satisfaction. Our fondness for asserting our right to Caledonia does rather increase as abate; and it is now talked confidently, that there are assurances from chief men of both houses of parliament in England, that, if we stand firm to that point, they will, at their meeting, stand by us, and join with us in it. What ground there is for this I know not, but it does take; and it is believed there is a correspondence with

with some people in England. I can assure you, our addressees gain profelytes daily, and are sensible of it, and encouraged by it; and, to be sure, the sense of this will discourage others; for, generally, people are loath to incur the odium of their country, or to stand up against any thing that seems universally acceptable: And I myself have observed several members of parliament who appeared firm, when they have been in the country some time, and heard the sentiments of their neighbours, they seem to waver; so you may be assured we are in very ill condition, and have the comfortless prospect of growing daily worse, unless the King come and settle us himself. I pray God direct and preserve him.

What I wrote about the Commissioner's allowance, was not without his Grace's consent; and you need not apprehend any mistake from him in the matter. Some gave other advice afterward; and, truly, when he gets the utmost, it is like to be too dear bought; for he is so fretful and uneasy, because he cannot serve the King as he would, that it bereaves him of his very sleep; and I am afraid it do soon impair his health. Dear Sir, adieu.

EARL OF SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Entreats that Mr Carstares will interceed with the King in behalf of Captain Pinkerton and his Crew, who were sentenced to Death by the Spaniards.

S I R,

Whitehall,
July 12.
1700.

I hope this will find you safe arrived, for we have had the wind fair ever since you went.

The letters from Scotland bring no further accounts; and I would not have written to his Majesty this night, but that the accounts from Spain do bear, that Captain Pinkerton, and those of his crew, are sentenced to die; and, if they suffer death, it will certainly much increase the ferment in Scotland, as you well know; and I plainly think it will be an act of injustice and cruelty in the
King

King of Spain, and contrary both to the law of nations and his treaties with his Majesty; for the true state of that affair is, that their ship sprung a leak, and they ran into Carthagená, which was the nearest shore for their safety. And, when you speak of this matter to the King, do it with great concern, and I am hopeful his letters may yet come in time: For, though it were true that they are sentenced, as I am very apprehensive it is, yet they say, it is still competent for them to appeal to the court of Madrid. This is all at present from, Sir, Y. M. H. S.

LORD PRESIDENT to Mr CARSTARES.

Against calling up particular Persons, and why.—The King's personal Presence the only Cure;—and the hopes of it the only Respite to the present Distress of the Country.

S I R,

I know ye are fully informed of our circumstances and opinions here, both by memorials and private letters, to which I agree. In short, the most probable mean to extricate us, and the King's affairs, out of the growing difficulties, were his own royal presence amongst us. The Advocate hath long thought it necessary to take off some of those who are dissatisfied, which were no difficult business, if his Majesty were here; then there would be opportunity to know the sentiments of all; and, if either heads or tail be satisfied, the rest must follow; and the apprehension of the influence of the King's person would make them doubt one another, and divide the knot; whereas, if particular persons were called for, these would overvalue themselves, and go up with engagements and instructions. Therefore I entreat you use all your endeavours to persuade the King to come in person. Vigour is desired and expected from the King's servants and government here; but it is hard for you, at a distance, to understand every thing that falls in the way. Without

Edinburgh,
July 12.
1700.

out a good understanding betwixt King and parliament, there is small prospect of protection or outgate. This makes opposers bold, and some in the government faint: So these that would be more forward must, in reason, consider by whom they can act; and ten times better not enterprize, as fail in the execution. If a right understanding were established, all would go well again: The only cure will be, to bring the parliament to a temper. Consider how difficult that must be, without the King's person; certainly greater concessions will be less acceptable from another. The Commissioner is concerned, and careful to the last degree; and I am sure no body could do more, nor any subject be more acceptable than he; but the bundles of our company's discouragements, and the flaming memorial, raised a ferment, and united all that were angry on any account; so it requires concessions, authority, and prudence to set business right again. If our bad humours had no further consequence than our own value, they might be better born; but we can do more mischief than good; and therefore it is of great importance to set our business on a right foot again. We have hitherto grown worse by delays; an assurance that the King would come in person would be the best allay in the mean time. The thoughts of these things are very grievous here as well as with you; but it's necessary they should be known, that measures may be taken accordingly. I only add, that I am most sincerely your humble servant.

LORD CARMICHAEL to Mr CARSTARES.

A Proclamation against the Resolve in Steel's.——An Address sent through the Kingdom by the Opposition.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 12.
1700.

I received both your letters, and did deliver your's to the Advocate that was directed to me. What is the opinion of the King's servants here, the Commissioner sends with the flying packet that goes

goes off this night, which you will have a full account of. The council being informed that there was a resolve past in Pet. Steel's, that they should engage not to wear any foreign cloth or stuffs, nor to drink nor bring home any French wines nor brandy, there was this day a proclamation emitted, which I have sent with this, and likewise the address that is to be sent through the kingdom, at the Commissioner, E. of Argyle, Treasurer-depute, and Mr Francis Montgomery's desires. I writt with yesternight's post to Mr Pringle, that the King may discharge or recal Priestmilne's commission for uplifting the vacant stipends; for people who gets charity that way are mightily abused by him, nor can the Lords get a fair account from him; and though, a good time ago, the Lords discharged him to act, yet he did still intromit; and now they have suspended him; but they think it most necessary that his commission be recalled. We long to hear of the King's safe arrival; and I hope this shall find you safe at Loo. I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate and sincere servant,

CARMICHAEL.

There is a committee of council appointed to enquire after those who are engaged in that resolve.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

A third Desertion of Caledonia, has raised the Ferment to a greater Height;—as has the King's Reception of Sir Paul Rycault.—The Castle viewed.—List of Officers not to be trusted.—Bad effects of Annandale's additional Pension.—No Ties can bind such a Man.

S I R,

I received your letter by the flying packet, wherein I find the confidence you have in me by your freedom in writing, which I shall

Holyrood-
house, July
13. 1700.

shall every way endeavour to make suitable returns to. The news which our company has gotten of a third desertion of Caledonia, is so far from cooling people, that it has raised the ferment much beyond what you saw it; and nothing inflames more than the advices from Seville, of the usage which Captain Pinkerton, and the other prisoners there, have had in their trial; for, by the inclosed, you may see, that they have been treated as pirates, and the proclamations in the West-Indies adduced to declare them so. There is another piece of news, which people here read in the public prints, that does not a little gall, which is, that Sir Paul Rycault was well received by the King: This the dissatisfied people do say, is a demonstration of his having done acceptable service in the memorial of Hamburgh, which this nation resents more than all the injuries they fancy they have met with. These unlucky accidents makes it almost impossible to serve the King here with any success. Under such unhappy circumstances, you may easily judge, that I cannot be very easy, who am anxious in every thing that concerns his Majesty's interest; however, nothing shall discourage me in the prosecution of this business. I had a letter from my L. Seafield, by his Majesty's command, ordering me to intimate to his servants, that he expected, in this juncture of affairs, that they would concur vigorously with me in his business here during his necessary absence. I have acquainted them with his Majesty's pleasure; but they do still continue mighty shy and cautious, not only in their public actings, but in private advices. I shall not say but they are true to the King; but, as things now stand, what out of regard to national arguments, and what out of fear, and prospect of little support hereafter, are become so apprehensive of the resentments of the people, that they are incapable of carrying on any vigorous undertaking. In a short time I shall be better able to give my judgement about them. The promoters of the new national address have agreed upon a parole of honour to one another, not to buy or drink any French wine or brandy after a certain time, nor to wear any thing that is not manufactured in this kingdom. These resolutions of theirs, at the time
when

when they know that they may have the same things granted them in a legal way, are very insolent, and are noways authorised by law; and, though the lawyers do say that they cannot legally found any proclamation against addressing, because of the claim of right; yet, against such proceedings as tend to diminish the revenue, without the least colour either from law or the claim of right, they think we are sufficiently founded to put a stop to them by proclamation, and to punish such as shall associate with them after such intimation; and, accordingly, a proclamation was this morning issued out; what effect it will have, will be known in few days. The King's advocate tells me, that he has as much in law against the men that are to be tried on Monday for their actings in the late tumult, as many justly take their lives. But we are somewhat apprehensive of the judges. However, it will give us an opportunity to know them; and, as they shall act, we shall take further measures towards the prosecution of that affair. The castle of Edinburgh has been viewed, according to the King's pleasure, by my L. Carmichael and the Major-General, with my L. Leven. They have reported the condition of it; and orders are given for all necessities to it that either our time or money can allow. I have advised, as I was directed, and with all secrecy, about the trust that may be reposed in the officers of the army. We have had the list of the whole before us: A great many of the gentlemen in the inclosed account are unknown to me; but all of them are pitched on by such as are well acquainted with their qualifications and principles; and I believe the report is made with all integrity and due regard to his Majesty's service. I was shy in meddling with my L. Teviot's regiment, lest the King might think it was the effect of former grudges betwixt us; but I am sure I have no thoughts of that nature; and, if his Majesty pleases, he may cause inquire at my L. Teviot, if he will be answerable for his regiment, and every one of his officers, if any thing should happen here; and let him give his own characters of them: But I am credibly informed, that most of them will not answer the trust that is reposed in them. By the inclosed state

of the funds of the army, his Majesty will see, that we are in a little better condition towards subsisting the army than we formerly represented. We did then think ourselves to be more indebted to the customers than we found ourselves to be upon a narrow examination of their accompts; so the whole establishment, if the King pleases, may be subsisted till the 1st of December. The King has already the opinion of his servants about the meeting of the parliament; for which reason I have made use of the letter to the privy council, that makes no mention of the parliament. As to what you write to me about my L. Annandale, it was no surprise to me when I heard of his behaviour; but I wondered much at the King's towards him; for, after the anger which he publicly expressed at London, and the boasts, that I know from the persons themselves he made there, of his affection to the interest of Caledonia, for no other end but to gain a handle by it to resent his not being gratified in his unreasonable pretensions; I say, after this, to reward him with an additional pension, serves only to encourage treachery and insolence: And I (who knows him better than all the world does) can assure you, that his additional pension, were it ten times more than it is, does not make the King one bit surer of him than he was without it; for no ties can bind him: And he would have been as honest to the King's interest with what he had, as ever he can be with all the honours and pensions that the King is able to give him. And I do assure you, that not only his Majesty's servants here, from the Chancellor to the lowest of them, are mightily dissatisfied and discouraged by it, but it brings all those who had any pretensions to be gratified according to their behaviour in parliament upon my top, who do not stick to say, that, since his Majesty has begun to gratify such as were already sufficiently provided by him, he should not delay his favours to such as have a more real need of them, and serve with as much zeal, and more trust from the nation, in this, or any other juncture. Though I have no orders from his Majesty to ask any further advice from his servants in relation to what their opinion has been already transmitted about, yet I have
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frequent conferences with them about his affairs; and I send you here inclosed their further thoughts in these matters; for I judge it necessary that the King should have every thing laid before him. You see their advice is in two branches; the first of which is certainly the best. But, if his Majesty can comply with neither, I am affraid that they will advise no further in that case. If you can think of any thing that can be done otherwise, let me have the King's commands, and I shall, to the best of my power, put them in execution. By the inclosed state of the funds of the army, you will only see how long they can be subsisted; and, as to the arrears that will be due to them the 1st of December, Sir Thomas Moncrieff could not get it exactly drawn now; but you shall have it by next post. As to your kind offer of endeavouring with the King to get my allowance continued, I own my obligation to you for it; but am unwilling that his Majesty should be pressed in it, lest he should think me too much interested, and might be then apt to judge that I seek myself, more than him, in his service. If his Majesty shall be pleased to order it, I shall look upon it as a favour; but shall be noways disgusted if he does not. I can very well, and with much patience, trust his royal bounty with any recompence that he may design hereafter for my services or expences. After so long and tedious a letter, I can only have time to say, that you shall always find sincerely your's, &c.

I send you inclosed the Advocate and other lawyers opinion about the King's power in keeping up the army, which is fit to be laid before his Majesty when you have an opportunity.

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

A very full and plain Account of Persons and Things.—Anxious to see how the Judges will behave in the Trial of the Rablers.

S I R,

In obedience to his Majesty's commands, I came hither with all convenient speed; and, though I arrived after the day the parlia-
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Edinburgh,
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1700.

ment had been last adjourned to, yet there was no loss, since nothing occurred that required my presence. By what I can understand, the ferment is nothing abated, but people madly insisting still to have a ratification of Caledonia, (though not in being); yet I am of opinion, if the charge of the government could for some time be supported without them, our affairs and humours would generally return to their former state and consistency. I find his Grace the Commissioner mightily concerned in affairs, and the success of them, and most assiduous: And I am the better pleased I hastened down, since I see the backwardness of most in the government, indifference and cowardice they show at this juncture. I am glad I dare assure you, that the President of the session and Philiphaugh are the most forward; and, did the Advocate's courage sustain him, he would do well, and I hope he improves. I have spoke very plainly my opinion of their carriage at this time. I was told I retained still the court-air, which I said should remain with me, were I left alone. What discourages most the best inclined, is the danger hereafter of not being protected, (not that they distrust his Majesty's firmness); for, say they, the funds for maintaining the army are almost exhausted. We saw lately what treatment is to be expected from a rabble, when we want a face to defend us. There is no expectation of a fresh supply at present from a parliament. That of the claim of right, in relation to a standing army, does not so much straiten them, if so that the army could be maintained; for all agree, that taking free quarter is a breach of the claim of right. The Commissioner is to send an exact state of the funds, and a list of the army, how they stand affected, which his Grace has concerted with the Major-General, and others of us who wish his Majesty best. The enemies of the government I find have been very busy amongst the forces, and particularly in the core I command. If a speedy course be not took, it may prove dangerous; yet, if his Majesty agree to the alterations proposed, we dare answer for them hereafter. Perhaps, the proposal to disband Teviot's regiment may appear to his Majesty as out of pick to Teviot; but, I do protest, had

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I the command of it myself, or any well affected to his Majesty had it, they would desire the disbanding of it, and levy it a-new. They are disagreeable to the country, having been the chief instruments in the former reigns. The stock of these men remains; and, what betwixt Jacobites and Caledonians, (which I believe will prove the same to our King), there are not above four officers in the regiment to be preserved. The most considerable of the rabblers are fled, the others seized; some of them are to be tried Monday next. We wait with mighty impatience to see the behaviour of the judges in this case. There is a proclamation designed to be issued out, of a reward to any discoverers; but first we wait the event on Monday. You may have heard that Pet. Steel's parliament had entered into a resolve about French wines and brandy, &c. expressly contrary to law, upon which we have issued out a proclamation, a copy whereof I shall endeavour to send you. In this very stroke, a deal of backwardness was showed, which did oblige me to show a little court-air, as they call it. His Grace is resolved to push this, and all other handles for his Majesty's service, wherein I shall act my part faithfully and fervently; and, whatever the event may be, I shall act as in duty bound to his Majesty, who restored me to all I have. I received your's by my servant, dated the 6th instant, from London. As to E. Annandale's additional pension, it was a surprize to all, and even to me, who had so lately parted with the Secretary. I am far from envying him; for, I take God to witness, could I have obtained L. 1000 Sterling of pension for the asking at this time, I had not done it, nor been guilty of it; and I wish Seafield had not humoured him in it; for I told you both, there was no fear of losing him when he could not better himself. It will do hurt as to others who have received promises, and one excuse was made to all; so that the rule being broke, what can we say? His lady proclaims the additional pension; nor can we answer for the King's affairs, if any Secretary will take upon him, in so material points, to alter measures, which I wish you may exoner us all in, by acquainting his Majesty. I have already had it cast up to me;
and

and I have no way to apologize, but to exclaim too; and I am mistaken if my L. Seafield has not raised a new storm against himself by it. He has not writt one syllable to me; and I believe dare not. He has given E. Errol out his pension for L. 300 Sterling: It is past in the exchequer, and ought to have been forbore for some time. I shall be in as good terms with E. Annandale as possible; nor shall I stick at any thing for his Majesty's service. E. Melvin is over the water, and I am told is going for the Bath. It is strange he should act so lukewarm a part at this time, when he has the castle so near him to retreat to: Sure I am, he owes the King a great deal. Now, I must conclude with recommending to you the Frasers business, since Seafield had not the courage to counterfign it in England, (though, for fear, he has made a bolder step since): I am sure by it I can gain the King 600 men upon all events. I am your's. Adieu.

It is all our opinions, that it will conduce to his Majesty's service, that, at this juncture, Lord Glenorchy be put upon the council. I send not a double of their late address, having given the Commissioner a double to transmit.

LORD CARMICHAEL to Mr CARSTARES.

If the Account of the Division of the Spanish Territories prove true, it will ruin all; because it will give the King's Enemies in this Country such a handle against him.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 16.
1700.

I have frequently writt to you, and have received your's; but, for Mr Pringle, he gives me not one for three. I expected, at least, one of the King's safe arrival, for I suppose he went along with his Majesty. I sent him a copy of a letter that came from Pinkerton and the prisoners that are at Seville, about five weeks ago, to give to the Viscount of Seafield, and had no account of it till last post from

from my L. Seafeld, which is an answer to another melancholy letter that I sent up a fortnight before this; and now I send you the Edinburgh gazette, which will let you know what the council has done for those prisoners relief. I must tell you, there is an printed account come last post of the division of the Spanish territories; if it be true, is most surprising here to all the King's faithful servants, and certainly will be much more to those in England; for it cannot be but it will ruin all; nor will I believe that it is a true paper till I hear from you, which I plead you may let me know as soon as this comes to your hand; for it is of great concern to his Majesty's affairs, because his enemies has so great a handle to make an ill use of it. Though it be late, I could not forbear but to write of this to you. My L. Lauderdale and my lady give their sincere service to you; and be pleased to give my most humble duty to my noble friend, whose faithful servant I am ever obliged to be: Be pleased to let me know how his Lordship is. I remain sincerely your's.

————— to Mr CARSTARES.

Of an Assassination Plot.

Reverend S I R,

A matter of dangerous consequence is writt privately from Scotland, and comes to my knowledge by a miracle. Without inquiring further, you know your duty. An old man in the Highlands of Scotland, who is said to have the second sight, has prophesied to one of them who remains of the family of Glenco, that he shall deliver three nations. This is perniciously understood; and it's said that he has gone with mischievous complices for Holland. The Devil is busy. God prevent the public danger. This is enough at present from a well wisher, and who is, in trembling,

S I R,

Your faithful humble servant.

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J.

London,
July 16.
1700.

J. STEWART to Mr CARSTARES.

The Opposition talk of a Meeting of Estates at Perth, if the King will not give them a Parliament.—But this all Stuff, if things go well in England.—Endeavours to corrupt the Officers.

Worthy SIR,

Edinburgh,
July 18.
1700.

I have sent you the inclosed, because many were curious to know the particulars of this accompt. We are keen for a war with Spain, though I find money come but slowly in to pay their debts, and they are loath to use diligence for making the countrey their enemies. The address is making its tour, and is conveyed by some of the party through the several provinces; they brag that there will be so many thousand hands to it, that the King cannot refuse them a parliament; and yet one would think it were calculate, rather for the English parliament, than to procure one of our own. If the King do not let them meet, they talk, by way of argument, that Perth is the fittest place for their convention of estates; they have Athol, and a part of the Highlands, at their backs; the town itself, and the several shires about, their friends, and fear nothing from the army; for they say they believe them honest men than to inflave their native country to arbitrary power and oppression. But this is all stuff; if things go right in England, there is nothing here can hurt us; all is quiet, and will continue while England first take fire. The General last week called for a list of all the officers of the army. This has alarmed us like an inquisition; and there being some honest men delated, makes me think that this may be a politic of the other party, to give out, they make state upon them, on design to throw them under the suspicion and jealousy of the court; and there is nothing vexes an honest man more than to suspect him. I doubt not but the General will manage this matter warily. The truth is, he has good reason to have a watchful eye upon us and the soldiers both. A soldier that hath but three-pence-halfpenny a-day may be easily debauched;

bauched; and I know there are endeavours used to corrupt the officers. They propose to provide for us in their militia, better than any thing our pay now amounts to. They tell us, we may despair of our arrears; the parliament owes us nothing, and the exchequer is super-expended. They tell us, they know that there is never a captain has had sixty, nor a lieutenant thirty, nor an ensign twenty-four pounds a year, since we came to Scotland. This is too true; (and, tho' I have not a shilling to ware), I wish it were possible that some arrears were paid. My Lord Commissioner goes upon Saturday to the country. They say the Earl of Annandale is coming down not well pleased. I am sincerely,

Dear S I R,

Your faithful and obliged servant,

J. STEWART.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

Urges the King's Presence.—Wants much Support in carrying on Measures with Vigor.—The Trial of the Rioters put off by a real or pretended Sickness of the Advocate.

S I R,

Since I wrote last to you I have had no letters from you; so I have but little to trouble you with at this time, only, to let you know that most of our angry people are gone to the country to get subscriptions to their new address, which is in so high terms that, I am told, many are afraid to sign it; which gives some hopes of a division among themselves about it. I have had messages from some, by which they say, that they will never push things to extremities with the King, which I shall take care to improve, so far as I can. Yet, after all, I cannot depend upon such general assurances, so as either to take or give measures by them; and his Majesty's servants do continue in the opinion already offered, that nothing is so certain

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for his Majesty's interest here, as his own presence among us. I dare not, indeed, positively assure his Majesty, that every thing will go to his mind ; but, in my own mind, I think he would infallibly bring things to a happy issue ; for his presence would give life to his servants, and lay a restraint on the insolencies of his enemies ; besides, he will have occasion to discourse with all ranks of people here ; and, I believe, he may soon be able to divide the party ; for, by taking off a few, the rest would become so jealous and diffident of one another, that they would soon moulder to nothing. Whereas, if he should call any of them to London, he would call but a few ; and, without doubt, the calling of them would raise their expectations and demands ; and, to be sure, their party would put them under strict engagements, not to comply but on their terms ; and, in case they should be brought to yield any thing, without the party's consent, I do not believe it would be in their power to bring the party to yield to their measures : And, though Duke Hamilton has helped a little to knit the party, yet I know he is noways master of it. In this matter of calling of persons, I do not presume to offer my opinion to his Majesty ; so I shall only tell it to you, that I do not see any advantage to his service by it, but rather a loss, both of honour and interest, if it should be done without any insinuation from them of waiting upon him. Since the proclamation that I gave you account of in my last, I do not yet hear of any farther progress in the matter of the resolve ; and, if I do, it shall not be my fault if the persons that shall proceed in it be not punished, as far as the law can allow it. The trials of those who are accused on account of the rabble, was put off from last Monday till the next, either by a real or a pretended sickness of our friend the Advocate, who was in perfect health the next morning. Such accidents do great hurt, and make people say that we dare not try them. The difficulties that I meet with in these matters, by not having the support of others in the duties of their offices, lies heavier upon me than you can imagine ; however, I will do my part, with all the zeal and faithfulness that I am capable of. I am obliged, by necessities of my
private

private business, and somewhat on account of my buildings, to go to-morrow morning to my house in the country, where I shall not stay above two days; and I have taken care that my little absence shall not stop any public concerns. It is a great satisfaction to me to hear from you; wherefore, pray let it be as often as you can, which will extremely oblige me, who am your's sincerely, &c.

My Lord Annandale is expected here on Tuesday; I shall carry towards him with all the civility that's possible for me, though, in my heart, I cannot but resent his unworthy behaviour at this time.

EARL of MARCHMONT, Lord Chancellor, to Mr CARSTARES.

A Defence of his own Conduct at this Juncture, against an Accusation of him to the King, as too soft and gentle in his Measures.

SIR,

I am unalterably persuaded of your good and true friendship for me, though I had not got fresh accounts of it from good hands. It is talked by many here, that some have spoke of me to the King, as if my way were too soft and gentle for such occasions, and such a time as we now have in Scotland. But, if ever I be so happy as to see the King, I will convince him of the discretion of my part, and that I have acted prudently for his service, as I am able to convince all others, unless it be such as are disposed to find me faulty; and I will say, that their charging me with that as an error, in this time, is a greater proof of their want of understanding, than of any thing else; and I doubt not but a short time will make it evident, that the King's service is at no loss by the carriage which I chuse. The party here is carrying on an address, and with it a resolve upon parole, which is clearly a league or combination contrary to law, for which they are punishable by the council, as his Majesty's service may require it. I send you here the proclamation against the resolve. I

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have

have not time to write now so fully as I would, but shall do it by the next. I am,

S I R,

Your humble servant, and true friend,

MARCHMONT.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

His Excuse for not attending the Trial of the Rabblers.—Proposes some Alterations in the Ministry.—Wishes to retire.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 20.
1700.

I heard from my Lord Seafield of your parting, and I hope this shall find you safe and well on the other side. My last, under Lord Seafield's cover, was plain and full; at present, many are gone to the country, and the address is carried on there; but in Edinburgh we are more quiet, but no reason to change any advice hath been given. The rabblers should have been tried Monday last; but the Advocate fell so suddenly ill that morning of a fit of the gravel, that he was forced to go to bed; but, though he sent for the Justice-Clerk, and prayed the court might only adjourn till the Tuesday, that he might not be called a trowan, yet the Lords adjourned till Monday the 22d, and then the trial goes on. The African company licensed a ship to go to Guinea, with their pass, for five per cent. The ship is returned to Leith with about seventy pound weight of gold, which the company hath bought, and petitioned the council to have coined with their mark, the rising sun, like the pig guineas, that have the elephant under the face. This was soon perceived to be a design of popularity; but they being purposed, either to have their mark allowed, or to send out the gold uncoined, which would make more clamour, the Advocate, and others, thought it best to grant the thing as a small ceremony; and old 27 and 57 were of the same minds; but 55 being cross, the matter stuck: And, when it was said,

said, that this was sought only to inflame 32 and the rest, though convinced the refusal would be more inconvenient, yet were silent, because it is easy to turn and apply events; but, after some more discourse, the thing was granted. I must still tell you that matters must be accommodate; for, if either the parliament meet, or the forces go down, and other things be not done through its not meeting, matters will go to confusion; but it is more and more thought, that, if his Majesty could come amongst us before the parliament, his presence would compose matters, for the generality are yet true to the King; and even the chief of them had rather serve under him as another: So that, as differences stand, it is thought both the country and persons may be pleased with a little accommodation. I thought, at first, this might have been done by calling up persons; but now his Majesty's presence would do better; and things are gone too far to be treated elsewhere than here; and a fortnight in October would, in my opinion, do the business. It is true, some change must be; and I know some that, with their heart, would change themselves out, for a re-settlement, to his Majesty's satisfaction; such as Hume, Neall, and two of Watson's friends. The administration also requires amends, as you have seen; but a hint is enough in such matters: Public matters then a-part. Coltness' pension on the bishops rents is not worth a groat; that fund is quite wasted. A small relief for that family, for all its sufferings, is what I have been begging these ten years. I had once his Majesty's favour for L. 1000 sterling, and it failed not on his Majesty's part; but you know how it failed; and therefore, I must still intreat, and hope for his Majesty's kindness, either to transport this pension to the civil list, or for the L. 1000 was promised. I say nothing for my own fatigue, specially this summer; but I hope my growing years will bring some relief, if not a bill of ease. My dear friend, think on these things, and tell me what I may hope for, for I am weary of writing. I envy no man, but must observe what favours are done to others, and cannot but judge it a folly to have the name of nothing. As for your friend White, I wish him well. 52 it is thought may be 2; and
if

if 10 would be 1, Wat might be Ker, and Wylie is well enough, having still 75; or, if 55 could leave Watson, there is room; but Harris is mainly wanting; and 40 must be cared for. If Mr Ellis were 1, or could be satisfied, sufficient men might be found for Harris; and I wish Dawson were here, for I please him well; but, if it must be one of 94, then 10, 35, or 57; but they will not, and others will not, have 13, and for old Erskin or Hill, or any of that kind, I think it is not come to that. Some would make Hume an old pope; but it is a scorn; he had rather Campbell would change; but he is wiser. Adieu.

TREASURER-DEPUTE to Mr CARSTARES.

Matters do not mend.—The African Company's Coinage.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 20.
1700.

Many of the company have been in this place are gone into the country, few expecting the parliament will meet the 13th of August. The treasurer-depute was present when the Commissioner advised with the officers what the flying packet brought, of the 11th instant, and drew out the state of the funds; but could not write, being obliged to go straight from the Commissioner to the tide, to bring his lady from Leslie. What the flying packet of yesterday's date brings, I know not, nor was I acquainted with it's going off. There is little to write from this, but to tell you, we are not like to mend. Our treasury is exhausted. I can say it, Scotland never had a poorer treasury; nor was there ever a time draughts came so throng under a King's hand as I have seen of late. You will hear of an application to the council from the African company about the coining some gold they have got from Guinea. They desired a mark, such as the company's crest, upon the coin. The council granted this. I am sure, to have refused it, would have inflamed the reckoning, as the accounts from Captain Pinkerton and his company does.

does. The Commissioner is gone this day to Drumlanrigg, and returns the middle of the week. Farewel.

The trial of the rabblers was put off Monday last till Monday next, by reason the Advocate was taken ill of a colic. I believe his Lordship has little confidence that the Lords of Justiciary will find the crime capital. 8u6z28 aq8 m77ubqp tq tm6 nqqz du8t 66.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

The Ferment rather abated since the Arrival of Campbell of Fanab. —His Accounts of the Colony.—All the Jacobites concur in the Address.—And those at St Germain found their Hopes upon it.

S I R,

You will receive a letter from my Lord Commissioner by this packet, which was sent open to me that I might read it; and by it you will perceive, that our ferment does rather abate than increase since the arrival of Captain Campbell. He does blame the mismanagement both of the directors, and of those of the colony, for the misfortune that has happened; and I have seen some letters from the plantations that confirm this report; but, at the same time, his Majesty's servants continue in their opinion, that the parliament should not meet during his absence from Britain; and they do also think it needful, that, if it be possible, that his Majesty hold the next session in person, for there are a great many other things to be adjusted besides that of Caledonia. I forgot, in my last, to write to the King concerning the resolve which a great many have agreed to, that they would drink no French wine after the 1st of January next, and that they should wear no cloth or silk shifts but what is manufactured within the kingdom, after such a certain time. But the Lords of the privy-council having emitted a proclamation against this resolve, it has as yet put a stop to it; but what may be the consequences of it afterwards, we know not; for they are in a few days

Whitehall,
July 24.
1700.

to have a great meeting of the directors, which will certainly be the arife to some new project or other. It is faid, that the prefbyterian minifters continue very firm in their duty to the King on this occafion, and that fome of the trading towns do abftain from the addrefs. I am more afraid of the fuccefs of it in the northern countries, there being a more general inclination there towards Jacobitism; for it is certain that the whole Jacobites concur in it with all their vigor; and I have feen feveral letters from France, which bear, that, at St Germain, they lay all their expectations upon the event of the diforders that are in Scotland. Your laft letter to me was from Amfterdam, and you infinuate in it, that you believe I may be called over to Loo; if his Majefty intends to do it, give me timely advertifement; and, feeing it is impoffible I can bring any equipage with me, you muft endeavour, fome way or other, to fecure me in lodgings, and I fhall be fatisfied you take the beft, coft what it will, if I be not allowed fome conveniency at the court. This is all at prefent from, Sir, your M. H. S.

EARL OF MELVIL to Mr CARSTARES.

Quite difconfolate under the diftracted State of the Country.—A Dinner at Duke Hamilton's Lodgings; and what paffed between him and Lord Leven.

Rev. S I R,

Edinburgh,
July 26.
1700.

What with a great cold I have contracted, and grief of mind to fee this poor nation grow ftill madder and madder, I have wronged my health fo much, that I have not been able either to write or do any thing thefe feven weeks by gone; and, at laft, I am advifed by my phyficians to go to the Bath for my recovery; and, in a few days, I defign to begin my journey, if I be able. Sir, I doubt not but you have heard from others with what infolency the King's enemies have acted againft his government and minifters here of late.

I do

I do not think that ever the like was done before in any place of the world, where there was but the least face of a government; and yet we have not the courage nor the honesty to call these rebels to an account for it; which gives such encouragement to others, that, in a little time, I believe the whole nation will throw off their allegiance and duty to his Majesty; for his enemies do daily increase; and, for my part, I see few or none take any pains to hinder it. If I durst write names and persons to paper, you would be astonished to see with what lukewarmness our master is served by a great many of these who call themselves his ministers, and are in the government: They act as if they expected another master in a short time; and this I will make appear to you at meeting. I will entertain you, Sir, for no longer with this melancholy subject, only give you an account of a passage which happened some days ago, which is this: D. Hamilton, upon his lady's birth-day, invited the Commissioner, Argyle, and Leven, with some others, to dinner, where they eat and drunk plentifully; and the master of the feast being sooner overtaken than the rest, began to open his mind very freely to my Lord Leven, by telling of him that he loved him, and would do him all the service he could, if he would but come into his interest; yea, he went so far as to tell him, that he would obtain a pardon for him. With this my Lord Leven was surpris'd, and told him very briskly, That he did not know what his Grace meant, for he blessed God, that he never acted any thing against King William to deserve a pardon; and, as for King James, he would never have one from him, with some other words to this purpose; with which the Duke was a little confounded, and endeavour'd to put another sense upon it; and so, some company joining of them, the discourse was let fall: But, a little after, he called my Lord aside again, and told him, he would to God he would save his cousin Queensberry, for he believed him to be a man of integrity and honour. This is, Sir, all truth, and I can prove it. It is true, the Duke was very drunk; but *post vinum veritas*. I firmly believe that these two noblemen, whom his Grace thought to debauch from their duty, are two of the best

and most faithful subjects the King has, and would venture all to serve him. I would to God I could say there were many such others. I shall trouble you no further; but only offer my humble duty to our noble friend and patron, and pray God may preserve his Majesty, and send you all well over again.

JAMES FRAZER to MR CARSTARES.

In favours of Frazer of Beaufort.—His obtaining his Remission from the King would secure that Clan to his Majesty.

Reverend S I R,

Chelsea-
College,
London,
July 29.
1700.

The generous disposition I have always observed in you to do all friendly and charitable offices that lay in your power to persons under oppression, and in distress, has given me confidence to recommend the concerns of Mr Frazer of Beaufort to you, who goes into Holland of purpose to get that done by your and Mr Pringle's means, which my L. Seafield promised so solemnly, in my L. Argyle's presence and your's, to get done; but has devolved all on Mr Pringle and yourself. What secret promises or assurances my L. Seafield is reported to have given to the M. of Athol or Tullibardine, that he would not act in procuring and signing the remission, I know not; but this is certain, that his Lordship will not do it conform to the libel and sentence, though he promised it, but would so mince the matter, that the remission would not signify any thing without the King's pardoning the confining the Lords as well as the convocation. Sir, you know how necessary it is to the King's service in Scotland, in the present posture of affairs, to gain so considerable a tribe, with all their alliances and clients, to the King's interest, which will be effectually done, if his Majesty's intentions and gracious resolution of granting a pardon to the said Beaufort be performed in the manner that was intimated when you were present at my L. Seafield's. I have nothing further to trouble you with,

with, knowing how well you are informed of what concerns this affair, and that its needless to use any arguments to press you to interpose your charitable endeavours in a business where so much equity and justice do appear, the satisfaction that arises from so commendable an action being inducement enough to a person of your Christian and generous character; and I hope it is not the less so, by being earnestly and humbly represented to you by one who is, with all possible respect and sincerity,

S I R,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

JAMES FRAZER.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Duke of Gloucester's Death, and its Consequences.—Wishes the King would marry, and that both Kingdoms were now united. —Desires Orders how to dispose of himself, in case of an Adjournment of Parliament.

S I R,

This morning we received the sad news of the Duke of Gloucester's death. He fell sick on Friday; and they, suspecting that it was a fever, did let him blood, and blistered him. He died ketwixt 12 and 1 this morning; and, as I hear, there appeared some spots upon his body; and the two physicians Dr Ratcliff and Dr Gibbons differed concerning his disease. Dr Gibbons says it was a spotted fever, and Dr Ratcliff, that it was the small-pox; and that the letting him blood, and blistering him, prevented them from coming out; and so the disease overcame him.

It is hard to say what consequences this may have. The Jacobites, and those who are for the pretended Prince of Wales, will be higher than ever; and there is no doubt it is a great loss to us, who are for a protestant settlement.

Whitehall,
July 30.
1700.

I heartily wish that our King would follow your good advice, and marry, that he may have children. If the Princess have no more, his Majesty's would represent him both as King of Britain and Prince of Orange. I should also think, that both nations now would think of an union. This is only written to yourself. I have seen no body of any consequence since we had the news.

I have sent off a flying packet with an account of this to my L. Commissioner; for, whatever use may be made of it, I thought it fit that those of his Majesty's government should be first acquainted.

I wish his Majesty, before this time, may have signed a letter for an adjournment. It does always anger the members when they get not timely advertisement; and, if the adjournment had gone down soon, it would have prevented their meeting at Edinburgh.

I am still of opinion, that the time you propose is too long, for it will be too near to November; at which time a great part of the forces must be disbanded, unless the consent of the parliament be obtained.

I hear very many do sign the address; and I am sure, a great many do neither know nor consider the import of it. I pray God continue his Majesty in good health, and preserve him long for the good of these nations.

I now want positive orders how to dispose of myself. If his Majesty commands me to go to Scotland, I shall obey immediately; or, if he call me to Loo, I shall go there: But I do presume to think, that, if there be a long adjournment, my going very soon to Scotland cannot signify very much. Although, I bless God, I am now in very good health, yet I am persuaded it would be of great advantage to me, were I allowed to go for a fortnight or three weeks to the Bath, and I shall go straight from thence to Scotland post, and so may be there about the end of August; and can be ready either to transmit to his Majesty what accounts I receive in Scotland, or return to wait upon him. But, if his Majesty think I could be more
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serviceable to him in any other place, I shall forbear. Whatever answer you obtain to me in this matter, let it be very soon, which is all at present from,

S I R,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

P. S. Whatever orders I receive, I will stay here until I get an answer to this; for I do not know but the death of the Duke of Gloucester may alter his Majesty's measures.

DUKE OF QUEENSBERRY TO MR CARSTARES.

Lord Annandale no friend to Seafield or Mr Carstares, notwithstanding his additional Pension.—He must have L. 100 to Lord Balantyne—L. 100 to Paterson, who brought People into the Scheme of Caledonia, as the best mean to take them off it—L. 300 of Pension to Earl Marshal, to bring him under his Direction—The Master of Works to Sir Francis Scot, upon giving Security of his good Behaviour.

S I R,

Since my last letter, I have not heard from you, nor any body about the King. I am daily in expectation of his Majesty's commands with relation to his business here. When I wrote then, I told you, that my private affairs did require my being at home for some time. I went as I proposed, and staid but two days. I gave all necessary orders for the preservation of the peace, before I left the town, and obliged his Majesty's servants not to go out of it till my return. Things here are much in the same condition as they were when I wrote last; if there be any change, it is for the better. Two or three of the members of parliament were with me yesterday, and declared to me, that, since all hopes of success in the

affair

Holyrood-
house, July
31. 1700.

affair of Caledonia are lost, they are not willing to push matters any further, but will rest satisfied with what the King has impowered me to grant them; and one of these gentlemen says, that, in a little time, I may expect great alterations in the humours of that party; but I cannot yet depend upon this. My L. Annandale came here the night before I came to town; he makes great professions of friendship to me; but I find that he has his own grudges against my L. Seafield and you, though he is sparing to shew them before me. His additional pension has not made him much firmer to the service than he would have been without it; and, if his Majesty considers the time of asking it, and the method of doing it, he can never think him a man that serves out of honour and principle. I must intreat of you to speak to the King in favour of my Lord Balcaryne; he has continued very firm to his Majesty's interest, tho' there has been great pains taken to make him otherwise: He has a numerous family, and not much to support it; and, because I know he was a little straitened, I have given him L. 100, for which I desire a warrant payable to me: And, if his Majesty would be pleased, in the same paper, and in the same way, to give allowance for a gratuity to Mr Paterfon, of any sum not exceeding L. 100, I think it may be of use. He has been with me several times of late; and, as he was the first man that brought people here into the project of Caledonia, so I look upon him as the properest person to bring them off from the extravagancy of prosecuting it. I find him very reasonable upon the head; and he says, that he is now writing such things (which he has promised to shew me before they appear to any person) as I do hope may create some temper amongst them: And I doubt not but in time to be able to make a right use of him; and the more, because I know he is well affected to the present government: So a little gratuity will not be amiss; and the rather, because he has not been well used by the company with relation to his own private business. While I was in the country, I received a letter from the Chancellor, of which I send you a copy inclosed. I cannot yet learn whether the person mentioned in it is
gone

gone to Holland or not. The treasury scrupled to give the Chancellor L. 100 for the man's use, because they were neither acquainted with his name nor his business. I have not seen the man; but I have made the Chancellor write for him, if he is still in the kingdom. The Chancellor says, that he knows him perfectly well, and gives a good character of him; so, if the man comes hither, I think, upon the Chancellor's engagement, I will rather venture the L. 100, than that any thing that may be of use for the King's service should be kept from his knowledge. I must tell you one thing, which you must keep very secret; I had yesterday a private message from my cousin my Lady Marshall, by which she tells me, that she does not doubt of bringing her Lord intirely under my direction, providing that she may have leave to promise him a pension of L. 300 as E. Marshall. I have allowed her to do it; and, if I had the gift in my custody, I doubt not of breaking him off from that party; and I am sure he should never receive it till I had certain proofs of his sincerity; for the knowledge of its being in my power would go ten times further than all the promises I can make: And, though his intrinsic value is not very considerable, yet, at this time, he has great interest with the north-country members, and can do as much towards breaking off that party as any man in the kingdom. I have also, from a friend of Sir Fran. Scott's, good ground given me to think, that he might now be taken off by the master of works' place; so I desire that you would also speak to his Majesty, that a patent may be immediately sent to me, either blank, or in Sir Francis's name, which shall not be delivered but according to his behaviour. In short, if money could be had, I would not doubt of success in the King's business here; but the low condition of our treasury keeps many things out of my power, which otherwise I could easily compass. The King's Advocate has promised to give you the particulars of the trial of the persons who were guilty of breaking open the prison; however, I must let you freely know, that it's impossible to procure justice through such a channel as we have at present; and I am certainly informed, that the Advocate said lately

to a Jacobite, that was soliciting him in favours of those fellows, that they were all living that he had slain. My L. Argyle and Annandale have promised you account of other matters, because I have not at present time to say more to you; so shall only add, that I am sincerely your's, &c. Adieu.

The ADVOCATE to LORD SEAFIELD.

The several Particulars which occurred in the Trial of the Rabblers.

My LORD,

Edinburgh,
Aug. 1.
1700.

I have your's of the 27th past, and am glad that his Majesty concerns himself so much for the liberation of Pinkerton and the rest; for they write home they are condemned, and have only a respite of four score days. They write likewise a droll passage, that the council of the West-Indies wills the King of Spain to demand of the King of Britain, that D. Hamilton, the Marquis of Tweeddale, the E. of Panmuir, and others, should be liable for their damages. I saw the copy of the letter in the hands of one of their directors. The Advocate convened the rabblers before the Lords of Justiciary, and, by the information inclosed, your Lordship will know what he libelled, and what he answered to their defences; but, on Monday last, they met, and advised the debate, and gave the interlocutor, whereof a copy is also inclosed. When it was read, the Advocate was surpris'd, and said, that he pursued that affair by special order of the privy council, as a matter greatly concerning the government; but the interlocutor was such, as he must take it to advisement; and therefore desired them to continue the court till Wednesday. They askt, what displeased him in the interlocutor? he said, the whole of it; and added, that he thought, in a matter so concerning to the government, before conclusions were taken, he should be acquainted, specially when they advise the matter not in full court; and they could not but know but that such had been
the

the practice of that court. They answered, to what purpose? he said, to the effect that, if the conclusions did not go the full length, he might at least desist, and that no such interlocutor might be read, which did more encourage than discourage rabbles. This, your Lordship may imagine, did not pass without some heat; but the Advocate having acquainted the Commissioner and others, and finding it not a season to make any greater noise, although he told the commissioners, while he spoke to them a-part, that he knew nothing that hindered why the council might not appoint them assessors, and revise their interlocutor, according to the antient custom, which was not altered by the regulation 1672; yet he proceeded on Wednesday to lead his witnesses; and, tho' two of his principal witnesses misgave him, and did not depone as they declared in the precognition, yet he proved sufficiently, that Weir and Henderson entered the tolbooth immediately after breaking up of the gates, the first with a drawn bayonet, and the second with a naked sabre, and that Eastoun entered it with a great rung, and that Atchison was in the prison, and at the door where the Frazers were kept, with a sword. But all this proof coming short of the interlocutor, the Advocate, when he speeched the assize, took no notice of the interlocutor; but told them, that he knew their custom was to find proven or not, and therefore desired them to return their verdict distinctly as to what was proven, and what not proven; which one of the Lords perceiving, said, that he saw his design was to bring it back to them; to which he answered, that it was so; for, if he were either for the panels, or upon the assize, he would return the verdict, not one point of the interlocutor proven; and yet, seeing there was enough proven to infer the pains of law, they could not but be convinced that the interlocutor was defective. But, as the Advocate had directed, so the assize returned their verdict, finding proven as above: Whereupon the Lords sentenced Weir to be scourged, and banished the realm, and the other three to be taken to the Tron with Weir, and there pillored, and banished the liberties of the burgh. The common remark on this sentence is, that the assize have been severer upon

the rabblers than the Lords were, and that the Lords sentence is more severe than their interlocutor. But here your Lordship has the true account; and it is very uneasy to the Advocate, that, when things fail after this fashion, without any fault on his part, yet it may give occasion to some to think, that the fault is on his side; but your Lordship knows both the court of judicary and the methods of it, that I need add nothing. *Mitiores poenae* are good in time and place; but it hath been always my opinion, that the pains of law belong to them, and the mitigations to the government. I have sent a just double of this to my friend. I am your's.

By the interlocutor, assisting with a drawn sword or bayonet in this horrible rabble is not found relevant to infer an arbitrary punishment, unless acting be also proven; so that albeit a man was the raiser of a rabble, and were one of hundreds with drawn swords, and the greatest mischiefs acted, yet, if acting be not proven, as well as the assisting with drawn swords, it does not so much as infer an arbitrary punishment. Then, if a rabble arise with rungs or battons only, and burn or break up the tolbooth, and knock down the guards, yet, to be assisting there with a rung only, infers only an arbitrary punishment; but, in sound and in true law, a man's assisting with a drawn sword, or being clothed with a weapon in such an extraordinary rabble and convention, makes him art and part of the whole, and guilty of death, unless he be able duly to exculpate. And this is the true method, in justice, to repress rabbles for the future.

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

*Of Carmichael's new Title.—Whitelaw and the Treasurer-Depute.
—Lord Tillicoultry, Commissary Elphinston, &c.*

London,
Aug 1.
1769.

I have writt one since you went for Holland. Since I have heard from Scotland, though not one word from the Secretaries. I have

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account, that L. Whitelaw waited on E. Seafield, and has frankly confirmed what I said in his name. It seems Carmichael, who I can't tell yet if he has assumed his new title, staid two days at the Treasurer-depute's in the country. When Whitelaw waited on him, he took no notice of any thing concerned Whitelaw, but seemed reserved. I know Carmichael is honest and firm; but I know the Depute so well, he has obliged him to be passive, which shows the Depute not to be a man of so disinterested principles as he would have the world believe, when he prosecutes his own particular that length, in opposition to the King's interest; for, I dare still boldly say, he cannot command one vote in the parliament to his Majesty but his own. In time, all this will appear. The new Lord of the session is admitted, takes the title of Tillycoultry, an estate he has purchased joining to my lands of Castle-Campbell in Stirling-shire. I can say little as to the circumstances of other affairs in that kingdom; besides, I delay expecting to hear from E. Seafield or Carmichael, lest I should differ, since I would not willingly except, where it concerned his Majesty's service, which I will prefer to every thing. I understand Commissar Elphinston has accepted of the half of the Receiver's place, though far short of his pretensions. It was my advice to him, to submit to his Majesty's pleasure, and to endeavour to deserve better things when occasion offered, by his hearty service in time coming. One thing I find he is ambitious of, and what cannot be out of his Majesty's way, to have the title of Knight Baronet; and I wish his Majesty may be pleased to grant it him. This place of the Receiver's being filled, there remains the Deputy-receiver's place, which, though it has not been always in use for the King to dispose of it, yet, by making it go that way, it begets a new place at the King's disposal, and adds no expence; nor do I propose any salary but what the former Deputy had; so may be left blank. I do desire, as I have not been troublesome, that you'll move his Majesty, that Alexander Campbell merchant in Edinburgh may have his Majesty's gift of it, and he shall give all security can be demanded beyond exception. In this, I do
acknow-

acknowledge, I am particular, and may be forgiven, since I do obstruct nothing by it, and adds no expence to his Majesty. If it cannot be done without writing to Scotland, and without asking Secretary's consent, every one has their little creatures to advance, so I need not think of it; nor will I make quarrels with any in competition, because that may be occasion of doing injury to the King's concerns: But I have laid it fairly; and, if I can prevail, I shall be very well pleased; and I flatter myself the King will grant it, if you'll be so kind to lay it before his Majesty in my own words. I have been in a deal of concern and trouble since you went from hence, for my son has been ill abroad, and I impatient for his home coming. Mean time, the young lady, who I propose to match him with, fell ill of the small-pox, was dangerously ill; but I thank God is recovered, and in all appearance can be little marked, being now got up again. I have since received letters from my son at Paris, who I expect at farthest the 5th instant; and I am in hopes yet to overcome all my difficulties. I know your concern in my family, which makes me give you this particular account. The Marquis of Tweeddale was expected in this town, had ordered his lodgings to be took for him, and D. Queensberry told me he was expected; since, I am told, he is gone straight to the Bath, where D. Q. goes within ten days, or thereabout. D. Hamilton is gone to Lancashire, and his lady, above a fortnight ago. The English think the States of Holland's answer to the French Ambassador's memorial too humble. I am your's. Adieu.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

About the Adjournment of Parliament,—and the King's going to Scotland.

S I R,

Whitehall,
August 2.
1700.

I am very glad that you pass your time so pleasantly at Loo; and it is a great encouragement to us all to hear that his Majesty continues

tinues to be in so good health; I wish it may dispose him to marry, and that we may have one descendant of him to govern these nations; without which we have nothing but a prospect of confusion and difficulties. I am sorry that the adjournment is so very long; if the parliament had met but eight or ten days sooner, it would have been of very great consequence; for, you know, the forces are only established to the first of November, which will be so near after the time of the meeting of the parliament, that it will mightily encourage opposition in this point; however, if there come any order or letter, as you know I desired by my two former letters, to-morrow or Sunday, it will come in time; but, if not, the parliament will be adjourned. But to every thing else, except this, I hope all will be very well; for it falls well out, that his Majesty will have time to consider matters here before the sitting of the parliament, and that the harvest will be over, for there is great appearance of a good crop; and his Majesty's declaration will certainly satisfy many, if they design no more than the good of the country: But there are a great many that design not to be satisfied, particularly, such as are for King James or the Prince of Wales, or designing places and employments. So we may lay our account to meet with difficulties. Betwixt and Tuesday's night next, I shall have my thoughts of what seems to be indispensibly needful, in case his Majesty intends to go to Scotland. I have not writt any thing of this to any but my Lord D. of Queensberry; and you know he was writt to in the same way and manner I am. I am sorry that I cannot obtain such a settlement of his Majesty's affairs as may give him full satisfaction. I do assure you I shall do whatever I can, and none shall, according to their power, serve more faithfully than I shall. In this present juncture, none can promise success; but I do acknowledge, that these concessions which his Majesty does grant ought to obtain success. Being obliged to write many letters to Scotland this night, I shall only at present give you full assurance that your friendship is not misplaced; and I am most sensible of all the acts of kindness you do me; therefore I am most entirely your's. Adieu.

I entreat that you may speak to Monsieur d'Olonne, and let him know that the convention of burrows have given strict orders for the observance of the staple-contract ; and that there are severals appointed to be prosecuted for the breaking of it : But of this the Conservator's letter will inform you more fully. I wish those private papers may be signed ; because, if I go to Scotland, I shall not know how to please the E. of Argyle without them. The D. of Queensberry and the E. of Annandale dine at the D. of Hamilton's upon the Dutchess's birth-day ; so this gives hopes of a good agreement.

TREASURER-DEPUTE to Mr CARSTARES.

In Cyphers.

S I R,

Ormiston,
August 3.
1700.

I was glad to know of your safe arrival in Holland the 12th of the last month, but heard nothing from you since ; neither have I written often since, by reason I could but repeat or tell you, that, in my weak judgement, * 8tuzs6 172d6 d276q r27 8tu6 12bq7yqz8 tm8tzqu8tq7 xurq z27 m98t27u8uq, you will have account of the trial before the justice-court of these concerned in the rabble ; † 78 duxx

* Things grow worse ; for this government hath neither life nor authority.

† Ormiston will boldly say it, That, since 83 was made president, and join to it the nomination of 20 and exchequer, that is, now, this government has daily declined ; for the Lords of Session would either reduce all to the forms used before their court, or else carry all matters concerning the government to the session, even differences between soldier and officer about their cloathing. On the other hand, the money is exhausted by precepts for journeys, and needless pensions. For management in the treasury, I see none, but to give away money and places to this nobleman and t'other's friend or servant. If Ormiston oppose any of them, and, if he presses to have the laws put in execution against those liable in paying money to the King, some of our Lords are sure to put a stop : So that in all things
the

duxx n2xpx4 6ma u8, that since 83 dm6 ympq 37q6upqz8, and join to it the zuyuzm8u22 2r 2o, and qcotq59q7 that is, now this 12bq7yqz8 tm6 pmaxa pqomaqp, for 8tq x27p6 2r6q66u2z d29xp either reduce all to the r27yq6 b6qp nqr27q 8tqu7 o2978, or else carry all matters ozzoq7zuzs 8tq 12b q7yqz8 82 8tq 6q66u2z even differences nq8dqqz 629xpuq7 and 2rruoq7 mn298 8tqu7 ox2m-8tuzs, on the other hand, 8tq y2za u6 qcm968qp na 37qoq386 r27 u97zqa6 and zqppxq6 3qz6u2z6, for ymzmsyqz8uz 8tq 8tq6-m97uq, I see none, n98 82 subq mdma y2za and 3xmoq6 82 8tu6 z2nxqymz 27q t'other his r79qzp, or 6q7bmz8, if 78 23326q mza of 8tu7; and, if he presses to have the xmd6 398 uz qcqo9-8u2zmsmuz68 those liable in 3mauzs y2za 82 43, some of 297x2-7p6 m7q 697q 82 398 in 6823q; so that in all things the 2puqy-y968 xust8 b32z 78, 22 duxx x22w632z mxx 8tu6 m6 n98 3qq bw6t 689rr, t2dqbq7 78 u6 qzoqqpuzs 1xmpq t96 372326mx 2r L. 1500 sterling, m6 m 7qdm7p r27 tu6 6q7buoq6 822w z2q qrr-qo8, only 78 8tuzw6 tq omzz28, nqnxympq z28 82 subq that indefatigable attendance tq 62yq 8uyq smbq22 may tqm7 8tm8 78^s qxpq68 62z u6uz 826q o8 76 qxpq68 pm9st8q7, and 8tq ym-7umsq u6 37232zqp n98, 78 yqq 86 z28 d8 qzo297msyqz8; what event it may yet have I know not, but a good one is much desired by me and mine; ‡ 78 wishes 22, without letting 78 nq wz2dz, dm6 m s22p uz6879yqz8 it is like to xz26q yq n28tm-62z and m durq. Farewel.

4 F

DUKE

the odium must light upon him. Carstares will look upon all this as but peevish stuff; however, Ormiston is exceeding glad that Carstares's proposal of L. 1500 sterling, as a reward for his services, took not place; only, Ormiston thinks he cannot be blamed not to give that indefatigable attendance he some times gave. Carstares may hear, that Ormiston's eldest son is in love with Carmichael's daughter; the marriage is proposed.

‡ Ormiston wishes Carstares, without letting Ormiston be known in it, were a good instrument; for it is like to lose him both a son and a wife.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the Death of the Duke of Gloucester.—Desires Orders from the King about his and his Domestics Mournings.—Has fifty Servants to clothe, if public Mourning is necessary.

S I R,

Holyrood-
house, Aug.
4. 1700.

I had yesterday a most surprizing letter from my Lord Seafield, acquainting me with the death of the Duke of Gloucester, when I had not heard of his sickness. I do, from my heart, regret the loss of that poor young prince, and the more, because it will be of great consequence to the world, and will undoubtedly make the party here more insolent. I shall say no more on this melancholy subject at present, nor trouble you with any other business, but to beg that you would receive the King's orders for me in relation to the manner of my mourning. If I shall only put myself and my wife in black, it is a matter of no expence; but, if it be thought fit that I put my servants and equipage in mourning, the charge will be considerable to the King; for I have at least fifty servants that I must clothe, besides my coaches, which I must have from London, it being impossible to get them here. I have privately made an estimate of the prices of things, and do find, that, to have all these things as they ought to be, fifteen hundred pounds will be the lowest it can be brought to; wherefore, as soon as possible, let me have his Majesty's pleasure in this matter. I am daily in expectation of his Majesty's commands about his affairs in this kingdom. What orders he shall be pleased to give me shall be obeyed with all faith and zeal. I am sincerely your's, &c. Adieu.

LORD

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

That the Commissioner is now upon a right Plan.—He knows several who may be dealt with in that way.—Bracco's two hundred Pounds must be advanced.—Archbishop of Glasgow.—Censures of the Treaty with France.

SIR,

Since my last I have received one from you, which contained nothing of consequence, his Majesty being at Dieren when you wrote it; however, it is always a satisfaction to me when I hear from you, though it were no more but to know that his Majesty is in good health. The Duke of Queensberry did send me your letter open that I might read it. I do understand, from several hands, that many of the parliament-men are beginning to think what they are doing; and the Commissioner is upon the right way in not beginning at the head; and, if he prevail with those he names, I know others may be dealt with. I have very great hopes; however, it is not good to be too confident. Many have signed the address; but I hear from Forglen, that my Lord Whitelaw has not signed it yet; what he may do, I know not. I have ground to think that the Laird of Brodie will go no more to their meetings; and Mr William Brodie has refused to sign the address. I have also ground to think that Bracco may be gained by doing a little favour for him; of which I shall write to you afterwards. I doubt not but you will be careful that there be a precept sent to the Commissioner for the two hundred pound, for you see that is as good as advanced; and the blank commission and blank pension ought also to be sent. You will see that he writes likewise of a certain Earl, which is no surprize to me, and I believe it is none to you; however, we must overlook all these things; and I bless God I have learned so much patience as to know a great many things and not take notice of them, providing I can get those who does me an injury to go on in his Majesty's ser-

Whitehall,
August 6.
1700.

vice ; and I hope he will act his part on this occasion ; but I am sure he is not to be relied upon. I have a letter from the Earl of Marr, wherein he tells me, that the Archbishop of Glasgow threatens to pursue me before the parliament, because that he is continued under confinement, contrary to the right of the subject. It is true, I did countersign the letter which put him under confinement ; but yet I have enough to say for it ; for, you know, he was under banishment ; and it was at his own desire that he was confined, in place of his sentence of banishment : However, I should be glad that I were allowed to acquaint the council, that his Majesty leaves it to them to do in it what they think just ; but I cannot at present desire a letter to council taking off his confinement directly. I have not time this night to inform you concerning what is said of that treaty made with France about the succession to the Spanish monarchy ; but, in general, I believe, some do incline to quarrel it, if they can find a party to concur ; yet, after all, I doubt not but that they will let alone meddling with it till the King of Spain's death : But you need speak nothing of this to our friend till I send you a full letter of what I know of that matter. I long to know what are his Majesty's commands concerning me, as I told you before it were necessary for my health that I went to the Bath ; but, if his Majesty think that his affairs require my being in Scotland, I shall be ready to go upon the first advertisement. This is all at present from, Sir, Y. M. H. S.

I doubt not but that you have heard from others, that there is an acquaintance of the Chancellor's designs to go to the King, and desires to have his charges borne ; and he has been desiring L. 100 for that end. The Chancellor writes this in general to me, and he did the like to the Commissioner when he was in the country. I find he has writ to Mr Pringle this night ; and, if he mentions the man's name who is a coming, I think I could guess his business.

—HODGES

— HODGES to Mr CARSTARES.

Asking his Mediation with the King for obtaining three hundred Pounds per annum, for writing in Defence of the Government in the Affair of Darien.

S I R,

Since your parting from this, I have had occasion to shew to my Lord Seafield several papers besides those which you did see; and have had divers conferences with him about the services which I offer to the government and nation, wherein his Lordship did take particular consideration of my notions and contrivances relating to national interest in the present juncture; and, after having given me opportunity to answer abundance of objections, he was pleased to declare to me, that he was fully satisfied that I merited the encouragement of the government; and that he would signify so much to the King; and that, particularly, he would this day write both to you and to Mr Pringle for that end. I have, therefore, with his allowance, presumed to give you the trouble of these lines, to let you know my satisfaction that any favour I am to receive shall come through your hands and mediation, and that I am to owe a large share of my obligations to one whom I so sincerely love and esteem. My Lord was pleased to assure me, that the King would allow me some present encouragement; but did not determine what; neither is it fit for me to question the extent of his Majesty's favour; only, I think it proper, on this occasion, to put you in mind, that a too narrow encouragement will neither contribute so to my reputation, nor allow me to live at that rate, or in a creditable way, to keep such converse as will be necessary for capacitating me to advance these designs of public good which I have conceived for the mutual interest of the government and nation. According to my serious reckoning, I think I shall be pinched in supporting my resolutions by any allowance under L. 300 a year; and, if the King shall be pleased

London,
Aug. 8.
1700.

fed to allow his favour to that extent, I will do the best I can to merit it, and to bestow it in his service; and, as my brother did serve him with his sword, I will endeavour to supply his room with my studies and pen. I beg the favour that you may be pleased to show Mr Pringle, that I had once resolved to write to him; but, after I had considered that it did not become me to think that he should need any sollicitations to do me a kindness, especially when proposed to him by my L. Seafield, I thought it better to rest wholly and silently on the assurances I have had from himself of his sincere friendship; and whereof I am as confident as I can be of that of any person of worth and honour, such as I know him to be. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble faithful servant,

HODGES.

EARL OF ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Punishment of the Rabblers smaller than his Tyrant Governor inflicted upon him for going to play without leave.—E. Melvil lukewarm.—Others trim.—His Model is to buy some, purchase others, and make some Places vacant.

Edinburgh,
Aug. 8,
1700

I have received two from you, in answer to my two letters I had writt by the flying packet last week, but by mistake I missed the opportunity. It will be needless now, so late, to give you account what struggle it cost in council to have the proclamation anent seizing the principal rabblers worded as it is, since certainly before now you have it from others. The design was, to make the Frazers being set at liberty the chief crime, and, by the narative of it, to make appear that design chiefly occasioned the rabble. The Advocate brought it in, without shewing it to any but the Treasurer-depute, who, it seems, liked it, notwithstanding it carried that in the frontispiece which I complain of, not mentioning Paterfon, the disperfer of the

the libels against the government, &c. but I must say, it was very consequential to the Advocate's discourse the Monday before in the justice-court; and so came of the trial; as no doubt but you have heard a punishment inflicted, smaller than my tyrant governor has, while at school, inflicted on me for going to play without leave. The parliament is now adjourned, and the King's declaration issued out according to order. We cannot yet say what effect it may have, since the ill-minded misconstrue any thing; yet still I must say, I believe it will make some proselytes. I remember the King still inclined to do it sooner; and plainly too I am convinced it had done good; but I hope it shall still, if rightly improved. Its a sad thing how little people, that eats, I may say, the King's bread, does concern themselves upon this occasion. I love not to make complaints; but it is too apparent: There is our friend the E. of Melvin, tho' President of the council, has been in Fyfe ever since my return from London, came and staid two days in town, and now is gone to the Bath. Those that stay here are lukewarm, and play the trim, whilst a very few in number exposes themselves. When I come to speak, even with those I am best with, of making a model to carry the King's business, by buying some, purchasing others, and making some places void for others, tho' those be but of the smaller sort, nor is it yet advisable; any other I meet with, this tutor has this friend to protect, the other has another, which does confound affairs; and I grieve when I see matters miscarry, where I have all the friendship in the world. However, though I care not if it be burnt after you read it, I will send you, for your satisfaction and mine, a schedule, by which I'd carry thirty members of parliament off, and so carry the affair: But you can never bring all to one in this measure; and so I fear will be the event. I do intend to go to Glasgow; and am upon a project to begin a party there to counteract other designs: How far I may carry it, I know not; however, I shall continue to acquaint you of what is most material, from time to time. Adieu.

I am afraid Seafield, for fear, will snifle Frazer's affair, by not allowing him to be discharged of his whole libel, wherein the rape was not included ; and, if his Lordship value not my repeated concern so much as to go over it, I will have no more to do with him, as I have given him fair warning, as an honest man ought to do. I shall never despair while the King is well. I pray God, long be it so.

LORD CARMICHAEL to Mr CARSTARES.

Desires he will vindicate him to the King in Ronald's Affair.

SIR,

Carmichael,
August 8,
1700.

I was obliged to be at home for some days bypast, and was once resolved to gone for Edinburgh this day ; but the Commissioner thinks my incoming not necessary for some time, but desires rather I may come in when all others are gone to the country. I am informed there has been a hot debate in the treasury anent Duncan Ronald and Hugh Cunninghame's commission ; the Chancellor took it up, and has writt to the King about it, and refuses to give it back until he have his Majesty's answer, though, by a vote in treasury, it was ordered to be put in the clerk's hands. You will be further informed of this by others ; and, whatever the Chancellor has writt, or however it goes, I know you will vindicate me to his Majesty, which I am very much concerned to have done, and the sooner the better. You may judge how many there are to give the Chancellor such impressions at this time ; but this to yourself. This is a long adjournment of the parliament. We are all much concerned for the sad news of the D. of Gloucester's death ; and its believed, and hushed, that the King may come sooner over than he intended ; which, I doubt not but would be of great advantage to his affairs in this nation, and much contentment to his faithful servants. All pains is taken to make this new address as national as they can.

My

My wife gives her affectionate service to you. I entreat to hear frequently from you, and am sincerely your's. My most humble duty to my noble friend the E. of Portland; you know how much it would quiet my mind to have the hope of his Lordship's returning to England. Pray give my most humble service to Monsieur d'Ollone and to honest

The Duke of Glocester's death is a matter of so great consequence, that I long to know what thoughts are with you upon it; for enemies will not be idle at this time.

MURRAY of Philiphaugh to Mr CARSTARES.

Nothing less than the King's Presence will do.

S I R,

I wrote to you the other day by a flying packet, about the Commissioner's mournings. I have little to add, but to tell you, that, though I think his Majesty's great concessions ought to satisfy fully all that love his Majesty or the Protestant religion, and they may well encourage his servants to act zealously and vigorously in his service; yet I am (with submission) of opinion, that it is most safe and adviseable the King should come here himself; for there are so many people whom nothing can satisfy, and some who are easily misled, especially when they have engaged so far already in a party, that I think it very uncertain, and, to speak plain, not practicable, to recover many without the King's presence. I am sensible it would be much for the Commissioner's honour, if he could bring things to a happy conclusion himself; but, for all the love I have for him, I must tell my thoughts freely in what concerns the establishment of the government. And I think, when a disappointment or defeat is so dangerous, it is not safe nor adviseable to adventure things upon uncertain success, when every body believes the King's own presence for a few weeks might assure him of

Edinburgh,
Aug. 8.
1700.

settling things here to his contentment ; but this from myself only, and I trust it to your discernment. I am just going to the country, and shall not have occasion for some time to trouble you with mock letters. So, dear Sir, adieu.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Concessions now made by the King.—What Preparations will be necessary, if he comes to Scotland.—His Coronation may be delayed.—In the Trial of Rioters, the Judges had not Courage, nor the Advocate Integrity.—Of L. 100 to one who offers to prove we have no Right to Caledonia.

S I R,

Holyrood-
house, Aug.
9. 1700.

Since my last, I have received two letters from you, the one of the 25th, and the other the 29th of July. I do think myself extremely obliged to you for your kindness in endeavouring to make my little services agreeable to my master, and for the full accounts which you give me of business, which I earnestly desire that you may continue, they being both useful and satisfactory to me. I received his Majesty's commands about adjourning the parliament, with his other letter to the privy council, on Tuesday last, the same day the council met and adjourned the parliament, and appointed his Majesty's other letter to be published. I know not what influence his Majesty's great condescendence may have on the minds of men who are united together, and many of them not to be satisfied with any thing that can be obtained : But I hope, if I could get the King's servants to be diligent and vigorous, such as are sincerely well affected may be brought to be satisfied : However, his Majesty will have this advantage, that the world will know his inclinations to make us happy. After all, it is not possible to promise much ; yet so many of the members are united by cabaling, and subscriptions to several addresses, it is to be feared that many may think themselves

selves engaged in honour not to recede from any of their demands; and, to be sure, such as intend not to be satisfied, will press others on their engagements: For myself, I am perfectly convinced that the King's offers are so honourable and profitable for the nation, that all who serve and love him may, and ought, to stand up boldly for the measures proposed, by which they will serve their country as much as the King; and, if all in the King's servants would act their parts with that zeal and diligence might be expected from them, I should not despair of success; but still the surest way to succeed, were the King's presence among us. As for what you write of preparations in case of his coming, its not thought fit to take advice; and I must own, that I am very little skillful in these things. But what at present occurs to me is, that his house will need several reparations to make it any way habitable for him; and even these cannot be done without observation, and some time: Besides, all who have lodgings in the Abbay must be timeously advertised to remove, and provide for themselves, because the lodgings constantly inhabited are fitter for the court's use than the others; and I believe the whole will be necessary for him and his attendants. D. Hamilton's lodgings are the warmest and closest; and certainly the King must keep these for his private business, and lying there; and the rooms which I now have, that are called the *King's apartment*, for his appearing in public. It will also be necessary to send furniture fit for the King. If what I have here can be useful, his Majesty may command it. There must be two states provided, one for the Abbay, and another for the Parliament-house; there must also be greater conveniencies made for horses and coaches. As to the coronation, I have had occasion to discourse of that formerly, when his servants were advising his coming; and it was then thought, that his Majesty might advertise the council, that he was only to make a short stay, and that it was more proper to defer his coronation to another season, that there might be longer time for suitable preparations. But, the worst of all is, there is very little public money to make what preparations are necessary. If any thing further occur to me, I shall let you know; and I beg

that you would informe me of his Majesty's resolutions as soon as possibly you can, which I shall communicate no further than I shall be allowed. If he does come, its absolutely necessary that he be here ten days at least before the parliament meet. And, if his affairs does not allow of his coming, it is necessary, for his service, that I attend him in England before his parliament here meet; for I have several things to say that I cannot write, and were not proper, if I could; therefore, I should be glad if his Majesty would honour me with a call to wait upon him, if it were but of a week; and it may be so ordered, as I may be there some days before the King, so as no time may be lost. You must have heard, long before this comes to your hands, of the lenity which those who were guilty of the tumult has met with from our justice-court: They lay the blame on the Advocate; for, as he contrived it, they say nothing criminal was proven. On the other side, he exclaims against them; and I am very free to tell you, that the judges had not courage enough, nor the Advocate integrity. I never writ my opinion freely of him to any body but yourself, and I choice to do as an honest man only to his friend; and pray take what ways you think most proper to make him, if possible, more constant and firm; for such disappointments is a disgrace to our business, and brings contempt upon our undertakings to do justice. I am told that, yesterday, on the execution of the slight sentence against those rioters, there were some little insolencies, notwithstanding of the strict orders which I had given to the provost, in the presence of the Lords of the Treasury, about preventing any thing of that nature, and his engaging for all regularity. I do intend to call the magistrates before the council, where they shall not escape without a severe censure. I wrote to you formerly of a person that had been with the Chancellor, offering to make discovery; I thought, by the Chancellor's discourse, that it might be of practices against the government; I have since seen the man, but am under an obligation not to name him. What he has to say is, that he can give the King undeniable arguments against our right to Caledonia, and such as may be able to satisfy all the world. I dealt with him to put what
he

he had to say on that subject in writing ; but he refuses to let his reasons be known to any body but the King himself. If the King think this worth the expences of L. 100, he shall be sent over with all expedition: So, pray let me have his Majesty's commands about it. I am just now told, that there is a vacancy of a company in my Lord Orkney's regiment; which, by the King's orders of preferring the eldest broken captain, is due to my Lord Crawford's brother, he being the first of the four that were disbanded out of that regiment. The young gentleman has had one or two put over his head already, though he is every way qualified for the service, and esteemed by every body that knows him. But, I believe, he has justice denied him upon the account of his brother's zealous appearance at this time for the King's service, contrary to a party which his colonel has a bias to: So, pray let this be laid before the King, and use what interest you can to get justice done him; which will be very acceptable to a great many of his Majesty's servants here. I am very much obliged to you for your concern in my health. I have been very well ever since I parted with you; but have now a small inflammation in my foot, which I hope will be of no other consequence than that it will oblige me to stay a day or two at home. I have troubled you with so long a letter, that I shall only add, that I am sincerely your's, &c.

I cannot yet make any judgement what effect the D. of Gloucester's death may have amongst us. It gives a nearer view to the Jacobites; which, in reason, ought to unite these who are well affected to the government, and all good protestants. I do send my letters from hence by Captain Charles Douglas, who is going to sollicite his father's business. If you can find any way to serve him in the mean while, till our treasury here can be in a condition to do his father and him justice, I shall take it as a very great favour.

LORD

LORD MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

Of his Conduct in Ronald's Affair.

S I R,

Holyrood-
house, Aug.
10. 1700.

I have your obliging and kind letter from Loo, of the 29th July. I am, and shall be, to my power, equal to the kindness you have for me; though I have not been hitherto able to give the tokens of it, which I ever did, and do intend. I have been troubled of late about a commission to Duncan Ronald, and Hugh Cunningham, for uplifting blanch, few, and ward-duties and casualties of his Majesty's annexed property, with a fourth part profit to themselves, besides their expences. When I got it from Hugh Cunningham, I soon perceived it to be of a considerable value, and I wrote to the King about it. But, upon further examination, I discerned it to be disagreeable to several acts of parliament, and likewise, to be of far greater profit and emolument to the havers than at first I imagined; of which I again acquainted the King; and that, in my opinion, it should not come in public; for, if it did, I am apprehensive it would turn to a public grievance, and create heat and trouble in the parliament; and there needs no occasion to be given for that. The Earl of Argyle owns to have had hand in the procuring of it; but, I think, if his Lordship had considered the extent and tendency of it, he would not have desired it for any body. I found it my indispensable duty to inform his Majesty; and I doubt not, but, when you have opportunity, you will lay the business before him, as I have written to you. I shall long to hear from you about it. I think the diet of the parliament meeting is well fixed; for our harvest will be very late, though there be appearance of a plentiful crop; and it will satisfy people to see their harvest got in. I am,

S I R,

Your affectionate true friend, and humble servant,

MARCHMONT.

LORD

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Complains of the Execution of the Sentence.—Hard that he is blamed whether Judges, Witnesses, or Executioners fail.—His Scheme for a Compromise.

S I R,

I had your's with the exprefs that brought the King's letters. The fame day the parliament was adjourned to the 22d October, and the other letters published. What thefe, with the death of the Duke of Gloucefter, will work, time will fhew: But I am fure the King's gracious letter over-answers the addrefs in all that is reasonable; which I both affirm and perfuade all I can. The execution of the fentence againft the rabble Wednesday laft was fo ridiculously performed, through the neglect of the magiftrates, that both friends and foes fay it was a fcorn put on the government; and the Commiffioner is juftly fo incenfed, that the magiftrates are cited to appear before the council Tuesday next, to be either reprimanded or proceffed, as the council fhall fee caufe: But the Advocate's part is hard; for, whether judges or witneffes, or executioners fail, he is, by fome, blamed. I heartily with his Majefty had a better, for I know he does his beft, but is wearied out of meafure. I am thinking, if, to remove this pretence, that the right to Darien muft be afferted, or the undertakers judged pirates, it might not be offered them to have the King and parliament's protection for all paff, in refpect of their *bona fides*. I am fure it is all can be demanded; for the thing is now at an end. The commiffion of the afsembly to the north have depofed two of the indulged by the act 1695; and here a new clamour: I wifh they had not done it; but it was done before heard of here. I do all I can to quiet the men from complaining to the council, where, at prefent, they would not mend themfelves: But I am more apprehenfive of their clamours in England:

Edinburgh,
August 1c.
1700.

land : But of this I shall write you more fully. Harris, the other day, fell in a discourse with Hume, of his friendship to him ; but that he found both I and 32 were under some men's mistakes ; and young men were over ready to censure old men : Hume answered frankly, He was not concerned ; for he believed that neither slowness nor caution were judged his predominants ; but, if other men were diffculted with 32, he knew he was more dissatisfied with himself, and would, with all his heart, cede to any would do better, or might be thought fitter for White's service. And, to my certain knowledge, Hume is wearied, if he could help it. Sir, our foundations are out of course, and must be resettled. When that shall be, we may have a firmer administration, with good success ; and no sooner. I still wish this might be done by his Majesty's own presence, though his stay should be short, were it for a fortnight only. His good success here would be a brave step in his return to England. I sometimes wish Mr Thomson had got his desire ; 13 would soon have broke the graith, or come to other mens pace. I am your's. Adieu.

TREASURER-DEPUTE to Mr CARSTARES.

Heavy Complaints of the low Authority of Government.

S I R,

Ormiston,
August 10.
1700.

What I wrote this day se'nnight, I would have this week fresh reasons for repeating it, should you think it never so peevish. Our public meetings are either put off, upon account of some horse or other that is to be sweatt ; or, if kept, it is past twelve ere they meet, though appointed at ten ; as yesterday, it was nigh one of the clock. You will see by the minutes of the 1st instant, that a protection

Harris, Marchmont.
son, Annandale.

Hume, Advocate.
13, Annandale.

32, Marchmont.

Thom-

tection was refused Kippoch *, 9 dmb z28 37q6q28 ; for which
 cause it was moved yesterday again ; † mzp 8t26q 2r 297 z2nux-
 u82 dq7q msmuz68 u8 xm68 pma ; for, if z2d, so that, in yester-
 day's minutes, you shall see a protection to Kippoch, who went
 with a rabble through the Highlands, and is guilty of treason and
 murders, and a thousand ill things ; for which he was justly except-
 ed out of all the indemnities granted either by King Charles or the
 late King James ; and the magistrates of Edinburgh ordered to be
 called to the bar, for the mock execution of the sentence upon
 those men were guilty of the rabble here. I do confess it was a
 mock business : But what shall I say ? every day gives us fresh in-
 stances of the lowness of the authority of this government ; ‡ 8tq7q
 m33qm76 z28tuzs n98 37ubm8 pq6uz6 m8 p28827 2r mxx 297
 ymzmsyq28 mzp dm6 tq zqbq762q uxxm ymz ur tq duxx pq3qzp
 b32z 2zq 27q 28tq7 2r 29r 27q 7m8tq7 22ss7qm8 yqz, dtq 6tm-
 xx nq 3728qo8qp, 29 tuy6qxr dm286 z28 tu6 umo2 nu86, viz.
 y7 8t2ym6pqmzb and 8tq xmu7p 2r xmsq N98 9p2q6 du8t 29
 dtm8 tq 3xqm6q6, 8tq7g u6 a difference among 8tq7 and 75 about
 m. o2yyu66u2z dm6 2n8muzqp r27 t9st oqzzastmy and pgzomz
 72zmxp, 75 822w u8 up and duxx z28 372p9oq u8 6mabtq tmb
 d728 82 43 2r u8, tq u6 d72zs 82 wqq3u8 63 n98 7ust8 82 nq
 msmuz68 8tq sur8 ; it is of an odd strain indeed, and 78 would ne-
 ver a consented to it. 9 and 8 tmbq 8266qp 75 mn298 r27 u8,

4 H

N98

* 9 was not present.

† and those of our nobility were against it last day, for it now.

‡ There appears nothing but private designs at bottom of all our management ;
 and, was he never so ill a man, if he will depend upon one or other of our, or ra-
 ther Mr Carstares's great men, he shall be protected. 29 himself wants not his
 Jacobites, viz. Mr Thomas Deans, and the Laird of Lag ; but 9 (Queensberry)
 does with 29 what he pleases. There is a difference among them and 75 (March-
 mont) about a commission was obtained for Hugh Cunningham and Duncan Ro-
 nald. Marchmont took it up, and will not produce it ; says he has written to the
 King of it. He is wrong to keep it up, but right to be against the gift. It is of
 an odd strain indeed, and Ormiston never would have consented. 9 and 8 have
 tossed Marchmont about for it ; but he refuses till he hear from the King.

N^o 8 tq 7qr9 6q68uxxtq tq tym7 r727 43. 78 is going to the country with a resolution not to be much here; for, in treasury, there is nothing done but granting precepts; and he says he spends many hours, attending to be at council or exchequer, and all is done, he hears, one adjournment till another diet; and that not kept either, after some have attended hours. I hear 75 has given that 02yyub6 122 to 29, and 29 is pressed by 9 to give it up; yet 29 has heard so much against it, that he wishes it had not been put in his head; and 78 wishes 22 had no hand in procuring it. Now, 78 says he would gladly you would bid 22 remember what was said of the Athol men their taking the assistance of Kippoch when they marched against the Frazers: It was made a mountain of against Tullibardine. Is Kippoch any better now than he was? Go on, and let * 9 have the use of this 126q7zyqz8 to drive 9s37ubm8pq6usz6 and 3ua9q6 till it ruin; some of us cannot, nor will not follow 9 nor 8 either. One of the three Captains mentioned in the proclamation were concerned in the rabble here, is seized; his name is Urquhart. I may have occasion afterwards to let you know how he comes off. At present he is close prisoner, by the Treasurer-depute's order. You have, I know, seen the address; I doubt not you have likewise seen the resolve at the down-sitting of the parliament in May. 83 had it upon parchment, and was then most forward for it, which, these of Pat. Steel's club says, first encouraged them to enter into it. Farewell.

EARL OF SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Is to set out directly for Scotland.—Has been to see the Prince's for the first time since he came to England.

S I R,

Whitehall,
August 13.
1700.

I received your letter, that was due Friday last, upon Sunday; and I perceive by it, that, although his Majesty is pleased to allow my going

* Let 9 (Queensberry) have the use of this government to drive his designs and purposes.

going to the Bath; yet, that he thinks it would be more for his service that I went to Scotland. I shall always prefer his service to any concern of my own; and, therefore, I have resolved to take journey to-morrow. The weather is so hot that I cannot possibly ride post; but I have hired a coach to go to Newcastle in eight days. I shall cause my own coach meet me a day's journey, and I shall take post from Newcastle till I meet my coach. The parliament is now adjourned, conform to his Majesty's letter; and every body, except the parliament-men, who have engaged themselves in addresses, are satisfied with the concessions that his Majesty is willing to grant; and I hope that, in time, others will be prevailed upon: In that case, all his Majesty's servants ought to act their parts fairly and candidly. I hope to make a better judgement of his Majesty's affairs, if I were in the place; and I desire that you may continue to write fully to me from time to time. Captain Douglas is arrived express, and has brought a letter to the King from my Lord Commissioner; and there is also another for yourself. But he desires that he may carry them, and intends to part from this Thursday morning, in order to go with the Friday's packet; and I shall then write to his Majesty; and I shall also write more fully to yourself. Make my excuse to Mr Pringle that I have not written to him. I have no time, being just now returned from Windsor, where I was taking leave of the Princess. She is mightily afflicted. I have not been to see her Highness since I came to England before; and, therefore, I thought that this was necessary. I shall only add, that I am, Sir, Y. M. H. S.

J. STEWART to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Candidates for the Vacancy in the Session.—A particular Narrative of the Transactions at Darien.—And of the Execution of the sentence upon the Rioters.—Full of Humour.

Dear S I R,

Excuse my weakness, I am pleased with writing to you, and it costs you nothing but the pains of reading it; I should have sent

you this three or four post ago ; but (tho' it be of no importance) I forgot it. Ye know my Lord Merfington is dead ; and this post brings us news that the Pope has departed this life. So ye may be sure there is nothing now in agitation but intrigueing, bargaining, posting exprefs upon exprefs, for the elevation to the chair and the bench. Who are the candidates and their patrons at Rome, I know not ; but here my L. Argyle and his clan are for Commissary Elphinston (with whom Hugh Cunningham your minister hath promised in your name to join your forces.) My Lord President and the aunties are for Commissary Stewart ; my Lord Advocate, out of piety for an old sufferer, Sir Gilbert Elliot ; Commissar Smollet, with a squadron of the borrows, for himself. My Lord Seaford is for all of them till the parliament sits, and then for his cousin Forglan, when its over. There are several more candidates. Their way of pleading is this : If for our security (for they have been nick't with promises before) ye will depositate our commissions in the hands of our respective patrons, till the parliament be over, we will serve you with all our following ; and, if not, then, *votre serviteur*. I have a good mind to put in for the next vacancy my self. I'll dispense with this ; for I am resolved to be a Lord of Session this reign, or I'll accept of a bishoprick the next ; and then up goes Gossipry. Adieu.

Captain Campbell of Finab, that was sent by the African company from London, in November last, with a commission to be one of their councill of Caledonia, arrived at Greenock the 12th, and came to Greenock the 14th instant. He gives account, that, as he came in to Caledonia, he found the Spanish fleet, consisting of three ships of force, twelve small vessels, fifteen sail in all, cruising off the Golden Island ; and having easily past their fleet, arrived at the colony the 11th of April. He found them in all the disorder men possibly could be in ; their fort unrepaired, not a tree cut down ; only a few huts built for putting them under cover ; and, in short, unanimously resolved to leave the place in March. The cause of this disorder is attributed by our people (Captain Campbell is very modest

dest in his accounts) to the desertion of the first colony. Some say the proclamations frightened them out of their wits, (for they did not want provisions;) others say, that they got (of the French ships that was lost there) a great deal of money, which made them weary of the place, and impatient to be gone. Now, this last convoy, that went out under the command of Captain Gibson, Major Lindsey, Lieutenant Veitch, and one Byers were, upon their arrival, to take orders from the council of Caledonia, the company not hearing that the colony had deserted, tho' there was a report of it. They finding the place abandoned, continue themselves in the government; and the first thing they resolved upon after their landing was, to send 400 of their men to Jamacia, to save their provisions. Captain Campbell gives account, that one Captain Drummond, who had been with the first convoy that deserted, and had returned from Jamacia in quest of this, for he knew they were to follow, remonstrate against this resolution, by showing them the ill treatment their men had met with in that place; and proposed to go off with a 150, and to shift among the Spaniards (who had begun hostilities upon them in the business of Pincarton.) This proposal is rejected, and the men shift. Drummond refuses to obey Lindsay as a councillor; so fall to logger heads. Drummond is put in arrest, where he lay while Campbell's arrival, and in this posture of affairs he found them at his landing. The mean while, they have an account of a body of Spaniards marching over land, from Sancta Maria, under the command of the governor of that place. Captain Campbell, two days after he came to shore, marched out with 200 of the colony and 40 Indians against them. The Indians conducted him, two days march through the woods, to a place called in there language *Tappo Canti*, where the Spaniards were intrenched with pallisadoes, or rather sticks set in the ground, and woven about with twigs. Campbell could not, for the woods, make any front against them; but came up in disorder to the pallisadoes, (the Spaniard firing on them,) which they easily threw down, entered sword in hand, and put them to flight. There were nine of the colony

colony killed, Campbell and fourteen more were wounded. He cannot give any certain account how many of the Spaniards were killed, for the soldiers fell off plundering their camp, which hindered them for pursuing them. Campbell returns back to the fort, and is advertised by a friend, that Gibson, Lindsay, and Veitch were speaking of capitulating with the Spanish fleet. Mean while one of the soldiers deserting, gives account of the sickness of our people, scarcity of provisions, and that the colony was weary of the place, and wanted any tolerable pretext to leave it; whereupon the Spaniards land a body of their people; Campbell cannot know what number, being all under the cover of the wood; but, when they took possession of the fort, they marched in about 500 men. Captain Campbell was still against capitulating: He knew the Spaniards durst not attack the fort; he has a mean opinion of their courage; and proposed to make a fireship of one of their sloops, and to try that as the last expedient. He proposes this to the boatswain of the Rising Sun; promises him, in the name of the company, L. 500 reward, if he can set the Spanish Admiral on fire, and to be paid to his order in Scotland, if he dies in the attempt. He frankly undertakes the thing, goes out in the dark of the night, and came very near the Admiral; but, his heart failing him, tacked about, and returned without doing any thing. Its true, the fleet took the alarm on his going up, fired from all their ships, and run to their small arms. If there was any sign given them, I know not; but, when they come, there will be discoveries made that yet we know nothing of. After this, nothing can stop them from capitulating; they pretend they had then but two months provisions of flour, and wanted ball; for they were melting down the leads of their cannon, and what pewter vessels they had. The directors here affirm, that they have it under their hands, that they then had no less than six months provisions, and, for ball, they had twenty thousand stone weight of lead aboard at their home-coming. They'll be all at loggerheads together. In fine, they give out, that
Camp-

Campbell's wounds and sickness (for he was then distressed with a flux) had crack'd him, and so they capitulate without him.

Thus, That the Spaniards should have the fort as it then was, having four great guns, and two or three small pieces: That all prisoners should be returned on both sides: That, in eleven days, they should put themselves and their effects on board, and be gone: That any ship coming from Scotland with provisions for six months thereafter should have leave to return. Gibson and Veitch signed the capitulation; (Lindsay died two days before); Campbell would not sign, put himself aboard his sloop, with thirty men, and, on the 11th of April, set sail for New-York, and from thence, in five weeks, landed at Greenock the 12th instant. Adieu.

If you are for a touch of our town-news, *voicy*: This week, three or four of the last mob were put upon the Tron; and a cook, (who truly deserved to have been fricazied), scourged most gently by the hands of the hangman; the mob huzzaing them all along, and throwing flowers and roses on the Tron for their honour; and wine going about like water. This has given the Provost and town-council great offence, have put their hangman in the hole, and sent for his brother of Haddington to scourge him for not doing his duty. The poor executioner pled strongly for himself, That the King's privy council had taken no notice of the Advocate, who being concussed, but by a few of the mob, signed an order for making open the prison-doors, and that he himself was threatened by many hundreds with death, if he laid on but one fore stroke. The magistrates, notwithstanding, repel his defence, and order him to be scourged. The hangman of Haddington, seeing a great multitude in the streets, takes the *epouvanté*, and makes his escape. Thus, after waiting two hours in the windows, we are disappointed of the show, and the prisoner returned. The magistrates of Haddington (some say) find themselves concerned to present their hangman, and are to send to some neighbour-town for a day's work of theirs. In short, the common discourse is, that all this bustle is like to terminate,

nate, in fine, in a persecution of the hangman hereabouts, and breaking some few officers (whereof I may be one) of the army. Adieu.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

He is for making a Bargain with Lord Balcarras, before he be permitted to return to Scotland, that he shall not join the Duke of Hamilton.—The Commissioner displeased with the Advocate.—Against a Signature in favour of Roslin.—Of one Father Cosmo's Practices.

SIR,

Whitehall,
Aug. 14.
1700.

I thought to have writt to his Majesty this morning; but I find it is impossible I can have time. I know it would have been good for my health that I had gone to the Bath; but, seeing that I understand by your letter, that his Majesty rather desires I should go for Scotland, I shall make all the haste to go there that is possible for me. I have letters from some, particularly Lord Philiphaugh, and from the President of the session, that, could his Majesty go to Scotland, his Majesty's affairs would be settled to his satisfaction. There is another thing which they seem to think, which indeed I am not fully convinced of, that is, that his Majesty's coronation might be put off till another time: However, if this can be, it would save a great deal of expence to his Majesty and to the subjects. My L. Commissioner does likewise write of the other preparations that seems to be indispensibly needful. I only add these two, that the council-chamber in the abbay, and chapel should likewise be repaired; and all these reparations cannot amount to much. However, if his Majesty cannot come, he will find that my L. Commissioner desires to come up about the time of his Majesty's return; and I know several other will desire the like, particularly my L. Chancellor; and, as for myself, I shall be ready to obey his Majesty's commands, and shall either come up before the parliament,

ment, or stay there, as he pleases. I have not yet intimate my order for my lodgings; but I will do it; but, for some time, I must lodge in the town as before. If his Majesty has any particular commands for me, I shall be glade to have them about the time I come to Scotland. As for what you write concerning my L. Balcarres, I know his circumstances are such as they are represented by my L. Loudon; and I do indeed believe, that he will rather do good than hurt to his Majesty's service there; but I would take his promise, in express terms, that he should neither directly nor indirectly concur with the D. of Hamilton in the opposition, but, on the contrary, that he should be assisting to us; and I believe my L. Commissioner will write to the same purpose how soon he receives your letter and Mr Pringle's. I find also, that my L. Commissioner is also dissatisfied with my L. Advocate; but I shall endeavour to adjust this the best way I can, as soon as I come to Edinburgh. My L. Argyle writes most impatiently for the Frazers remission, and my L. Arbrucehall's paper. My L. Commissioner does likewise recommend to me a signature in favours of the Laird of Roslin: I shall not oppose it; only this you may know, that its worth, by their own acknowledgement, 1800 pounds Scots, and perhaps more: And the treasury of Scotland was never so low as it is now; and what makes it yet worse is, that no body knows what the King's revenues may amount to till after the parliament, because they intend to make such regulations in the trade as I believe will quite disorder the customs for some years. I received my last letters from Scotland by Captain Douglas, who does also desire to carry them over; therefore I have delivered them to him. I believe he is to give the King an account, that one Father Cosmo, whose true name is Clerk, has been in Scotland, that he did distribute some money there, and that he knows where he is now. I do think it very fit that he be taken up, and his papers seized; perhaps something may be discovered by him. I have sent the King's letter to be delivered by Mr Pringle; and you may do me the favour to let his Majesty know, that I thought it unnecessary to trouble him. I doubt not but upon the

first opportunity we will hear of a new rabble ; for the sentence against the rabblers has been most favourable to them ; and the breaking the windows of all in the government has not been so much as considered either by the judges or advocates ; and, when the rabblers were standing upon the Tron, they had a concert of flutes playing, and the people about were kissing their hands and encouraging them. Forglén writes this to me particularly. I mind nothing more than is necessary for your information at present. I know I shall be much troubled with solicitations for places when I come there. I entreat you to write me from time to time, which is all at present from, Sir, Y. M. H. S.

EARL OF MAR to MR CARSTARES.

Going to the North to keep his Men right.—Is in a Pack with Mr Carstares's Friend ;—and therefore expects his Interest for a Place.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Aug. 17.
1700.

When there's so many of your friends here who give you better accounts of business than I can, I know my letters will be of no use, but troublesome, else this should not have been the first since you left Scotland. The council and exchequer are now adjourned, and the Commissioner has allowed me to go to the country for some time. I intend to go north before I return to this place, both for some private business of my own, and also to keep those in that country, in whom I am concerned, right, and not to let them join with any that are in parties against us : As yet they have been pretty free of it. We have a storry here from pretty good hands, that some concerned in the Highlands has ordered their men to have their arms in readiness ; so its time we should look to ourselves, and keep our own men right ; and I'm sure its good service done the King. It will be a considerable time ere I be in town again, and
its

its likely any places that are vacant will be disposing of in the mean time ; therefore, now, Sir, I give you this trouble, to put you in mind of my pretentions I told you of when you was last in Scotland ; you may remember its Blackbarony's place. There's abundance asking it, I doubt not ; and I know it will be said, that, at this time, it is a fit bait to take off some one or other that is against the King's measures. If that were the only thing, or any way near it, to make the King's affairs go right, I assure you I would never open my mouth of it ; but since it is no great matter, and can do the King's service little good that way, I hope I may speak for my self. 'Tis very reasonable the King should take people off that are against him, and make new friends ; but I hope his Majesty is more generous, and it would not be thought his interest to neglect those who have served him faithfully. There is nothing I like worse than for one to overvalue himself ; but its known I have served his Majesty faithfully according to my power ; and, since ever I have been acquainted with you, and in a pack with your friends, I am sure there was none more cordial to them, and studied more all their interests. All I have of the King is a Captain's pay, which is a very small thing, considering my expences with staying for the most part in Edinburgh about the judicatories. I hope, Sir, my friends designed to get me something more now from the King ; and, if any thing, it could not be less than the salary of that place. 'Tis a post I the more covet, because my genius lies that way ; and what the King would be pleased now to bestow on me by way of pension, or any other way, would take off any body fully as well as the place I ask ; and I would value that post more than any other by which I could make much more profit ; and, beside, it would make the place more considered afterward, because never a nobleman had it before. I have spoke of it to the Commissioner, who is very well satisfied I should have it. Sir, since ever we were acquainted, I have been much obliged to you, for you have given me many proofs of your friendship and sincerity. I now very much depend on you ; and, if this come not in my way now, I need ne-

ver expect it afterwards ; for your enemies and mine (you know who I mean) are so pickt at me, that, if ever it be in their power, they will not fail of doing all they can to ruin me. I shall not desire this favour I ask to be pushed sooner than our friends thinks convenient, though the sooner the greater favour it would be : But, when those things comes to be agitated, I hope I may rely on your friendship ; and, wherein I can serve you, or any of your concerns, I assure you there is none more willing, nor will do it with more sincerity ; for, I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

M.

I hope you know the hand. I have written much to the same purpose to my Lord Seafield.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Matters are worse than they were.—The Subject of the Humour is vanished ; but the Humour continues.—Is for the King's calling up Ormiston.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
August 17.
1700.

We grow no better. I believe our friend the treasurer-depute is as wearied as I am ; but I drudge on, and greatly wanted him this last week that he kept the country. I see no probability of doing any thing to satisfaction, till the King and parliament have a happy meeting ; for disorders increase, and the weakness of the government is more and more discovered ; but, in sincerity, for my own part, I can do no better ; and I truly pity the Commissioner, whom I see grieved and vexed, and yet knows not how to help it. Was ever a people more unhappy ? The rise of our differences mere humour ;
and

and now, when the very subject is evanished, yet the humour continues, and even good men will not see where it visibly tends. As to your own affairs, I wish heartily White would send for your old friend Mr Dawson, and that he were with you there; for I am sure he is able to give you the best accounts of all our matters. If Mr Fowler return, and matters be not better adjusted, it will be new trouble: But I am truly of opinion, that this is the best expedient for to determine 9 what to resolve in this juncture; and Hume protests, that, if he could either say or do any thing better, he would do it. He has not spoke to 27 of this motion; but he did move it to Mr Lie to send one, and named the same person; but 10 is modest. Mr Niell is at home, in good health. Adieu.

J. STEWART to Mr CARSTARES.

Speculations upon the present Situation of Affairs.

Worthy S I R,

I had writt sooner, but waited to inform myself the best I could what influence the King's letter that was published with the adjournment of the parliament might have upon some people here. There is a party that mock it, as they will do any thing else that can be offered for the peace and quiet of the government; and I am heartily glad they do so, for thus I hope they will discover themselves. Another part of them (thank God, they are now two) are much more moderate; and yet they speak angrily, like peevish children, that cannot endure to be caressed immediately after they have been whipt, and are heartily angry enough: But one can see there is no malice, wrath, nor design, in their anger; a little time and it is over; and a few good words will make them friends with their father. No doubt, ye have account of all this business from others; if they differ from me,

Edinburgh,
Aug. 17,
1700.

<i>Mr Dawson.</i> Ormiston.	<i>Mr Fowler,</i> Mr Carstares.	9, the King.
<i>Hume,</i> Advocate.	27, Carmichael.	<i>Lie,</i> Queensberry. 10, Ormiston.

me, I know not; but, let them think what they will, I am persuaded that this letter of the King's will prove the scourge of that party, and a rod of iron to break them to pieces. Were the colony still in being, I know not if it could have wrought so powerfully: But now the prosecution of that business, exceeding far both their strength and hope, I am confident, the more moderate think no more in earnest of it; especially, seeing what the violent party does propose, smells rank of rage and revenge, and a design destructive of the good of the country. They openly profess, that they will never give over, till the King grant them an act, asserting, that their colony's settlement was legal. Without it, they say, that they are not secure in their reprisal upon the Spaniard, from being treated as pyrates by all the world; and, for the Spaniard, they neither expect, nor will give him quarter. Thus, upon the security of this act, they pretend to take into their service all the pyrates that swarm upon the ocean; their commission being a security to them against all other nations but the Spanish. Now, I think I may confidently assure you, that all the moderate party of that faction, not only presbyterians, but the other friends of the government that were in with them, mock this resolve as ridiculous. They all call it a noble and honourable expedition, worthy the countenance and protection of the King of Great Brirain; and, as for any design, by that act, of retaking their Caledonia, they have no hope of any other success, but throwing out their money to no purpose. And it is much to be doubted, if they had that act, if the subscribers would pay in their money (without the last extremity of law) upon that project. The moderate are for making another use of their act establishing the company, than a war with Spain. I am confident to assure you, that they believe the King, upon his letter, that he is in earnest with them, and will give them any encouragement for their trade, Darien apart. This, with the *habeas corpus* act, which they expect, from these words of the letter, (and for the security of mens persons), does not a little please them: So that I cannot make the least doubt, (let others philosophise as they please), if things keep right in England, but

but the King shall have a party in this parliament that will be able to vote any thing out of doors. This six or seven days we have been hourly made to expect an express, with an order for breaking some of the troops. This sets our politics to work. These who are for Caledonia and a war with Spain, avoweth, that the King dare not break them, not having money to clear them; and, if he should, *Voila tant gagni pour eux*. Others say, there is no danger in breaking, if the King give them half-pay till they be cleared. But the two grand points, which are the subject of our politics, are, The treaty for dividing the Spanish monarchy, and the death of the Duke of Gloucester. Here is the succession of both Spain and England, and what they hope the parliament of England will find worthy their consideration: That is their plight anchor, and all their hopes of mischief are in it. I shall not trouble you with the impertinent conjectures and chimeras they have about it; but, in general, there is ground to fear, if any differences should arise between the King and his parliament of England, so as to come to any rupture or violence, (which God forbid), that this party here, (even after the presbyterians and other friends of the government hath left them), they will join themselves with any party in England that shall oppose themselves to the King. Therefore, if ye be in earnest for breaking any part of the army, ye must consider how ye are stated in England. If ye are right there, it matters not for any thing in Scotland, whether ye break some few of us or not. But, by all means, ye must give us half-pay, till we are cleared; and some way must be fallen upon for putting the serjeants and corporals (upon some small allowance above a soldier's pay), into the standing regiments. These fellows have still influence upon the soldiers, and are capable of doing mischief. This may be done, by adding four or five men to each company; or some other way. By this time, if ye have gone thro' this, ye are weary; I ask pardon, and am sincerely, dear Sir, your faithful and affectionate servant.

LORD

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES.

Lord Seafield under much Obloquy.—The Earl of Barcarras.—Character of Sir Gilbert Elliot, whom he wishes to be Lord of Session.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Aug. 22.
1700.

I have none of your's to answer; nor is there, as yet, any appearance of alteration in our affairs. I wished, in my last, that some person were sent for from this, to inform truly and fully of the state of all matters, and named Dawson, your friend. We now expect my Lord Seafield this week, or the beginning of the next; and I am glad he is coming, both to see our matters, and help with his advice. It is true, he is under much obloquy; but I truly judge it all calumny; for, I am persuaded, that, in his station, he hath very singly intended both the good of his country, and his Majesty's service. My Lord Carmichael came to town Wednesday. I heard the Earl of Barcarras importunes the King for liberty to come home; and I know the King hath hitherto refused it. This day it was discouraged, whether it were fit, or not; and, if fit, in what terms. The council, last week, ordained the Advocate and Sollicitor to bring in lists of all come from France contrary to law, and seemed to incline they should be all sent back; which is unfavourable for the Earl's desire; but, if his particular circumstances and straits should prevail, it was thought by some, the allowance should not be granted, unless he qualified himself by the allegiance and assurance: The Advocate said, he doubted he would; but, if he should, things are so turned of late, that he could not judge it a security; for, since May last, they have qualified themselves, which, if evened to it a year before, would have said as much as, am I a dog? So that, though allegiance and assurance, when refused, were indeed discoveries, but, when taken, were no security; and therefore he thought caution and confinement necessary; but I thought it was more inclined, that, at this time, he might have patience. And I indeed would gladly have the

the parliament first well over. We have enough of ill-talkers, and ill-talk was at no time more hurtful. On Tuesday last, the Lord Mersington dined well with a friend in the Merse, and went well to bed; but was found dead before four in the morning, his lady in bed with him, who knew nothing of his dying. A warning stroke! He was a good honest man, and is much regretted: But the next care is a good successor, which I earnestly obtest may be an honest able man, as being the great concern of the nation. Mr Man and Mr Thomson did both separately name to Hume Sir Gilbert Elliot; and it was Hume's own thought, and he obtested them, for God's sake, to bide by it; for the man is true, honest, also just and bold, and hath given good proof. I believe the President of the session may be for another, and likewise a very honest man; but, I believe, the first will have more to recommend him. My dear friend, you know 32's case with his daughter; the thing in the world most afflicted him. If it were possible, on this occasion, to get the young man into the council-clerkship, it would be a singular relief; for he do not see his daughter miserable; and you know the young man, and I could answer for him. Pray mind this, as you would do 32 the most endearing kindness. I'll say no more, till I see Mr Hay. Adieu.

The good Countess of Rothes died Tuesday last, much regretted by all, and very deservedly. The Treasurer-depute is at Lesly.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

Not adviseable to settle the Successor to Mersington soon; because the Session not compos'd as it ought to be.

S I R,

Your letter of the fifth from Loo came safe to my hands; it relates entirely to my Lord Balcarras. The King has done me a great deal of honour in desiring my opinion in that matter. I thought

4 K

myself

32, Advocate.

Holyrood-
house, Aug.
23. 1700.

myself obliged to be cautious in my advice ; and therefore, I spoke to such of the King's servants as are now in town about it. I found them divided in their opinion ; but it was at last thought fit to delay giving their thoughts finally till my Lord Seafield's arrival, who is expected in a few days. I know my Lord Balcarras's circumstances to be very bad, which engaged me formerly to be an intercessor for him ; they do every day plead more and more for favour ; yet I hope that the delay of two or three months, till our parliament be over, will not be of very great prejudice to him ; but, as soon as my Lord Seafield comes, that affair shall be fully advised, and you informed of the sentiments of people about it. I am just going to my brother's house (which is but 15 miles from hence) for two days. I leave my Lord Argyle and Major General Ramsay in town, though there is not the least prospect of trouble in it : So, upon account of this hurry, pray excuse the shortness of my letter, and expect the trouble of a longer one soon after my return to this place. I am, with great kindness, your's, &c.

Two nights ago my Lord Merfington died suddenly ; there will be many pretenders to his place in the session ; but it is noways adviseable to dispose of it suddenly ; that bench is not composed as it ought to be ; and, therefore, we must be wary in our choice : So time is requisite for a just recommendation to a place of that importance, both to the King and country.

J. STEWART to Mr CARSTARES.

The Opposition divided into Jacobites, Malcontents, and Williamites ; and how each will act in Parliament.

Worthy SIR,

Edinburgh,
Aug. 24.
1700.

I am every day more persuaded that the major part of the parliament will vote the King a subsidy for his army. I shall not here trouble you with the particular reasonings and discourses I hear upon the sub-

subject, but give you, in general, the reason of my opinion. It is notorious that there are three different sets of people in that faction, (called the Country Party), which oppose themselves to the court. There are in it rank Jacobites; there are malcontents that are not Jacobites; and there is a third, (that are neither Jacobites nor malcontents,) which I call Williamites; and these are those presbyterians, and other honest country-men, in the African interest, that have nothing before their eyes, but promoting trade, and the good and welfare of their country. These three parties, (though they unanimously agree in opposing themselves to the court,) yet they had, and still have, different designs. The Jacobites business is, chiefly, to break the army; and more now, since the death of the Duke of Gloucester, than before, that, when the King dies, (and neither the Princess Ann nor he having any children), they may the easier embroil the nation, and do their own business. The malcontents that are not Jacobites will not venture so far; their business is, to retard and hinder the King's affairs in parliament, to difficult his servants to make themselves necessary to the King, and force him to change his ministers to make way for themselves. The Williamites I speak of make the third class; and, I think, they must be more numerous than both the other two: Their aim solely is, the peace and security of the government, and the good of the country, by an industrious pursuit of honourable and profitable trade. If the case be really thus, now a propos: The King demands a subsidy for his army, the Jacobites and malcontents oppose it; the first, in good earnest, the latter, only to show the King, that they are men capable to promote or retard his service, as he does consider them. Now, if the King stand his ground, and stick close by his servants, these must give way; for they will presently see themselves left by the Williamites I speak of. And, you know, when this parliament sat down, the King's friends would not have been much out-voted: So that, a little addition would have cast the balance on the King's side. I reckon, now, the whole dispute will be about the number of the army; (for, I am confident to assure you, that the wise and honest men think no more

of Caledonia); and it is not impossible but that they may be prevailed upon to keep all for a year: But nobody can be certain of this. The ordinary way of reasoning (since the death of the Duke of Gloucester), is much different from what it was: They begin to ask, when the King comes? To cry, where is our security without an army? They'll tell you, that they do not know what this treaty, for dividing the Spanish monarchy, may produce, nor what measures the English may take, either with respect to that treaty, or in relation to their own succession: That it is not safe to disarm the government, (when it depends but on the breath of two or three princes), to set all the world in war; and that, perhaps, not far from their own doors. I reckon, still, the Williamites the major part, (and they were lately angry with the King, and yet it is over), and this is their way of speaking and reasoning of late. Now, I know but one thing that will much difficult the King's servants in parliament, and it is this: How will ye pay the arrears of the army? there is L. 40,000 sterling owing. The parliament did grant a fund for the whole; they will grudge exceedingly to make up this deficiency. I am,

Dear S I R,

Your faithful and affectionate servant,

J. S.

My Lord Mersington died Tuesday morning; my Lord Seafield came in yesternight, and has been all this day at Leith.

EARL OF SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Some of his Majesty's Servants do little or nothing.—10 or 12 more would enable them to carry all.—Argyle and Annandale will be very angry if he send not down Andrew Morton a Patent for a Knight Baronet—Whitelaw gained.—Archbishop of Glasgow.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
August 30.
1700.

I know you will excuse me for not writing to you so often as I used to do when I was at London; for I have been very busy since I came

came to this place. I have met frequently with my Lord Commissioner, and with his Majesty's other servants; and we are preparing a letter to the parliament, and instructions; and we are resolved to speak, particularly, to every man that we can have the least hopes to gain. I find, the ministers in the west, and in this town, are now convinced, that, if affairs do not succeed in parliament, that all will go to ruin. We will have all the rest of the Jacobite Lords into the parliament, and they are as diligent as is possible. In the mean time, some of his Majesty's servants do little or nothing, and others seem to despair. I am certain, would his Majesty come here, all would be well; for that would unite his servants, and divide and terrify the opposers. And, as it is, could we prevail with 10 or 12 more than those we are sure of, we could carry all: But what connects and unites the opposing party is that resolve concerning Caledonia; and the argument they use is, that, if the right of Caledonia be not declared, the directors themselves are not safe from being prosecuted; for they have got information that the King of Spain will apply to the King, that it may be so; and they have got letters which gives an account, that Pincarton and his crew were condemned as pyrates, upon the proclamations in Jamaica. I heartily wish that we could fall upon some expedient, that might both please his Majesty, and satisfy honest men. His Majesty shall have our thoughts of it by my next letters. I must also entreat that you may lay before the King, that it does us a great deal of hurt here, that it is generally believed that the company's ship, called the St Andrew, is detained by Sir William Beefton; and, therefore, I hope his Majesty will give speedy orders concerning this, for I can say nothing to justify it. I expect that you will send me such an answer as I may show to any of the company. I entreat that you may mind those papers that are to be laid before the King; for the Earl of Argyle will turn very angry, and so will my Lord Annandale, if Andrew Morton's patent, as a Knight Baronet, come not down. I shall add no more this night, since I write again on Monday's night, but, that I am, Sir, your M. H. S.

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Whitelaw and I meet very often ; he promises to serve the King, and to be a faithful friend to myself. He says, we could have no difficulty, could an expedient be found as to the point of Caledonia. I am again acquainted by severals, that the Archbishop of Glasgow intends to complain to the parliament of his confinement; I therefore wish, that, by a letter, it may be left to the privy-council to do therein as they shall think fit. As I wrote formerly, his confinement was at his own desire ; for he was at that time under a sentence of banishment. I must entreat, that you will not engage yourself to any for the Lord of the Session's place until the parliament be over; for I doubt not but you have heard that my Lord Merfington is dead, and I hope some will act in expectations of it.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

Lord Balcarras should be permitted to return, as an Instance of the folly of Jacobitism, and a warning to others.—Has had Lord and Lady Marshal dining with him.—Keeps up a Correspondence with Paterfon.—He will be very Cautious in laying out the Money with which he is to be entrusted by the King.

S I R,

Holyrood-
house, Aug.
31. 1700.

Since my last, I have received three letters from you, dated the 13th, 16th, and 20th. I have now fully discoursed the King's servants about my L. Balcarras; they express all of them a compassion towards him, and a trouble for the sufferings of his family; but are of opinion, that the favour which his Majesty intends him should be delayed till after the parliament: For my own part, I see no danger or inconveniency in letting him come over immediately; he is an instance of the folly of Jacobitism; and, when he comes, that party may see in him the fate of their own extravagancies; wherefore, I am so far from opposing the King's intended goodness to that Lord, that I wish his Majesty would allow it him in such a
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frank way as that he may be obliged by it. I have had my Lord and Lady Marshall to dine with me, since I had the King's allowance to promise him a pension. I took occasion to speak to both of them separately, but found them yet a little sticking in the asserting the right of Caledonia; for which reason, I was not so free with them as I intended to be in a few days, after I have prepared them better by the help of some of their advisers. As to any other commissions that shall come, I do assure you, that none shall be given out till after the session of parliament, if the good of his Majesty's subjects do not absolutely require it, and that I be very well assured of the sufficiency of the persons for his Majesty's interest to whom they shall be given. The death of the D. of Gloucester has mightily puffed up the Jacobite party here; so that from thence I do still expect a greater opposition in business than ever. I wish that his Majesty's affairs could allow him to come hither; however, we have people at work to countermine that party. The African company have appointed a committee of seven of their number to confer with Mr Paterfon, and to concert, and digest in writing, such things as they shall agree upon as proper to be demanded in parliament. Mr Paterfon is, in his judgement, against moving any thing in this session about Caledonia; and tells me, that he thinks he has gained some considerable men to his opinion. The poor man acts with great diligence and affection to the King and country; and he has no bye-end, and loves this government both in church and state. He knows nothing yet of my having obtained any thing for him; and I am a little embarrassed how to give him what I am allowed for him, lest his party in that company should conceive any unjust jealousy of him, or he himself think that I intend as a bribe that which is really an act of charity. I was out of town at my brother's house, when my L. Seafeld came to this place; but I returned on Monday before dinner. We have had several meetings since with the rest of his Majesty's servants: We have come to some resolutions; but people are still so slow and timorous, and so changeable in their opinions, that it is very hard to

to get them to fix a point: However, I do hope, that, in a post or two, I shall be able to give you some account of the measures which we are now concerting. As to what you write about the money that may be necessary for the King and country's service, I shall let you know my opinion in my next; and, in the mean time, you may assure the King, that, since he is pleased to allow me that trust of money, I shall be as little lavish of it as I can, and shall never bestow it where it shall not be of use, and shall take all the care that I can, that neither his service nor money be thrown away. His Majesty's gracious acceptance of my poor endeavours here must needs encourage me in the prosecution of my duty. I shall do all that's in my power to make returns suitable to his goodness. I have daily more and more a sense of the obligations which I owe you, and shall ever continue your's, &c.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Meeting at the Duke of Athole's.—The Projects of the Ministry.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 3.
1700.

I wrote this letter to you from Leith, tho' it be dated from Edinburgh. I have been so crowded with company, that you can only expect an imperfect account from me. The Commissioner will send you the draught of a letter, which, if his Majesty pleases to sign, we think will be acceptable to all honest men in the parliament; and you have also our thoughts of what instructions are necessary. It is evident, that we have no way of prevailing, but by letting honest men see the state of our affairs; and that we must necessarily fall into confusion, if we don't agree next session of parliament; and I do find a great many convinced of this; but they being so closely engaged by former addresses, there is great difficulty in prevailing with them to come and assist us; but some of them that

that opposed us are willing to stay away. They are to have a great meeting at Dunkeld at the Marquis of Athol's house, when Lord John Hay is to be married with the heiress of Lovat. We that are concerned in the government are resolved to go to the country, that we may have the opportunity of speaking with the parliament-men; and I am sure I shall not fail to act my part with all the care and diligence that is possible; and I shall acquaint you if I have any success. I shall be upon a call, if the King have any service for me at London; but, what we all wish is, to see him here; for his own presence would certainly give him success in his affairs; and, without it, we will no doubt have great difficulty; though I must own I have very good hopes, if every one would act their own part fairly. My Lord Carmichael and I have reason to be dissatisfied with what the Chancellor has done as to that commission was granted to Hugh Cunningham and Duncan Ronald. The least insinuation to my Lord or me would have stopt it. I did never yet see it; but, as the thing was represented to me, I did give my consent; and my Lord and I design nothing by it but the King's service. The Commissioner and the treasury has as much reason to be dissatisfied with the Chancellor as we. What I have writt to Mr Pringle, concerning my L. Balcarras and Coats, he will acquaint you with it; which is all I have time, in such a hurry, to add, but that I am, Sir, your M. H. S.

J. STEWART to Mr CARSTARES.

The Officers of State are to set out upon their Missions to convert Members of Parliament.—Wagers that the Parliament will keep up the Army.—A new Project on foot for Trade.

Worthy S I R,

My L. Seafield this day took his journey to the north. This ten or twelve days that he has been here, the officers of state been have for

Edinburgh,
Sept. 3.
1700.

the most together, and (they say) have divided the members of parliament of the other party among them: Each has a class of them assigned him, and are to part next week to the country upon their mission to convert them. If there be any thing of this, my L. Seaford, I suppose, has wrote you. I have been several times to wait of him; but could get no time, for a croud of company, to speak to him. It is possible ye have accounts of the humours and inclinations of the people much different from mine. I know they brag still, that they are a score of votes supernumerary for Caledonia, which they can never part with, that being the cement that unites them together; for, if they quit that handle, they will break loose from one another. I know that they presume much. The ministry is lazy, and stirs little in the cause, (but no body can be free from their calumnies), and that they themselves are active, and at pains, both with the members of parliament and the nation, in carrying on the address; so that there is, in some parts, never a ploughman but that they have got to sign it by himself, or a notar for him. I know, that, since the last adjournment, there has been circular letters sent thro' the members of parliament of their party to keep them fixed. I know they presume too, (and it may be true), that two thirds of the nation are either Jacobites, or perverted, by these measures, in an ill opinion of the government. Yet ye know, that three parts of the members of parliament, (I mean of the burrows and burgessees), are honest men, and presbyterians; and that, although they were angry enough about Caledonia, yet these (besides what we may count upon amongst the nobility), will never consent to a change in this government, or (when the case is plainly stated) consent to what may first bring it into contempt, and then to ruin. I have a wadger with you, and it is a bold one; it is this, let others be as much affraid as they will: Now, I say, the African colony is defeat; the King's letter published, (which, when the parliament sits down, must be renewed and enlarged, even as to descend to particular instructions); the D. of Gloucester is dead; the succession of
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England undetermined; Scotland unanimously resolved to ly bye, and not declare; the hearts of all good countrymen bent upon an union with England: All this considered, my wager is, If the major part of this parliament be not for keeping up the greatest part of this army (I think I might say all) for one year, if I had fifty lievs to lose, I'll forfeit them all for a shilling of your money. They have projectors now at work making plans and scheming trade: I have seen the construction of some. The design is a national trade; so that by it all Scotland will become one entire company of merchants. It proposes a fund of credit, by which, in two years time, to raise above three hundred thousand pound Sterling. With this stock they are,

1st, To trade to both the Indies, and settle colonies in the terms of the act establishing their company.

2^{do}, To raise manufactories throughout all the kingdom.

3^{tio}, To pursue their fishing to greater profit in all the markets of Europe than any other fishing company in Christendom can do.

4^{to}, To employ all the poor in the nation; so that, in two years time, there shall not be one beggar seen in all the kingdom, and that without any act of slavery.

5^{to}, To pay back to any of the subscribers to the African stock his money, if demanded; so that no body can complain of any loss that way.

The form and act of parliament they are to demand for doing this mighty work is too long to write; but, if I thought ye had either curiosity or time to read them, I should not spare my pains. Adieu.

EARL of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

A pleasant Description of the Methods used to carry their Point in Parliament by both Sides.—Commissary Elphinston the fittest Man for a Lord of Session.

SIR,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 5.
1700.

I had your's with an account of your success in that affair recommended so earnestly to you. I am now master of the paper; it comprehends all it should do, and no more. If it were possible to tie me more than I was already, this one act of his Majesty's would. These ten days past, those that are forward, of which but few have been very busy, every one of us has taken our tasks. V. Seafield is gone north, I go to-morrow west, and the Commissioner stays in town; and we have sent several emissaries among the burrows in Fife and Angus, and thereabouts. Few of the barons can be brought to reason, though I must say, the method now taken has so good an aspect, that I'm in good hopes. None is more forward than Lord Arbrucehill; nay, he is brisk and stout beyond his natural temper. Lord Ruthven begins to have his eyes opened, and some others; but I will not give you too good hopes, till I see a little farther. Some has ministers set upon them, some their wives: Some shall have drawing plaisters that are sick at heart; so that I am hopeful the fever will over one way or another. You cannot imagine how foolishly they manage their new address; scarce any but a Jacobite has the handing them about; they cause all sort of stuff and rabble sign, or some body sign for them; and all get titles, if it were a taylor, a cottar, nay, the meanest creature, school-boys, what not. I gave the Commissioner a particular account of fundries of this sort in writt, which I presume he'll transmit to you. We are all now positive that the King's presence would blow all clouds away. You know there is a vacancy now in the session; I shall not say its proper to fill it now; but Commissary Elphinston is the fittest man that

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we can be sure of. I know others are recommended by some, who I can demonstrate their carriage at this time proves they are betraying the King. Time will convince it more to every body's conviction; and I hope to see the time when his Majesty may treat them as they deserve, which is, as the worst sort of enemies. When any thing occurs worth the acquainting you, I shall write. I am your's. Adieu.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

Earl Marshal's Pension.—Lord Balcarras.—Nevil Payne.—Money necessary for secret Services; how he will dispose of it.—His own Opinion of the Measures necessary for managing the next Session of Parliament to the King's Mind.—Balcarras must undertake for Lord Kelly.—The Money lodged in the Bank to be disposed of by himself;—he has not communicated any thing concerning it, even to Seafeld.—Has referred the King to Mr Carstares for particulars.

S I R,

I received your letter of the 22d of last month, with E. Marshall's pension, and a warrant for two hundred pounds. My Lord Marshall keeps still upon fair generals, and seems to stick upon the head of Caledonia; which has made me keep at a greater distance from him than I intended to have done. He is now going into the country, where some of his friends intend to ply him; for it is needless to attempt it here, where he is constantly kept warm by such persons as are posted about him by Lord H. and others of that party. However, if he answer not expectation, what is intended for him shall not be given him. By my last letter to you, I gave it as my opinion, that I could see no danger to the King's affairs, by his Majesty's allowing my Lord Balcarras to come home; for he can never be so ill a man as to make use of such a favour to the prejudice of

Holyrood-
house, Sep.
9. 1700.

of his Majesty's affairs, when he has already paid so dearly for his tampering, and is now laid under such an obligation. There is, besides his case, which is a meer act of his Majesty's goodness, another, wherein we are likely to be puzzled in parliament; I mean that of Nevil Payne: He has been tortured, and very long imprisoned; and he inclined to apply to the privy-council for his liberation, which I have kept off, till I should know his Majesty's pleasure about him. He had a recommendation of parliament formerly to the King, and I am afraid that it is not in our power to keep him legally. He will certainly apply to the next session of parliament, and will undoubtedly be set at liberty then; and, probably, with some reflection upon his long imprisonment. I am therefore persuaded, that it is his Majesty's interest, either to send me a warrant for discharging him out of prison, or, that he should refer that matter to his privy-council, who will be sure to let him out: So the frankest way would be, for the King to do it himself; for it will be impossible to keep him in till the parliament be over. I know him to be an empty, vain, talking, lyeing fellow; and is not much worth the while of any government's concern. The vacancy in the session, of which I wrote to you formerly, must by no means be filled up till after the parliament. There are a great many pretenders, and whoever gets it not will be disobliged; and we must have time to see who deserves it best, and are fittest for it. As to the money which seems necessary for the good of the King and the country's service, after reflection, I am of opinion, that none ought to be remitted here; but that a thousand pound should be lodged, as soon as can be, in the bank of England, and their notes taken for it. There is no use for any known name in them, for they are payable to the bearer: So that, a fictitious, or any servant's name, is sufficient. Let these notes be sent to me hither. I have already laid out L. 500; and, I believe, in a short time, I shall have occasion to dispose of the rest. I do hope, that his Majesty's business may be done without putting him to any considerable expence; yet more money than what I now propose may possibly be necessary; but I shall be answerable that it shall not
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be squandered; and I shall be well assured of satisfactory returns, and doing things effectually before I part with any greater sum of his Majesty's cash, I would send you a particular account of the disposal of this; but I do not think it fit, that the matter of secret service be the subject of a letter that may fall into wrong hands; wherefore, I forbear to do it till we meet, either here or at London. The directors of our East-India company have accounts from Jamaica, that the governor of that place had declared, that, though our ship, the St Andrew, were cleared of all the debts that are owing upon her account, yet he could not let her go without orders from England. This, whether true or false, does exasperate the people mightily. There are also in town some letters, which private persons pretend to have received from the same place, which bear, that the governor of Jamaica had sent to that of Carthagena, to congratulate with him upon the desertion of Caledonia, and to assure him, that, in case his own force had not been able to oblige the Scots to leave the place, that the King of England would have forced them to it. Though this, I believe, is false; yet people here are generally inclinable to believe the worst; and by such kind of intelligence, whether real or contrived, their cross humors are mightily fomented, and the King's servants find daily new difficulties to struggle with. If there is no grounds for these reports, proper measures must be fallen upon to disabuse the people here. If there is, it were fit that some kind of evidence were given, that his Majesty is displeased with these proceedings; for, whatever the King's inclinations were, it was certainly imprudent in the governor to have made either of these declarations. I did formerly let you know, that I judged it for his Majesty's service, that I should have the honour of waiting upon him before the meeting of our parliament. I had nothing in view by that proposal, but to act in concert with those of the King's servants whom he trusts most in his business; and to say to him, in conjunction with them, such things as I believed of importance to his service, and not so proper to be written. Besides, in that way, I could make my thoughts more fully understood, than is possible for me at

a distance. But I do now apprehend, that his Majesty's stay in Holland cannot admit of such an overture; wherefore, I will take the liberty, by your hands, to lay before him some things, which I intended only to have spoken to himself of. My Lord Seafield is gone, on his progress to the north. Since his arrival here, I have had all the King's servants that were near this place frequently together; they have framed some additional instructions, and the draught of such a letter as they judge proper to be sent by his Majesty to the parliament at their next meeting. I do not know whether my Lord Seafield may have already sent you copies of them or not; but they require to be yet a little considered, and shall be dispatched in a few days: So that no resolutions can be taken on any copies that may be already sent. As I have formerly told you, I still find, more and more, that few solid or firm resolutions are taken when the King's servants are called and advised with upon any exigency: Some are often absent, upon very small pretences, when they think any thing of consequence is to be concluded; others, though present, are not to be engaged to plain dealing, dreading the consequences of a positive opinion; and, generally, they show little concern about the issue of affairs. This seems to make it necessary for me to take the more upon myself; and, after advising with them, and hearing their reasonings, I may take resolutions, both as to the matter and manner of managing; for I do see, that they will much more easily agree to prosecute measures resolved upon, than come to any resolution by themselves. I am sensible, if I act thus, I shall put such a load upon myself, that nothing but the King's service could persuade me to think of; for, if matters do not succeed, these very gentlemen may say, that they did not advise them: Yet, it is certain that they will never come to fixed resolutions in any thing: So there may be success the one way; in the other, there cannot; and I am afraid that the King's affairs have already suffered by depending too much on joint measures. My sense of this was one of the chief reasons that moved me to desire to see the King, that I might satisfy him in this point; for, if he do not think it fit for his
ser-

service, and that he will support me in that way of acting for him; whatever the success may be, I am sure that I can have no reason to engage me to undertake so great a burden. Since my Lord Seafield came hither, we had the rolls of parliament under consideration; and every one of us have undertaken to deal with these we can best hope to prevail upon; and have each taken out lists of our particular friends, that our diligence and success may be reported and known. It is incredible how the party is linked together; when we do unanimously show them it is the interest of the country to follow our measures, many of them owns to be convinced, but still says, that they cannot leave their party, and, unless all be brought over together, they cannot desert them. The Jacobites appear much more bold and firm since the death of the Duke of Gloucester, which, in reason, should open other people's eyes, who owe their all to this government. There are some particular persons, that, in private conversation, give us ground to think that they are sensible of their error; but truly, we cannot depend much upon what particular persons say to us of their private sentiments; for, being once entered into a club, that, as we are informed, are tied, either by oath, or word of honour, they do not follow their own, but the sentiments of their party; and we have been often disappointed by trusting private suggestions. The handle that did at first unite them, and procure them the favour of the nation, was the business of Caledonia; and, though it is now but a shadow, yet they do still insist to assert the right of it as much as if it were a real thing, knowing very well, that, if the party shall break upon that head, they will hardly be able, upon any other ground, to stand before us; for, though there are many other things pointed at in their addresses, which would divest the King of his most valuable prerogatives; yet, by the concessions which his Majesty has empowered me to grant, I doubt not of a good issue, if the knot about the company were broke: So that, in my opinion, our good or ill fortune depends entirely on our success in endeavouring that point. I have reflected much upon the methods of bringing this about; which is another

business which I intended to have digested with the King, and had his own directions about it, if I had had the honour to wait upon him ; for I have some thoughts, as to the management, which I have not expressed to any body but now to you, that you may lay them before the King. If reason could prevail, we needed not doubt of gaining our point ; but, there is such a prepossession, and so many engagements to a party who have got a reputation in the country, that few will suffer themselves to bear or consider our argument at first, in direct opposition to their engagements ; nor can they be made to reflect on the miseries which they are likely to bring on their country. Therefore, it were of great moment, if we could divide them in the method, you may remember, that, when we sat last in parliament, it was once agreed, that all acts about religion should be first treated of, and a committee was appointed to prepare them ; yet, before any report was made in these matters, the resolve was brought in, and offered to pass, even preferably to religion itself. It is reasonable to think, that they will follow the same method again ; for they do judge, that, if we should fall upon other matters, wherein we might agree, that, in case the humours of their party might be softened, and many of their deluded good men might be inclined to rest satisfied with the real advantages which they would then see to have been sincerely intended for them ; and, for those reasons of theirs, I do believe, (if we do see that we cannot otherways break the party), that it is for the interest of the King's service, that these instructed by him should endeavour to delay any thing that may occasion heats and divisions, and immediately fall upon such matters as are of solid advantage to the country, and wherein all good men must agree. If they do absolutely refuse this, and carry it by a vote, it is a bad indication of the temper and influence of the opposers, and a demonstration that they will not part from the thing itself. But, however, they will make it visible to the world, that they are the obstructers of the nation's interest. If they divide upon it, which is not improbable, we may reasonably hope for greater breaches among them ; and, if they agree, I doubt

doubt not of the effect by it which the party was apprehensive of; for, if other business be first done, it is reasonable to expect that our humours will cool, and that members, who would not at first hear of letting the point of right fall, will be more tractable in the end, when other good things are done. The King's letter, already published, makes his Majesty's good intentions known, and that he demands nothing of us but for our own security. But, in the order of time, it must be considered, neither supplies, or the other good laws, should be first moved; and, as things are, I am afraid that, if money be first pressed, it may miscarry; for Caledonia will undoubtedly be brought in, which by all means is to be avoided; besides, the disbanding the forces, and relieving the nation of cess, is the point most popular, and wherein they are most united, next to Caledonia: So, till other things be done, I am afraid of our success in that; and it is observable, in Scottish parliaments, that they seldom fall out after they have once entered upon business, which encourages me to think, that a frankness in this matter, giving a little at first, without pressingly asking, is the best way to bring those men, who have nothing but the good of the country in view, to a just compliance with their duty. It is hard, indeed, that such concessions should be granted, and no assurance of a supply, to testify our gratitude, by a dutiful return. And it may very well be argued, that it were better no business should be done, than that the King should give all, but what is a mere pretence and shadow, and get nothing at last. But, it is to be considered, that this is the worst side of all our affairs, and yet there is a probability of doing business by it. It is reasonable to foresee all that can happen, to prevent the worst; and even, in case that after concessions were granted, that no supply should be given in return; yet the King will still, in some measure, be a gainer by it; for, the parliament having sat and done other business, there will remain no pretence for a party against him on account of the claim of right. The King has still his excuse for his guards and garrisons, and needs be under no obligation to call a parliament for a year or two, that people may

grow better disposed; whereas, if the parliament should break up, and nothing done, the government, which is already in a very languishing condition, would be as good as no government at all, and in danger to fall asunder; for some of the privy-council are already gained, and others very cold: So the boldness and insolence of opposers would be intolerable, and the arguments they would have on the article of the claim of right, joined with weakness and fear, might gain a greater part of us. They will want these arguments, and the minds of people may be calmed, if business be done. However, all diligence shall be used, from the first to the last, to satisfy members of the sincerity of the King's intentions towards the nation, of the advantages it may have by a dutiful acceptance of the good which is designed for them; and that it will be highly the interest of the kingdom, not to give ear to such as aim at nothing but confusion. If we can succeed by this, or any other way, we shall not be put to our last shift, which I have already so much insisted on. But I do think myself bound to lay things before the King in their worst aspect, that he may be the better able to give me his directions. Pray communicate what I write to you to his Majesty, and let me know if I have expressed myself in such terms as to be perfectly understood, and whether my advices may be acceptable. I can only say, that the source of them is from a profound respect to his person, and a sincere love to his interest. I have now, I am sure, troubled you with a tedious letter; but I am so full of concern for the King's service, now that the time of our meeting begins to approach, that I am glad to load other friends, such as yourself, with some part of the burden of my thoughts; and it is no small ease to have such as you, whom I can with safety trust, to open my mind to; and I expect that you will always let me freely know wherein you think me wrong, and give me your advice to direct me better. I am sincerely your's, &c.

The matter of money I have not spoken off, even to my Lord Seafield; so, you may easily judge, to no body else; for it is what must be kept between you and I. Let my Lord Balcarras, before
he

he comes over, be engaged to use his interest with his son-in-law, my Lord Kelly, to appear for the King's interest at this time; for, though he would have gone along at our last meeting, yet he has been so tampered with since, that, I am lately informed, he cannot be well depended upon. There are also two representatives of boroughs in Fife that depend entirely upon him. He should also be obliged to use his interest with them for the King's service, from whom he is receiving such a favourable acquittance for former faults. The inclosed, to the King, is very short, because I referred him for all business to what I have said to you: So take your own way to have it delivered as soon as with conveniency you can. I have also writt a short letter to Mr Pringle, but mentioned nothing of what is contained in your's.

J. STEWART to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Paterfon's Scheme of Trade,—too Metaphysical;—but the effort of a great Genius.—The Contents of a Letter just come down from London.

Worthy S I R,

I know not what Thom. Deans's opinion is of the project I have writt. (I would have gladly been acquainted with him, but found him high, and so gave over); but I find Mr Francis Grant has as little hope that it will take as I have. Mr Paterfon is very tenacious and stiff, (and indeed he has a good genius); with much ado I have broke him as to his opinion of demanding the tenth boll: I find him extremely straitened how to do without it; (for that branch of trading in grain and corn is indeed a mighty project); and that which he says he must demand in place of it, I am afraid will never be granted; so there is little hope of the whole. It is eight months cefs for twenty years, which he pretends to prove to the parliament is no more burden to the country than what they must bear.

Edinburgh,
Sept. 14.
1700.

bear. However, (if this project do not go on), even suppose they paid no cefs at all, for this reason, he will prove, that the maintenance of the poor cost this nation yearly four months cefs, (which being a dead weight), not only loses itself in specie, but its value, for want of improvement, which is the double: So this project, entertaining and employing all the poor, does exactly balance the eight months cefs. These notions are very metaphysical and thin; and, though I am fool enough to be persuaded that they are not only true, but practicable; yet I am affraid he will find it no easy matter to persuade the parliament to give eight months cefs for twenty years; and, at the same time, persuade them they pay no more than if they gave no cefs at all. Then, as to his council of trade, I know not how it is safe for the King to constitute such an office and jurisdiction. Its true, twelve angels might be well enough trusted with powers and privileges that are absolutely necessary for them to have, but they are too much for men; for, while they act in concert with the African Company, and its impossible they can have different interests, they are too powerful even for the King. They are in a manner a committee of parliament, constantly sitting, and will be able to determine any parliament ever shall be: They have all the power, strength, and treasure of the kingdom in their hand: In short, nothing but time and experience can tell us what the consequences of such a constitution may be; so that I have no manner of hope that this project will take; but I think still that its fit to encourage the projector, who indeed has a prodigious genius, and a vast extended thought, to go on,—*valeat quantum valere potest*. It is possible the wisdom of the parliament may call out some things may be of use to the country, and a means to accommodate matters betwixt the King and his people.

We have just now got down a new letter from London; it is from an unknown hand I have not yet seen: (When I shall), I shall transmit you a double of it. My friend, an ingenious and learned man, has seen and read it, and gives me an account that it assures,

Imo,

1mo, That my Lord S. [Seafield] (so he says it is writ) is come down with money and bill to be distribute among ye know whom; and that he is to return to London before the parliament sit down, to give account of his negotiation.

2do, That the parliament of England will canvass every article of the treaty for dividing the Spanish monarchy, and oblige the King to carve and cut out that monarchy otherwise than he has done.

3tio, That the parliament of England, before they rise, will settle and determine their own succession, and that in concert with Scotland, if any terms can please us: And, therefore, exhorting the honest party (so the letter calls them) to stick together, and stand their ground against the bribery and solicitation of the court, as they wish an everlasting name to themselves, and the honour and welfare of their country for ever.

All this does not one bit discourage me; if God be not against us, ye will see we will do our business in spite of men.

EARL OF ARGYLE TO Mr CARSTARES.

Has met with all the Clans.—They will sign no Paper till they see his Name at it.—They will not be seduced by D. Hamilton, who deserted them.—Of a Counter-address.—A Letter from M^cNeil of Barra, offering his Service.

S I R,

I am now in the Highlands, where most of the clans have met me, besides my own people; they all say unanimously, that they will put their hand to no paper where they see not mine first; and even those who were in the hills, against the government, say, since they have sworn alledgiance, their dependence shall be on the court; they consider it their interest as well as duty; and, if they could be seduced, it should not be by D. Hamilton, who received King James's commission upon his knees to command them, and yet left them

Inverary,
Sept. 15:
1700,

them to do for themselves. The Stewart of Appin used this expression before others, adding, says he, I know the two gentlemen who delivered it him. I did often, at Edinburgh, propose to his Majesty's ministers there, that we might embark into an address of another kind, to counter the mutineers; but our wise wary men, the Advocate, &c. was against it; because, they concluded, we could not come up to the other's number, though I offered to begin. I told him, whilst we were still upon the defensive, they attacking, we must needs be at a loss. I was for acting offensively; but could not prevail. When I go from hence, I am to visit two or three, who I hope to make profelytes. I do not propose to be at Edinburgh before the 6th of October, which will be time enough before our parliament. I find a general satisfaction at the Frazers getting their pardon; it will please the generality, I am sure. I received a letter yesterday from M'Neill of Barra, who lives very far off, sent by a gentleman, in all formality offering his service, which had made you laugh to see his entry: His stile of his letter runs as if he were of another kingdom. I have nothing to entertain you with but Highland news from this place; so shall bid you adieu.

There are two gentlemen has promised me tarmagans against next year for E. Portland;—they used to tame them.

EARL OF PORTLAND TO MR CARSTARES.

Is about to set sail, and hopes Mr Carstares will soon follow.—

Anxious that Seafield's Account of People's Opinion of the Treaty may be just.

Sorgehet,
Sept. 15,
1700.

I have received your agreeable letter of the 2d, for which I am obliged to you. The manner of writing is the shortest and the easiest; I desire the continuance till we meet again. My yaught is come, and I hope to go with the first wind after the full moon; but hope you will follow very soon; and that the humours in Scotland may

may lay most of their heat before their next session of parliament; as also, that my L. Seafield may not mistake in the judgement he gives of peoples opinion concerning the treaty about the Spanish succession. You cannot expect great news from this solitary place; but you may be sure that I shall always be intirely your's.

MARQUIS of ANNANDALE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of his present Lodgings in the Abbey.——He will not make one of D. Hamilton's Retinue when he makes his Entry upon Monday, which will be very splendid.——In good Terms with the Secretary.

S I R,

I should not have been so long silent after the receipt of your last, but that my daughter's marriage, the council-week, and being with the Secretaries, has indeed taken up my time intirely. I am fully sensible, and I give you thanks for it, that you did your best endeavours for making me easy in my lodgings. What his Majesty's pleasure is towards me upon any occasion shall always be received as becomes; if he may not dispose of his own house, I may bear the want of it; but I am now lodged in ground-rooms, which are both most unwholsome and most inconvenient, and my children lying in garrets; and these rooms which properly belong to my lodgings are empty, and without a rag of furniture; only it seems to satisfy some peoples humour. But I can bear any inconveniency rather as my master should be uneasy upon my account. I need not tell you, that the house is now possessed by those who brave and hector the government; more of this will be soon heard of; and it seems hard enough, that those who serve the King cannot be easy in his house, when they that are turned out of his service enjoy the best part of it. Give me leave to say, and I shall say no more, it is not upon my own account, it is for the King's interest and service, my concern. D. Hamilton and Dutches came in on

Holyrood-
house, Sept.
16. 1700.

Monday: Mighty pains have been taken to make his entry great and splendid: I shall not make one of the retinue. You'll afterwards hear more of this. My L. Seafield parts upon Tuesday; he will give you my mind and opinion of things; for I do freely communicate both with him and his colleague. I am, I do assure you, most sincerely and most faithfully your's.

You'll allow me to give you our young couple's humble service. We got our business over; but with much want of room, and difficulty. You'll let me hear from you when you come to London. I wish you well there.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of his Diligence with particular Members of the ensuing Session of Parliament, and his Success hitherto.

S I R,

Cullen-
house, Sept.
17. 1700,

I have been now eight days in this country, and I bless God I was never better received. I have had the good fortune to put a stop to the signing of the address in this shire; and I am hopeful that very few will be prevailed upon to sign it in the shire of Aberdeen. I have great hopes that the parliament-men in this country will be better inclined than they were in the last parliament. Bracco, Sir James Abercromby, Sir John Forbes of Craigevar, Sir Samuel Forbes of Foveran, Mr James Elphinston, and the Sheriff of Murray, do all promise very fair; and, this week, my Lord Salton, my Lord Frazer, and my Lord Pittligo are to be with me, and I shall plainly let them know the danger and inconveniencies that will necessarily ensue, if things be not adjusted in the next parliament. I have also written to Fowlis Monro, and to my Lord Rae, and to William Ross commissioner for Dingwall; and I expect a return from them this week. The Laird of Grant, the Laird of Brody, and Affleck are also to be with me the end of this week,

or

or beginning of the next ; so that, whatever the event may be, I am sure I could do no more than I am doing, were my life and fortune depending on it : And this is the only proper time to speak ; for, when the parliament meets, they will be so much hurried by meeting in clubs and cabals, that there will be no place for reasoning. The great point that they stick upon, is still that matter of Caledonia ; and they say plainly, that, unless the King and parliament declare their right of Caledonia, the managers may be prosecuted ; and that therefore their safety depends on the doing this. I am of opinion, that there should be an instruction for passing some act for the security of the managers and directors of the company ; but I cannot particularly condescend upon the words of the instruction till I return to Edinburgh, and advise with the rest of his Majesty's servants. It will be a most unfortunate thing if we break again upon this point ; and, were this over, I am confident things might be brought to an adjustment ; but, should they carry a vote upon us in this, it is like it might unite them in other particulars. I shall stay no longer in this country than I think I can be useful to his Majesty ; and I resolve to return by Aberdeen, Montrose, and Dundee, that I may have the satisfaction of speaking with all the parliament-men in the north ; and I am still more and more convinced, that there are too few employed in the north country in his Majesty's service. I shall write to you again more fully before I leave this place ; and you may let his Majesty know what I have written. I pray God may long preserve him to us, and make us dutiful to him. This is all at present from, Sir, Y. M. H. S.

I have written frequently both to you and Mr Pringle, that the Bishop of Glasgow's confinement makes some noise ; it is therefore fit, that there be a letter to the privy council lodged in my hands, empowering them to take off his confinement, which shall be produced before, or after the parliament, as is seen necessary.

LORD PRESIDENT to Mr CARSTARES.

His Opinion upon the present State of Affairs, and the Management of the Parliament.—His Character of the Commissioner.—He expects, and has a Title, to be consulted in the disposal of the Vacancies in the Court of Session.

S I R,

N. Berwick,
Sept. 17.
1700.

I still owe the return of your's from Loo, which I received as I was going to Greenock with my daughter after the session; but I fail not to give the commissioner all the information I can afford from time to time; and I waited on V. Seafield while he was at Edinburgh; I know they correspond more punctually. You sufficiently understand the present dispositions of this nation; it is no wonder that enemies to the government should be glad of any thing that may disturb our peace and happy settlement; but it is surprising that others should contribute, and that, generally, those who love that government are so little alarmed. The commissioner complains, that there is not such zeal and concern to be found as might be expected from the King's servants. It is long since I was satisfied joint resolutions are very slow and unsteady, and that it was necessary the Commissioner should take more on himself. This will indeed lay a greater weight on his Grace; and one cannot answer for events; but the highest trust is in his hands. His thoughts are continually employed about the success of his management; others are absent or present by turns, and not always intent. I ever thought, that all business of importance was best directed by a few. Many will follow who are not fit, or not willing, to advise. I do assure you, no body has more clear and distinct views than the Commissioner, as appears in all our reasonings. I had lately opportunity to discourse fully with his Grace on the present prospect of affairs. Ye are better acquainted with his sentiments than I am; for I know he writes at large. I am satisfied his thoughts about
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the way of management are very just ; which few have yet entered into ; and this confirms me still, he should do more by himself.

The business of Caledonia is at present a mere shadow ; few that are engaged in the address can say any thing for it, and some particular persons seem sensible of the danger that our distractions may draw upon us. It is to be our care to draw as many to that conviction as can be ; a few would break the knot, and bring over the rest by the bulk ; but there has been so many disappointments on private suggestions and insinuations, and even assurances, and there is such a union by reiterated addresses, and particular sentiments are so fully given up to a party, that there is no state to be made upon what is said in corners. It will be most safe and secure to take them in some point, which hath either not been foreseen, or wherein they are not so united ; and they being of so different interests, if they once divide, they will not so easily unite in any thing. They do not put a just value upon the King's concessions, which were freely offered before they were demanded ; and for which we cannot be sufficiently thankful : Yet they agree with us, that we have an opportunity to obtain good laws ; and, if we have any influence, we will prevail to finish all that we can agree on first, before any subject of debate be brought in the field. All who can be persuaded, that a present asserting of our right is unseasonable, will agree in this ; and many who will not hear of receding, may yet be engaged as to the order to prefer what all agree in : There may also be difficulties cast in about these laws ; but I hope these may be adjusted. There is but one difficulty in this method, which is indeed great and obvious ; that, after great concession to the diminution of the customs, possibly the parliament may not be moved to make just returns. This, indeed, is the worst event ; and it is reasonable to foresee all that can happen : But it is to be considered, that a Scots parliament generally either breaks in the beginning, without doing business, or not at all : And, if we cannot succeed in this way, we have small ground to hope success in any other ; for, certainly the parliament will more easily hearken to give supplies, and other testimonies of
duty

duty and affection to the King, after good laws enacted, than before; and, certainly, in all events, the laws intended would turn to a good account, and gain the affections of the nation, which, at present, is in a bad condition. The greatest handle they have is the last article of the claim of right, about frequent meeting and sitting of parliaments, which they stretch too far, and mention it in the two last addresses, though these adjournments were only for an opportunity to advise with his Majesty, which was necessary; but if, after full deliberation, nothing should be done, the nation might take an ill play upon it, unless the obstruction arose from themselves. There is reason to believe they did design to push the result offered in parliament till it should pass into an act, and then endeavour a stop of all other business till that were touched. It may be, some design the same thing still; if any such thing should be attempted, I hope they would not succeed; and, if they should, the world would see the obstruction lay at the opposers: For, the royal assent being free to be given, or not, if they would proceed no farther, an adjournment would be necessary; whereas, if the stop of business would be laid at the King or his servants, the government would yet languish more, and possibly the King's servants also divide. These things do require the King's serious consideration, and particular direction, before they occur, in my humble judgement; and, with all submission, the least hazard is, (all things weighed), to begin at good laws, which should be made and framed to venture the supplies to the end, when our tempers will be more cool. No body is more sensible than I am of the great happiness we enjoy under his Majesty's shadow, whom God long preserve! My father's family were entirely, early, and constantly, on that bottom; no variety of favour or discouragement from the government did ever make alteration in any of us, and we will continue firm and faithful in our duty. My Lord Stair went to Galloway when the settling of this parliament was very uncertain, and he did not resolve to return, because both his interest and inclination leads him to be much there; but, I hope he will return, and I expect

pect to hear from him shortly, and reckon it sure he will come. The Commissioner is sufficiently satisfied as to his part. I will use all the influence I have any where, and contribute all I can for a happy issue. I have nothing more to add. Concerning the vacancy that's now in the session, I know there are many candidates and applicants made to you; and I would have writt sooner, but I was in the west when the case occurred; so others got the start; and I understood the Commissioner and V. Seafield both wish that matter might be entire till the parliament were over; therefore, I shall not be very particular, because I would not say any thing that I had not concerted: But, in general, I do both expect, and most earnestly desire, to be more regarded in that particular than any other thing whatsoever. I am concerned in it above all things. Ye know in what circumstances I entered into the session; I cannot well express to you with how much labour to myself peace is kept among us; which I think is the best service I am capable to do the King or the nation. He was very friendly to me; that's gone. Judge then, if I do not need to be considered in the choice. I presume no man has had better opportunity to know mens capacities that way than I have had; and I shall not, on any consideration, recommend any who is not of known integrity and capacity, and affectionate to the government. Those foundations laid down, I hope my request will be thought very just. I would be loath to be burdensome to the King or to my friends at any time, much less now. By this time, I have more need to excuse my tediousness than my long silence; I hope you will forgive both, because that ye know that I am sincerely, and without ceremony, your most faithful and obliged servant.

J. STEWART to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Paterfon's Projects.—Good Hopes of the King's Affairs.

Worthy S I R,

Since my last, of the 14th, I have seen Mr Paterfon's projects *in* Edinburgh, *mundis*, which is nothing like what I wrote to you of in mine of Sept. 21. 1700
the

the 7th. I know not what alterations he may yet make in it, for I cannot believe the Commissioner will let it be published as it now is; because, to my small skill, it is neither safe for the King to establish that council of trade; and, tho' he should do, I think the parliament will never grant the funds he demands. I know not what accounts my Lord S. and others may send you of their hopes and fears of this ensuing session; but my little reason does still persuade, that the King's business will be got done. It cannot be supposed, that people will continue mad, and drive things to extremities, especially at this juncture. I have the honour to converse with some of the most eminent lawyers, who know a great deal of the humours and inclinations of these members that are against us, (several of them are their clients); and they assure me, that, if the King frankly pass the laws are expected he will grant us for the liberty and security of the subject, and encouragement of trade, they will not only dispense with Caledonia, (that is, at this time, not to insist upon it), but give him a fund for the maintenance of all the army he is to demand; (for every body says he is to break three regiments of foot, and one of dragoons; and, in my opinion, the court was very unwise to drop that.) This, my friends are confident, the parliament will do, both for their own security, and the honour of the King; and, the rather, that some of that party bragg, that the English parliament will be hard upon him; for, though many of the adverse party be angry with him, yet they love him; and, it will be seen, if he be straitened in England, the parliament in Scotland (except the Jacobites) will be unanimous for his service. I know the Jacobites are numerous in the kingdom; but the authority of the parliament is the nation. Now, let us suppose the worst, (for who knows what Providence designs in this extraordinary juncture?) that, through stubbornness, pernicious counsel, and indiscreet management, the parliament, (after the King has granted all they desire, (Caledonia apart), for their security, liberty, and trade), they refuse to give a fund for the maintenance of the army, and, not only so, but insist and offer a resolve, for the breaking of it; so that the King be forced to ad-
journal

journal them, which I can never bring myself to suppose; the only expedient left is this. He needs no act of parliament for keeping guards and garrisons. Thus, he can keep, *1mo*, His foot and horse-guards. *2do*, A regiment in Fort William and Inverlochy, and its out-posts. *3tio*, A regiment in the castle of Stirling, where there must be caserns built, as in Ireland, for lodging the soldiers. *4to*, A regiment in Perth; some in the King's house there, and the rest in caserns to be built for them. Thus, all the foot he designs to keep (and it was a most unwise thing to let it be known the King would part with any; all yieldings is dangerous in a King) are disposed of; and these not being quartered upon the subject, there are eminent lawyers here of opinion, that the keeping and paying them out of his proper revenues (which they say will do that business) is no ways against the law. Now, the question remains, how the dragoons are to be disposed of? They say the King only designs to keep one regiment; and, if he should make them guards, (like the troop of horse-grenadiers in England), the lawyers will tell you it is no great stretch of prerogative. This is by way of supposition; for I am still persuaded, if the King demand no more, (which I must admire), the parliament will not refuse it. Sir Adam Gordon of Dallquholly, a member of parliament, died here this morning. I am, unfeignedly,

Dear S I R,

Your affectionate and faithful servant,

J. S.

LORD TREASURER-DEPUTE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Coronation; in case the King come down, what Lodgings in the Abbey are best for him.—If he is sitting on the Throne, it will not be the forwardness of a Tullibardine that Men will take Measures from.

S I R,

I have your's; and, for the question, whether the King's coronation may be put off for this time? the answer is plain: It needs be

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1700.

but appooointed at this time, and some time next summer may do well; for it will take some time to adjust the order of it; and the parliament must think how the expences will be defrayed, and lay on a found for that end. This can be no stop to his Majesty's coming among us; for what may be otherwise necessary, I know the Commissioner will let the house stand furnished as it is. It is probable his Majesty would incline to make most use of little rooms, these of his own apartments being large, and not so warm. There are none so warm as the little rooms my Lord Annandale has off the gallery, two rooms and a closet; and for these a little furniture will serve; and that, with his Majesty's plate, may come down in a yacht. My Lord Annandale needs not complain; for he has abundance of other rooms above stairs, which have another entry. Coaches may be so laid, as his Majesty may be here in ten days, and an adjournment to the 29th, upon that account, would do no hurt. This I write to you, being still more and more desirous his Majesty should be once here; and now is the time. I am persuaded nothing else can save us. And, though I will not undertake, yet I have great confidence, that his Majesty's presence will dispell this cloud that is gathered so thick. 'Tis not from the forwardness of a Earl of Tullibardine, or a Sir John Hume, that men will take their measures, when they see our King sitting on the throne. If his Majesty will come, you will dispatch a flying packet, that we may be in as good condition as we may be. The Advocate has been ill for some time; I do really think, the low condition he sees the government in, does add not a little to his disease. Yea, he is fearing he shall not be able to serve this session of parliament. I believe he has his own fears that things will go wrong; but, if he thought the King was to be here in person, he would use his utmost endeavours for so much strength to attend; yea, if he should die the last day of the parliament, and, if he shall not be able to attend 29's cabinet-council, viz. 83, and 3tuxxu3tm9st, (Philiphaugh), will not make up the want of him. We must of necessity have two states, one for the abbey, and another for the parliament-house. How these are
done

done up, we must have from England. Excuse me this post to Mr Pringle. Farewell.

PHILIPHAUGH to MR CARSTARES.

Repeats his Fears about the Success of the Parliament.—States the Difficulties about the Order in which Public Affairs ought to be introduced into the Parliament.

S I R,

Since I wrote to you last, I have ever been in the country, till the other day, I had one from you since I wrote. I find the Commissioner daily more and more satisfied with, and engaged to you. He is as sensible, I am sure, as you could wish, of your sincere friendship and good services to him. I understand there is a copy of a letter sent with this packet, which, it is desired, the King should write to the parliament. All I shall say about it is, that, where it mentions 'the desire of our servants,' I humbly think it should be, 'the desire of our Commissioner, and other servants;' but this was my own thought, and the Commissioner was very indifferent about it. But surely none can take it ill, considering his character, to be particularly mentioned. I shall not trouble you with repeating what I have said so oft about my fears of the success of this present parliament. I am very persuaded, if his Majesty's affairs could have allowed him to have come here, the parliament might have ended to the honour and satisfaction of his Majesty, and comfort of all his good subjects; and that, if he had but touched here, without any solemn preparation for his reception, and stayed but two or three weeks, his presence would have put new life and vigour in all in his service, and have brought over many sticklers. But, whatever difficulty appear in the way, I see the Commissioner is resolved, as we say, to set a stout heart to a stay brae; and I am sure he will do his utmost for the King's service, with all the zeal and faithfulness you could wish. I find his Grace straitened in one thing, and that is,

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1700.

when the act for cels shall be brought into the parliament, some are for leaving it last; and so you'll see it last mentioned in the letter; and the reasons they give are, that, if the parliament proceed to do good things to the nation, some sticklers may be gained; and, if the resolve should be pressed before these good things, it might be the fairest vote could be devised, whether to insist upon the resolve or these good acts. But, if the cels be early brought in, before these acts, some might alledge these acts were not truly designed; and that, after granting cels, they would be dismissed without them. Others say, that, if the cels is not demanded as early as it uses to be, it will be constructed, to follow from fear and weakness; and, if the party should resolve to lay aside Caledonia till the cels were proposed, it might happen, that, after getting all the concessions the King had granted, the parliament might give nothing for support of the government; and this the Commissioner thinks would reflect heavily upon him. I wish it was laid before the King, and that his Majesty gave his own opinion and orders in the matter. Dear Sir, adieu.

LORD PRESIDENT to Mr CARSTARES.

Proposes a small Alteration to be made in the draught of the King's Letter to Parliament, as a mark of respect to the Lord Commissioner.—Lord Stair is to return to Parliament.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Sept. 26.
1700.

I gave you the trouble of a very tedious letter from North-Berwick of the 17th instant, which I hope came safe to hand; I need not repeat, and have very little to add. L. Philiphaugh and I have been two days in town, for the most part waiting on the Commissioner: His Grace was pleased to read over a draught of a letter to the parliament, whereof a double was formerly sent you. He intended to have taken a second view of it with my Lord Advocate, and pos-

possibly to have altered some words of it. But, the Advocate having kept the house the fourth night, (for which I am very sorry), his Grace sends you another double as it was, because he had no thought of any material alteration. It did occur, that, where it mentions the interpositions of his Majesty's servants in behalf of the African company, it should bear the Commissioner, and other servants. There is indeed a mark of distinction due to his Grace for his zeal for the interest of that company with the King, when there was hope to do it good. I have letters from my Lord Stair since my last; and now I can tell you, with more assurance, that he will return to the parliament, though it is both against his interest and inclinations to be drawn from his retirement. I am, with all sincerity and affection,

S I R,

Your most humble servant.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

Sends the Draught of the King's Letter.——Complains that he does not receive vigorous Assistance from his Majesty's Servants.——Writes of the King's coming to Edinburgh.——Is anxious for making a Show of Strength at the meeting of Parliament.

S I R,

I have received two letters from you, one without a date, and the other from Loo of the 12th. I also saw a third to my servant Stewart. In answer to them, I send you the copy of some new instructions, and the draught of a letter to the parliament, which I formerly told you the King's servants had adjusted; but I then thought there might have been some alterations in business before now; but, finding nothing yet substantial that needs any change, and that the King's advocate is still so ill, that, at this time, I cannot advise with him in business, I send you them as they were at first

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26. 1700.

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concluded on, that we may not be straitened ; and I hope there is no time lost. As for what you write concerning the King's servants, I can say no more at a distance than what I have formerly wrote to you : Their shyness and timorousness, which you might have seen when you were here, still continues : They are affraid of a popular odium, and seem to despair, or, at least, not to be much concerned to regain to the King the hearts of the nation. But it is needless at present to insist on particulars about them ; because I do not judge this a proper season for any remedy. But, in general, I must say, (and its visible to the whole nation), that I have not been so happy as to have that vigorous assistance from them which others in my station have usually had. As to the King's coming hither, it is not fit to talk of it, unless he were fully resolved to come ; so that I cannot advise with many people about. But I wrote formerly to you, that his servants here did think, that he could hold his parliament without being subjected to the trouble of a coronation, and only appoint some remote time for that ceremony. You tell me, his Majesty desires to know, what is the shortest time in which things absolutely necessary may be provided for his coming ? I know not truly what may be reckoned absolutely necessary ; you know the condition of the house, and the apartments of it. Nothing can be done towards the reparation till the King be determined ; and any considerable reparation will take more time than can well be allowed in this juncture ; so he must either take it as it is, or, if he will be pleased to let his time of coming be known, all shall be done that's possible in that time. I can say no more upon this subject than what I wrote to you in a former letter ; only, I'm still of opinion, that, if his Majesty do come, he should lie in that part of the house where D. Hamilton now lodges, as not only being the warmest and closest rooms, but having the greatest conveniency of closet and offices. There is no further resolution in relation to the ensuing session of parliament than what the inclosed papers contain ; nor is it possible for me to give any certain prospect of matters till our friends return from the country, and re-
port

port their success. In the mean while, I have many people at work; and, if the King is pleased to consider my good intentions for his interest as acceptable service, I have all I wish for or aim at on my own private account; but, on his, I have not the half of what my duty and inclination lead me to. If my Lord Portmore were ordered hither, he might not only undeceive people as to himself, but be useful in the King's service, for which I know he has both affection and zeal. I am told that my L. Mevill is gone from the Bath to London; I intreat of you that care be taken to send him down, so as that he may be here some days before the meeting of parliament; for much will depend upon the show of strength that we shall make at our first appearance; and, if he does not come home in time, we lose not only his vote, but that of his son James, who is with him. My L. Blantyre, in his senseless way, opposes all reasonable proposals; he holds a place of the D. of Richmond, as baillie of the regality of Glasgow. If any way could be found to prevail upon my L. Duke to let him know that he intends to turn him out, in case of his obstinacy, and continuing to oppose the King's service, it would not only gain us a vote, but take off one from the party. I have nothing more at present to trouble you with; so, without ceremony, adieu.

LORD OF SEAFIELD TO MR CARSTARES.

Hopes that all honest Men will join the King's Friends.—Advocate speaks of demitting.—Double Election in the Shire of Galloway.—Every one at work as they have Interest.—Annandale takes it ill that Mr Carstares does not write him.

SIR,

I have now been returned to this place four or five days; and we were very impatient till we did receive this morning, by an express, his Majesty's letter to the parliament, with the instructions.

Edinburgh,
Oct. 15.
1700

I am still hopeful that honest men will be convinced that his Majesty is willing to do all that is in his power for the true interest of the nation. I have spoke to a great many of the parliament-men separately in the country, and they did give me very great satisfaction, for they seem convinced of the danger of running things to extremes. But, all the hazard is when they return to town, and meets together in parties and cabals: They are led away with the specious pretences and speeches that are made to them. The greatest encouragement of all is, that honest men, that have no bad designs, begin to see plainly, that the true interest of the country consists in perfecting his Majesty's government; and that, therefore, until they see further into the designs of the opposing party, they are desirous that we should proceed to the concessions that his Majesty is willing to give. But it is an unspeakable loss to us, that there are several of the servants, who do not gain so much as one man for the King's service; and the Advocate, who was our greatest speaker, and was otherwise very useful, is (I am afraid) a dying man; and he did declare to the commissioner and me, when we were last with him, that he would gladly be relieved of all business, and told us, that he had sent a kind of dimission of his place to the King; and you will not believe what a loss this will be; for a King's Advocate, by virtue of his office, can call any man to the bar that speaks undutifully of King or government, and his opinion will have great authority. I am also afraid, that the King shall want one as treasurer, and myself as secretary upon the committees; for there are no letters for us as yet come, though my Lord Commissioner and I wrote expressly for them; but we are still expecting that they will come in time; for the parliament is now adjourned, conform to his Majesty's letter, for eight days. The reasons that moved the Commissioner and I to make use of the letter, are, that the Earl of Melvil, and some in England, are not yet come down; and that the opposing party, by circular letters, are like to be well convened against Tuesday next; whereas many of our friends would then have been absent. Beside, we shall have time to
speak

ſpeak to every man that comes to town deliberately; and it is a great ſatisfaction to his Maſteſty's ſervants, that he be in Britain when the parliament ſits: So I doubt not but his Maſteſty will approve what we have done in this. I believe you will be informed by others, that there is a double election in the ſhire of Galloway. The Earl of Galloway and my Lord Stairs did lead on a faction for Caſtle-Stewart, who is uncle to the Earl of Galloway. He has ſixteen votes for him, and my Lord Baſil Hamilton has eleven votes; but he has proteſted, and objected againſt ſeveral of the voters for Caſtle-Stewart, that they had not right to vote. According to the account I have of it, Caſtle-Stewart ought to carry it; but, go as it will, my Lord Stair's family and Duke Hamilton are for once fairly ſeparate, if they do not ſet up again together. I had ſcarce time to write you this letter; for I have had ſeveral parliament-men with me ſince I begun, and I think I have made one proſelyte, that is, Mr Swinton; for Dyſert and he promiſes to bring me in three or four more againſt the next week. My Lord Annandale ſays he has gained Eccleſhields; and every one is at work as they have intereſt; and, come of this matter what will, I will have this ſatisfaction, that I have done all that is in my power, and that I could have done no more. I am, Sir, Y. M. H. S.

My Lord Annandale told me this night, that you never write to him; and, as I underſtand, he takes it ill; ſo you may begin a correſpondence with him, for he can write very well.

EARL OF ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

*Elections.—Complains of Treafure-depute,—Recommends Com-
miſſary Elphington.—Wishes the Commiſſioner's hands to be
ſtrengthened.*

I have forbore writing for ſome time, by reaſon moſt company were out of town, and nothing new occurring. All has been bu-
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Edinburgh,
Oct. 18,
1700.

fy in their feveral diftricts ; and, I am hopeful, to good effect. A little time will fhew ; but, by our calculations, we gain ground. You will hear from others what buſtle has been made in Galloway about an election in that county. L. Baſil Hamilton did ſet up for it, and threatened ſome, others he promiſed particular marks of favour to. Nay, that party is grown ſo inſolent, that they are promiſing places to ſome, not doubting to force themſelves into ſome government or another. In this affair of Galloway, E. Galloway and V. Stair, with the Maſter his ſon, and a younger ſon, oppoſed L. Baſil, with all his pretended royalty, and have the plurality for, I think, one Caſtle-Stewart. The election for Jedburgh is carried by Lord Jedburgh, for the King's intereſt ; the former was againſt it. But, what does us moſt hurt, we have rogues amongſt us, particularly the Treafurer-depute, who, on all occaſions, eſpouſes the oppoſers particular intereſt, and endeavours to ſupport them ; and, in actions for the government, is luke-warm. This is no ſecret ; nor do I ſpare to ſay it, where I have occaſion ; and, I hope, in due time, his Maſteſty will treat all as they deſerve. I do not doubt but you have had ſeveral letters about the vacancy in the ſeſſion. I dare ſay Commiſſary Elphinton is the fitteſt ; and I can make it appear to a demonſtration, he makes the King fix votes at this time. The Commiſſioner does own to be for him ; and that he is my friend, I flatter myſelf, ſhould recommend him a little, ſince its obſervable, none of my friends does forſake the King. I hope to regain my only deſerter L. Forreſter ; and L. Kello and L. Rutherfoord I have prevailed on. I have alſo carried Barns Hamilton, that he is almoſt for turning Campbell. The Commiſſioner of late has been very buſy ; but there is one thing I am afraid may weaken his hands, and ought to be ſpeedily remedied ; and, tho' he takes no notice of it himſelf, yet thoſe that wiſhes his Maſteſty's authority to continue, ſhould put things in a right channel. I remember, when I was laſt at London, the King ſaid he would put ſeveral powers in the Commiſſioner's hands, that he expected he would, if need were, adviſe with ſome
of

of his servants; but certainly it was still understood, that whilst he continued representing his Majesty's person, favours were to be dispensed more immediately by him. It does now appear that, in prosecution of this trust, which his Majesty designed to lodge in him who represents his person, several blank papers were signed, which still remain in the Secretary's hands, which ought beyond all dispute be lodged with the Commissioner, which all of us, the King's servants, ought to desire; and it does not in the least hinder us to act in our sphere. Pray take your own way to have this speedily redressed, least it prove of worse consequence to the service than I dare guess. As for my part, it shall be seen I shall boldly serve his Majesty; nor shall the apprehension of some there thrusting themselves into the government fright me from my duty. I know the King is too just and generous, (whatever the event be), to suffer me to be exposed to those irreconcilable enemies of his, I may call them. I do not pretend to trouble his Majesty with my letter; but I shall rest satisfied, he be informed of true matter of fact, and I have my reward. I am your's. Adieu. Pray give my humble service to Earl Portland.

DUKE OF QUEENSBERRY TO MR CARSTARES.

Reasons for adjourning the Parliament.—It will be very tender of the King's Prerogative.—Transmits three additional Instructions.—Grows in Hopes.—Jacobite Design at bottom of Opposition to the King's Government.

S I R,

I received two letters from you, and two from Mr Pringle, dated the 3d and 7th; by them I had his Majesty's letter to the parliament, my additional instructions, and a blank commission for the master-of-works' place. I had also a letter empowering me to make a further adjournment of parliament, which, after advising with

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friends, I made use of, and put off our meeting till the 29th. I do not find that this gives the least jealousy of the parliament's not fitting, the adjournment being so short; and the reasons why I took this method were, first, because it was thought very necessary that his Majesty should be in England before our meeting; and, then, that the letters for representing the Lord Treasurer and Secretary of State were not come; and that friends came slowly up. The King's letter to the parliament was written and framed by my Lord Advocate, and adjusted by the Secretaries. The second instruction is indeed large; but the reason of it was, because it was thought necessary that his Majesty's gracious concessions with relation to every thing else but that of asserting the right of Caledonia, might be so fully expressed, and made known to people here, as to render men that should obstruct business unexcusable to the nation; and it has no further extent. I shall, however, be very careful and tender of his Majesty's prerogatives; and I do wish that they had come to my hand more entire; they should not have been so easily parted with, but upon more valuable considerations; and many encroachments have been made of late upon those that are yet remaining. This, his Majesty may be assured of, that, so far as I can comprehend, I shall keep within the bounds of my restriction; though I must, at the same time, say, that it will be hard for me to judge what laws may be thought hereafter restrictions of the prerogative. I have advised with my Lord Seafield, President, Treasurer-depute, and Philiphaugh, after full reasoning upon what was most likely to fall under the consideration of the parliament. Three additional instructions are framed, and herewith transmitted, and a memorial with them, containing the reasons why they were thought necessary. I shall be carefull to let you know, from time to time, what happens here, that I may be particularly instructed before any new thing be concluded; for it would be a great prejudice to the King's service, if the parliament should be obliged to stop for further instructions; for I incline to proceed with as much diligence as possible when once we enter on business. The Advocate
is

is so ill, that I cannot expect him in parliament, nor any help from him. The Chancellor is not very vigorous, and sometimes indisposed; if he should happen to be ill, my power of naming a president of parliament may be called in question, though there are precedents for it; so, to avoid all ground of dispute, I desire that a blank letter of commission may be sent, which shall only be used if there be occasion for it. I have received the note which you mention in your letter of the 7th; and it shall be made use of according to advice. The persons who I employed in the several places of the country are not yet come to town; so I cannot yet make any certain state, though I grow in hopes, as I hear our adversaries does in anger. The Marquis of Athol, my L. Dunmore, and L. Nairne came last night to town, and are to come in to parliament, which makes it apparent that there is a Jacobite design at bottom, and ought to open the eyes of any who has appeared for his Majesty's interest. I have a dutiful sense of his Majesty's goodness towards me, and a just resentment of your friendship, and of the firmness and frankness of your correspondence with me; and am, without dissimulation, sincerely your's, &c.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Expects a great Struggle.—Few of the King's Servants in Parliament to manage his Affairs.

S I R,

We are now very impatient to hear that his Majesty is arrived at London, for the news of it would encourage his Majesty's servants here. I cannot but have hopes that his Majesty's affairs will succeed; but it will be with a great struggle; for there never was so bold opposition seen as this is. The heads of the party have no design to be satisfied with any thing can be proposed; and, though many be convinced of the dangerous consequences of bringing

Edinburgh,
October 19.
1706.

bringing things to extremities, yet they pretend, in point of honour, that they cannot leave or desert their party; and they are still positive that they will assert the right of Caledonia: But I am hopeful that we may carry it by a majority, to begin with these things which his Majesty offers. It is our great misfortune that we have no Advocate; you know he is a man of great sense, and is entirely laid aside by sickness. The Chancellor has no great authority, and we have no register. The Solicitor gives no assistance; and the Commissioner will not communicate business with him. None of the clerks of the council are of the parliament; and the President of council is not here; however, we shall do all we can. The Commissioner does now send three or four instructions, which seems to us to be necessary; and, for his Majesty's information, we have drawn a memorial relative to them. The act concerning the King's power of imposing taxes on foreign trade is already voted a grievance, and the powers contained in it were never exercised by his Majesty. That concerning the prolonging the privileges of the company is reasonable; because they have lost so many years by the misfortunes that have happened to their colony; and, it being now deserted, such an act will not in the least import the asserting the right to Caledonia; and that instruction against the marrying of a Popish King and Queen is also contained in the grievances, and so cannot well be refused. I intreat, that, at the same time, you obtain the instructions, or sooner, if possible you may procure the letters for the Treasurer and Secretary. I am Y. M. H. S.

ANNANDALE to Mr GARSTARES.

Writes of Heat raised by African Council.—Promises Fidelity and Vigour in his service.

S I R,

I can say little more now than to thank you for your's of the
 Holyrood
 house Nov. 4. 24th of October. I am very fully satisfied of your friendship and
 1700. kind-

kindness, and you, and all your concerns, shall ever feel the effects of it, as often as it is in my power to give evidences thereof. James Dunlop shall be assisted by me in all his business with all imaginable concern; and in every thing you recommend, my sincerity and gratitude shall satisfy you, that I am true to what I have said. Use freedom with me, and try me, and you shall find me heartily your's.

You have all the particulars long ago as they passed in the African council. That affair was carried on by the managers with a great deal of heat and indiscretion, both towards the King and government; and they have propagate such a ferment upon it, that they have brought people to talk with very little regard or respect to both. I hope, if it is as it has been, such doings will do some people's business effectually. I wish I could be more particular upon this matter; but neither this distance, nor way of conversation, will well allow of it; otherways, I assure you, I should use all the freedom imaginable. I shall not fail in my station to show all the fidelity and vigour imaginable in the King's service, set themselves in opposition who will; and I make no doubt but the King's servants will be able to do his business in spite of all practices to the contrary. When any thing worth while falls in, I shall give it you; and, believe me, without compliment, you have this from your true friend.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

King's Servants have carried the Committee.—Are persuaded they have a Plurality.—Opposition intend to postpone Business.—Tullibardine displeased.

S I R,

My Lord Commissioner being ill of the cold, and being obliged to take physic, could not write before this evening. He is now
Holyrood-house, Nov. 7. 1700.
 bet-

better, and, I believe, gives a full account of what has as yet passed. There is nothing material, but that we have carried the committee; that is, we have carried the nobility and commissioners for boroughs: So that, as to any thing that is committed, we have two to one. On the other hand, they have a great plurality of barons, and they expect several members will yet come up. I am persuaded we have a plurality; but we can have no more than we have already, except the Earl of Kelly and my Lord Boyle, and Provost Johnston of Dumfries. My Lord Boyle has been hindered hitherto by the death of the Laird of Rowallan. I am unwilling yet to send you up a list of the parliament till we engage again in another vote, besides that I formerly gave you an account of; and, if it once appear that we have a fixed and clear plurality, matters will go easier. What we resolve to press in the house to-morrow is, that the contraverted election betwixt Lord Basil Hamilton and Castle-Stewart be remitted to the committee of elections, for to examine witnesses; and, if we carry this, it will confirm our interest very much. I understand that they intend to postpone business as much as ever they can, on purpose that we may loose the month of November without doing any thing for the advantage of the country, and that it may appear that we are struggling for a majority, in order to get a cess, and do nothing for the country. But, on the other hand, we resolve to propose those acts that concerns our religion, the regulating of trade, and the *habeas corpus* law, that honest men may see, that what his Majesty proposes in his letter will be done, and the Commissioner will give new assurances of it; and then we will endeavour to discuss the asserting the right of Caledonia, and propose the giving of supplies for subsisting such forces as are necessary, and let them see that, if subsidies be given, all the rest shall be done. And it is impossible to please the minds of the people, without making effectual all that is proposed. All I can desire you to say to his Majesty is, that we have hopes, and nothing shall be wanting that can be done, for bringing things to a good issue. They are resolved

ved to propose a great many projects and laws, upon which they think we have no instructions, to the end, that they may break from us those of the country-party whom we have gained; but we shall advert, as well as we can, to it. I did formerly acquaint you of my Lord Yester, Gosford, and Stichell, their bringing up of the address; and I hope his Majesty will find little difficulty in answering, his letter to the parliament is so full and plain, and his Commissioner so fully instructed in all that his Majesty can do for the satisfaction of his people. What secret instructions my Lord Yester has, I know not; but, I doubt not but that his Majesty will have regard to his servants, who are venturing all in his service. And his Majesty can never, with great advantage, conclude upon the persons that are fit to be continued and employed in his government till this parliament be over. However, this is with all submission to what shall be his Majesty's pleasure, and nothing shall make me fail in my duty to him. We reckon that we have 108 of the parliament-men for us, and that they have 95; but if this computation will hold, I cannot be positive; we have 18 or 19 noblemen more on our side than they have; and we have also a considerable plurality among the boroughs. Their strength lies among the barons. I find, the Earl of Tullibardine, and all that family, are mightily displeased for the passing of Captain Frazer's remission. It is not yet expedite at the seals; but they were with me this evening, and they told me that they did understand that there was a warrant for passing the remission at the great seal, *per saltum*, without being produced in exchequer; and Tullibardine let me see Captain Frazer's two letters, of which you heard formerly, which were writt by him when he was at the university; but, after these, Tullibardine employed him as an officer in his regiment; and, until this controversy fell out, they were not heard of. But of this I shall write more fully afterwards. In the mean time, I only add, that I am, Sir, your M. H. S.

4 Q

EARL

EARL of MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

Great Reasoning and Debate in Parliament.—He thinks the pretended Prince of Wales more dangerous than the late King was, after he was declared to have forfeited the Crown.

SIR,

Holyrood-
house, Dec.
17. 1700.

You will guess, by my not writing often, that I have very little time to bestow that way. I doubt not but Mr Pringle will acquaint you with any passages which I take notice of to him as I have leisure. The meeting of parliament, and of the committees, do scarcely give us time enough for our concerting meetings in private. Nothing is done in the house but upon a great deal of reasoning and debate; till all be ready, there is much time spent, and it is impossible to help it. I shall be glad to know from you how the acts, already voted here, are liked of by the King's friends there? and how you think the Duke of Anjou's being King of Spain will be liked of by an English parliament? and if it is true what is talked here, that he spoke in so friendly terms to the pretended Prince of Wales, who, I fear, is more dangerous to us, being the bottom which, I am convinced, our Jacobites now set up upon, than ever the late King was, since he was declared to have forfeited the crown? Write freely to me; and, so soon as I can get such leisure, I will be fuller upon this subject to you; but I have not time now. I am, SIR,

Your affectionate humble servant, and true friend,

MARCHMONT.

EARL

EARL of ANNANDALE to Mr CARSTARES.

Thanks him for doing him justice.—Great Encouragement to the King's Servants, that those about his Majesty give him true Accounts of what passes.

S I R,

By this post, I am favoured with yours of the 16th. I have scarce any thing from this to give you that is worth while. Our hot angry people are still very assiduous in improving, as much as they can, to the prejudice of the King and government, the late misfortune of the African business; but I hope it shall not be in their power to make any thing of it, since the vigilance and diligence of his Majesty's servants may very easily defeat all their indiscreet and unwarrantable practices; and I must hope it will be the great care of all of us so to do. I am sensible I lie under particular obligations to my friends for the justice they have done me for what I did of this kind; and it is great encouragement to those who serve the King, that there are those about him who give him faithful and true accounts of what passes. I know well the engagement I am under to you upon this head; and, as it is never to be forgot, so I shall never weary, when it is in my power, in giving you repeated proofs of the sincerest friendship. I have his Majesty's letter for my lodging, which I do acknowledge is a special mark of his Majesty's favour, and of my friends concern for me; and as I know well how I have it, so I cannot fail to make all the suitable returns I am capable of; and I am sure I shall ever, with much gratitude, remember your part of it. Give me leave to give you the trouble of my most humble and hearty respects to the E. of Portland. No man is more sincerely his. This from your true friend.

A—.

4 Q²

Declaration

Edinburgh,
Nov. 21.
1700.

Declaration of Captain Pinkerton and James Graham, 1701.

We the subscribers, being interrogated by a committee of directors of the company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, *1mo*, Upon what alledged crime we were tried for our lives at Seville? *2do*, Upon what evidence we were condemned to die, &c.? *3tio*, Whether we were liberated upon production of the attested copies of the act of parliament and letters patent, establishing the company, and of the commission, instructions, and sailing orders, founded thereupon, or upon the King's letter? *4to*, Whether the King, by his letter, required our liberation as a favour, or in pursuance of the treaties between the Kings of Great Britain and Spain? and, *lastly*, What was the reason that we did not procure, and bring along with us, a copy of the process? We do hereby declare, upon our conscience, and to the best of our memories, That, as to the *first*, we were tried as pirates, and for having invaded the dominions of Spain, in sailing beyond the Canaries, without leave from the King of Spain, and as having no commission from our King: That, as to the *second*, The only evidence adduced against us, were his Majesty of Great Britain's proclamation emitted against us in the West Indies, and certain words alledged to have been pronounced by his Majesty's own mouth to the Spanish ambassador in England, by which his Majesty disowned all the company's proceedings, or that they have any authority from him to go to these parts; which words were (we understand) transmitted in writing to the council of the Indies in Seville, and produced in court against us: That, upon this evidence only, we were condemned, as pirates and invaders to die, in such manner as the judges should think fit, our estates, and goods (if we had any) to be escheated to the King; the ship Dolphin and cargo likewise escheated to his Catholic Majesty; and the governour of Carthagená to be reprimanded for not either executing all the other persons taken prisoners with us, or transmitting them to Old Spain, in order to have undergone the same trial as
we

we did: That his Catholic Majesty should, by his messengers, demand and require of the King of Great Britain, that the persons of the D. of Hamilton, Marq. of Tweeddale, E. of Panmure, and all others concerned in the company, should be seized, and their estates confiscated, to make reparation for the damages and expences sustained by his Catholic Majesty, in equipping a fleet for dispossessing their settlement at Darien: That, as to the *third*, The first thing that gave us hopes of our liberation, was advice that we had from the vice-consul at Cadiz, importing, that by the Flamborough advice-boat, then arrived from England, several letters did bear, that the Scots colony in Darien had surrendered that settlement to the Spaniards, upon certain articles of capitulation, in which he said he doubted not but we were included: That, very soon thereafter, arrived the King's letter to Monsieur Schenenberg, his envoy at Madrid, as also the attested copies above mentioned; upon which the said envoy wrote to the council at Seville, acquainting him thereof, and that he doubted not but to put a stop to any further proceedings against us, and to procure our pardon; but that he resolved not to expose the King's letter to the criminal council, or to take any legal course for our liberation, to avoid charges, but that he would interpose, with his Catholic Majesty, in a private way: That, soon upon the back of that again, arrived advice from the governor of Carthagená, by which, we suppose, they might have a particular account of the capitulation formerly mentioned; and, tho' the attested copies above mentioned were, by the council of Seville, transmitted to the said envoy at Madrid, the envoy returned word to the council, that he would not produce them, because he would do our business without them; and, in near about 20 days thereafter, he procured our pardon from the King of Spain, who at the same time approved of, and confirmed the sentence passed against us at Seville, and sent orders to the president of Council of the contravention-house at Seville, to deliver us to the English consul, upon his giving bond to send us prisoners to England, in order to be tried there, for any thing that the King of Great Britain might

might have to say against us, for acting without his authority: That, thereupon, the English consul having got us out of prison, and declared to us, that we were to be prisoners at large until such time as he should receive the King of England's further pleasure concerning us, one of us expostulated very much with him as to the extremities we had been reduced to, and that, if he detained us any longer there, he must resolve upon defraying our charges, and intreated that he might send us to the consul at Cadiz, to be by him disposed of as he should think fit; upon which he did let us go, upon our engagement to present ourselves to the consul at Cadiz: And, when we came to Sir Martin Westcomb the consul at Cadiz, he told us that he had no order about us, and that we might go what way we pleased for him. And, by the bye, we cannot, in gratitude, but say, that Sir Martin Westcomb, the consul at Cadiz, and his vice-consul, Mr James Chalmers, our countryman, were very generous and kind to us in all respects, and, by letters, prompted the consul at Seville to appear in our behalf, and engaged to free him of all damages, and clear him of all charges upon our account: So that, upon the whole, we know not whether we were liberated upon the King's letter or not; for, we are told by the consul of Seville, and several other persons in Spain, that the King's letter might probably prolonged to us a miserable life, but that, they believed, it would not have procured their liberation, if certain advice had not been come of our colony's surrender, &c. As to the 4th, We cannot answer positively, not having seen the King's letter; but we understood, in the general, from such as we conversed with, that our liberation was desired and obtained as a favour. Then, *lastly*, As to our not having procured a copy of our process, the consul of Seville, when we desired it, told us first that it would cost a great deal of money; but, when we desired him not to stand upon that, for that, whatever were the charge of it, that should not be wanting, he told us frankly, that he could not understand for what end we required it; and that, in regard it might give jealousy, and raise ill blood, he would not appear in it, without a special order

order from the King his master, or from the English secretary of state. In testimony of all which, we have hereto set our hands, at Edinburgh, the 4th of January 1701.

(Signed) JAMES GRAHAM.
ROB. PINKERTOWN.

Draught of an Act about Caledonia, 1701.

Our Sovereign Lord taking into his royal consideration, the many obstructions, insults, and invasions, which the company of this kingdom, trading to Africa and the Indies, meet with in their just endeavours for the having settled a plantation and colony, by the name of Caledonia in Darien, on the continent of America, upon pretence that they had no legal authority for so doing; therefore, our said Sovereign Lord, with advice and consent of the estates of parliament, for preventing the like encroachments in time coming, doth hereby declare, That the said company's colony in Darien, on the continent of America, was a legal and rightful settlement, precisely in the terms of the act of parliament and letters patent, by which the said company was established, and doth hereby ratify and confirm the same; and his Majesty and the estates of parliament will assist and support the said company in the lawful prosecution of the rights thereof, and protect them in the full and free enjoyment thereof.

Copy Reasons for a Dissent, &c.

Forasmuch as the estates of parliament have, by their votes of the 10th and 13th of January instant, passed four several resolves, *nemine contradicente*, in relation to the privilege of our African company; and, in respect that the lawful application of the said company's undoubted rights and privileges in their settlement of
Caledonia,

Caledonia, can only be asserted and vindicated by an act of his Majesty and parliament, by whom the said privileges were granted; and that, without such an act, asserting and vindicating the legality of the said settlement, the enemies of our said company may still continue to treat all persons concerned in, and employed by the same, as pirates, and unjust invaders of the dominions of another nation, and, as such, may prosecute them before any judicatory of this kingdom; and that the subjects of this kingdom can, in no time coming, plant a colony in any other part of the world, without the hazard of being treated in the same manner: Therefore, we declare our opinion, that the subjects of this kingdom cannot be secure in their trade, nor the company in the enjoyment of its just rights and privileges, without such an act; and do dissent from making any address to his Majesty upon that head, until first there be an act passed for securing the company's rights and privileges, in the asserting and vindicating of which, the honour of King and parliament is so much concerned; and, in testimony of our duty to both, and to the interest of our country and company, we crave that our said opinion and dissent be marked, with our names adjoined thereunto.

Address against adjourning the Parliament in the Affair of Caledonia,
1701.

May it please your MAJESTY,

We Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgessees, and other subscribers, your Majesty's most dutiful subjects of this your antient kingdom of Scotland, having formerly, from an unfeigned zeal to your Majesty's service, and to the good and welfare of our country, petitioned your Majesty for a meeting of the estates in parliament, in order to support and assist our company trading to Africa and the Indies, which the parliament, by their unanimous address to your Majesty of the 5th of August 1698, declared to be their own
and

and the whole nation's particular concern; and your Majesty having been graciously pleased to allow the parliament to meet on the 21st of May last, whereby all your good subjects could not but conceive suitable hopes of its happy issue for the honour and interest of your Majesty and people, do now beg leave to express our deep concern and sorrow for the unexpected adjournment thereof, without being permitted to do any thing towards the wished-for end of its meeting; and do, in all humble manner, concur with the dutiful address lately presented to your Majesty from the plurality of the members of parliament, representing the inconveniencies and prejudices arising to the pressing concerns of the nation from that adjournment, and to the rights and liberties of parliament from the manner of it; and its our inexpressible regret, that your Majesty does seem to have been prevailed upon, by the misrepresentations of evil counsellors, to hasten out proclamations for the adjourning the parliament from time to time, whilst not only the said company did stand utterly in need of the continuance, support, and protection promised to it by your Majesty in parliament, and more especially upon the misfortunes that have of late befallen it by the success of enemies against its colony of Caledonia, but, whilst also even the nation itself did, and still does remain under the pressure of such grievances as can only be redressed in parliament. And, to the end that your Majesty may have a just view thereof, we humbly beg leave to represent to your Majesty, how indispensibly necessary it is, That the protestant religion be secured against the growth of popery, immorality, and profaneness: That the nation's right and title to Caledonia, as holding of your Majesty's crown of Scotland, be asserted and supported: That the good inclinations of your Majesty, and successor Kings of Scotland, be preserved from foreign influence, as well as from the misrepresentations and pernicious counsels of unnatural countrymen: That the frequency and fitting of parliament be secured and ascertained, pursuant to our claim of right: That dangerous influences upon the freedom of parliament, either by gratuitous pensions, or farms of any branch of the reve-

nue, or annexed property of the crown, otherwise than accords to law, for the necessary support of the government, be prevented: That the public credit be restored, and an inquiry made into the application of the fund laid on, and appropriated by parliament, for support of the government and payment of the army: That the security and defence of the nation and government be settled, and a duly regulated force, instead of a standing army, so burdensome to the country, and dangerous to its liberty, that the particular manner of applying the security, which we, by your claim of right for the personal freedom of the subjects against long and arbitrary imprisonment, as well as against law-suits upon old and obsolete laws, be specially declared by parliament: That the trade of this nation be encouraged and advanced, by duly regulating its export and import, by discharging the prejudicial branches thereof, by paying the value of the current money, by encouraging manufactures, by employing the poor, and more especially your countenancing and assisting our said company in the prosecution of its lawful undertakings. And that all such articles of grievances presented to your Majesty by the estates of this kingdom in the year 1689, as having not yet been redressed, together with such other grievances as the parliament, at the sitting thereof, find the nation aggravated with, be redressed in parliament. And your Majesty having, by your royal letter of the 24th of May 1689, been graciously pleased to declare, and give full assurance of our representatives in that meeting of estates which settled the crown and royal dignity of this realm in your Majesty, that we should always find your Majesty ready to protect and assist the estates in making such laws as might secure our religion, liberties, and property, or redress whatsoever might be justly grievous to us: That your Majesty would never believe that the true interest of the people and the crown would be opposite; and that your Majesty would always account it your greatest prerogative to assent to such laws as might promote truth, peace, and wealth in your kingdom. We therefore reckon it our duty, humbly to desire, and assuredly to expect, that
your

your Majesty would be graciously pleased to satisfy the longing desires, and earnest expectation of your people, by allowing the parliament to meet as soon as is possible, and, when met, to sit while they have fully deliberate upon, and come to solid resolutions in the great and weighty concerns of the nation; and grant such instructions to your Commissioner as may enable him to pass such acts as the great council of the nation shall think most conducive to the true honour of your Majesty and government, the welfare of this realm, both as to its religious and civil interest, and to the full quieting the minds of all your Majesty's good people.

Hints to the King by Mr Carstares.

This letter, Sir, which is sent to your Majesty from Scotland being designed for a public declaration of your mind, it seems necessary it be so expressed, that nothing may appear to be said in it, but what your Majesty is really resolved to do, that the enemies of your government may have nothing like a handle for cavilling, as they presume in their address to do, with regard to a letter of your Majesty's in 1689; and, therefore, I presume to suggest the following alterations in this letter:

1st, Where it is said, *And we being most willing to grant what may be judged needful, &c.* the word *judged* may be left out; because, by it, your Majesty seems to oblige yourself to every thing that your parliament shall judge needful; and, if any thing they judge to be so should be denied, they will recur to your Majesty's promise in this letter.

2^{do}, What is said about Capt. Pinkerton may, I humbly judge, be thus expressed:

We have taken the most effectual methods, both for the safety and liberty of Capt. Pinkerton, and the other prisoners in Spain, by sending particular orders for that effect to our minister at Madrid, and by a letter under our royal hand to the King of Spain in their favours.

3^{tio}, What is said about the company may be, in my humble opinion, thus framed:

And, for our company's concerns, we assure you, that we will so steadily concur with our parliament in every thing that can reasonably be expected of us for aiding and supporting their interest, and repairing their losses, that all our good subjects shall have just grounds to be assured of our hearty inclinations to advance the wealth and prosperity of that our antient kingdom.

I take the boldness to suggest this way of your Majesty's expressing yourself more fully upon this business of the company, than even the letter doth that is sent by your Majesty's servants, that the word *reasonable*, which leaves your Majesty a *just latitude*, may be the less excepted against.

PHILIPHAUGH to MR CARSTARES.

Parliament have refused an Act asserting our Right to Caledonia, carried by Twenty-four.—A minute Detail of the Debates in the House,—and the tumultuary Proceedings of the Opposition.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
Jan. 15.
1701.

Yesterday, after a warm battle, which lasted for several hours, and was pretty closely fought, the parliament refused an act for asserting our right to Caledonia, and voted an address upon the resolve about our right. The vote carried by a plurality of twenty-four. And now having told you of the victory, I shall go on after my ordinary, and give you an account, as I remember, of the proceedings Monday and Tuesday. On Monday, the resolve presented by D. Hamilton was read, and the Commissioner spoke to the house to this purpose: That the question before them was of great consequence, and had been much talked of, both at home and abroad; that their proceedings upon it would be strictly observed; so he hoped they would proceed with all prudence and circumspection: That he thought fit to tell them, that it was necessary, for giving their resolutions and conclusions upon this matter a due value and reputa-

reputation, that they should proceed with all dutiful respect to the King, and with concord and unanimity amongst themselves: That the want of either of these would spoil the use and credit of all they could do upon this occasion. And that they might have a clear and fresh view of the King's sentiments upon this head, he desired his Majesty's last letter to them might be read; which was read; and the Chancellor gave in a draught of a resolve, which you'll see in that day's minutes. Our friends thought fit, before the right was voted, to lay the view of an address upon it before the parliament; and designed, if possible, to get above it, Approve the resolve presented by D. Hamilton, or that presented by my L. Chancellor, that the asserting of the right, and address upon it, might go together; but, after several hours debate, they found that complex vote could not be obtained: So there was a resolve drawn relating to their right; which you'll see also in the minutes: And this was unanimously approved. Thereafter, our friends pressed the consideration of the rest of my Lord Chancellor's overture. Jarviswood gave in a new resolve, whereof I have sent you a double; and then the debate arose which of these should be first considered; and it was alledged for Jarviswood's, that it was a further grievance and wound our company had got; that what was proposed by my L. Chancellor was a remedy; and it was fit first to consider all the diseases and wounds before they came to the remedy. And this was nauseously insisted on. Our friends alledged, that the other being first tabled, and a part of the same overture whereupon they had already proceeded, it were irregular to interrupt the finishing of that; and other things might be considered afterwards. There was long wrangling upon this. After all that was to be said upon the question was exhausted, and things fell into some disorder; for there was about a dozen of members that still began to speak, and interrupted the putting of the question. I love not to insist to lay open our shame; but some appeared to be in a mistake, and fancied, that, by the vote proposed, they were to be drawn presently into an address; but, when it was cleared, that all the import of
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the question was, whether to consider the Chancellor's or Jarvis-wood's overture first? and that though the Chancellor's should be voted first to be considered, it would be intire to them to consider, whether they would go into an address or an act, or any other expedient. Upon the resolves past in the house, there was then less noise; and, after complaints by several of our friends of the disorder, representing how unparliamentary such a method was, and inconsistent with the rules of all societies, since thereby a few might obstruct the dispatch of all business; at length D. Hamilton proposed a state of the vote, Whether they would first proceed to consider the rest of the grievances of our company, or the four resolves past? it carried the four resolves past; and, being late, the parliament was adjourned till yesterday. And, before they began to business yesterday, the Chancellor, at my L. Commissioner's desire, complained to the house of the disorders that happened last dyet, and advertised them he would see the orders of the house strictly observed, to prevent the like thereafter. After reading the Chancellor's overture about an address, the E. Marshall presented an act asserting the right to Caledonia, and promising the company support and assistance in prosecution thereof. D. Hamilton seconded the motion, and made a long speech, containing few arguments, but many very zealous expressions for the company and colony; and, for pressing the necessity of an act, he produced a paper, which he desired to be read, and whereby he said the house would be convinced of the necessity of an act. I shall, if possible, send you a double of the paper with this. When part of it was read, it was found to be a declaration by Mr Pinkerton, and another in his circumstances, upon an examination of a committee of the directors; and my L. Advocate being surpris'd with the impertinency of some of the interrogatories, stopped the reading further; and here began a long wrangling. D. Hamilton pretended to have it read as a part of his speech; but he was told that, though he might put his own speech in writing, he could not pretend to read other people's testimonies. At length they came
to

to some reasoning upon it, and D. Hamilton declared, that the reason he desired it to be read was, that the parliament might see the severe and cruel usage our countrymen had met with, and that their liberation proceeded from the villainous and infamous treaty of the surrender of Caledonia, and not from any interposition of our King. My L. Commissioner thought fit to inform the house, that he had by him a double of the King of Spain's order, which was expressly founded on our King's interposition. This silenced D. Hamilton, and satisfied the house. And whereas our friends had opposed the reading of the paper, lest it contradicted his Majesty's letters, wherein he declared he had interposed, these that pressed the reading then declared the paper did noways contradict, but confirm it; and then it was allowed to be read; but, after reading, our friends did so expose the impertinency and ridiculousness of the paper, and the guilt wherein it might involve those concerned in it, that, I have reason to think, these that pressed the reading would have wished they had forborn. After this, they fell upon the debate about the address or act proposed; and, for some hours, it was managed with great gravity and decency, and there was several pretty discourses: On the one hand, it was pled, An act was necessary for the security of those that had been, or should be concerned in that design, for the honour of the nation, and for satisfying the people, who, by many addresses, had signified their earnest desire for such an act; and insinuations were made, that, by experience, it was found addresses had little effect. On the other hand, it was urged, That the act 1695, with the resolves now passed, which was a sentence and judgment of the parliament, approving the application that had been made of the general law, was a sufficient security to all concerned here, (and no act of ours would be regarded in Spain): That an act, assertory of our right, was not proper, nor of use, since it could have no retrospect; and therefore it was needless to straiten or difficult the King in the matter; and the reasons he had signified why he could not comply with them in that point, ought to determine the house not to press his Majesty, where there was so little need for it.

D. Hamil-

D. Hamilton, to take off this last part, said he was not for straitening the King, as to the time of giving the assent; but that they should vote the act, and address his Majesty to give the royal assent when his circumstances allowed. But my L. Stairs said he did not understand that; for, if any such act was voted, it behoved either to have the royal assent this session, or it vanished. L. Belhaven alledged that E. Melvill had touched an act or two that had been voted the former session. E. Melvill asserted they were voted over again in this session, and appealed to the minutes. D. Hamilton then made a discourse of the alteration of affairs in Europe, and told how he had spoke with one come from Holland, and what intelligence he had from England; and the conclusion was, that such an act would be acceptable to them both. And this made impression upon the members. So my L. Commissioner thought fit to tell the house, That they had heard his Majesty's own sentiments in his letter; that he had never got the least insinuation from his Majesty of any alteration of his opinion; and that he had reason to believe that his Majesty was more straitened, and had greater difficulties in this point than before; so he hoped this loyal parliament would be tender to straiten his Majesty, especially since it was not necessary for their own interest. Upon this there was a hum over all the house, whereby they silently signified their satisfaction; for his Grace's greatest opposers do entirely trust his veracity; and no member offered to second D. Hamilton's arguments. At length the question was proposed, An address or an act? and D. Hamilton rose, and repeated some things had been said, and asserted, with great asseverations, the sincerity of his opinion; and had this expression, That, if he was to speak before the tribunal of Jesus Christ, he would say he believed an act was absolutely necessary; and so he behoved to dissent from any vote for an address; and he offered a paper, containing the reasons of his dissent. This had been concerted with several others; and, it being dark, many people had slipped into the house; and, after D. Hamilton's speech, there was a great cry and confusion.

confusion. At length, when the noise was compesced, the Duke read the paper himself, and desired it might be marked, and all that dissented. We thought at first that they designed to leave the house upon this, and, as we hear, this was proposed and pressed at the meeting; but severals who concurred with them for an act, refused to enter into that measure. Our friends were not all one, what was allowable in such a case; for some said members might dissent, and mark their dissent before they vote, but then they could not vote; others said they might vote, and desire their vote to be marked, and enter a protestation after the vote, which might be recorded. So, after a little bustle, the votes were called, and the question put; and D. Hamilton voted Act, and desired to be marked; but many that voted so spoke nothing of marking; whether all that voted so will sign any protestation or no, I cannot tell. The vote carried as I told you. Some that we reckoned upon left us; some run out, and would not be prevailed upon to stay; some declined voting. And now, Sir, you see we are happily over that difficult passage, where the parliament stuck at the beginning; and I am confident you, and all with you, will be satisfied, if there had not been great diligence and caution used, we should have stuck there still. And I dare positively assure you, that, if we had begun at this matter, not only at the sitting down of this session, but even at their entering on the resolves about this business, this pass had not yet proved impossible. And you know things have not happened thus by any chance; but the train and suite of the design was laid, and God be thanked it has taken effect. And I am persuaded this business is brought to as happy a conclusion as could almost be wished for; for the resolves of the house, wherein the King is not concerned, will, I hope, satisfy the nation, that the parliament, and particularly all the King's servants, are well affected to the interest of the company, and that they refuse to do nothing for them, but what can be of little or no use to them, and of ill consequence to the King. I hope also, by this, the world will see, that the parliament has still a just and dutiful regard to our King. I have just now received two from you by

a flying packet. I have not yet seen my L. Commiffioner, and fo knows nothing of the contents of it. Dear Sir, adieu.

PHILIPHAUGH to Mr CARSTARES.

Supplement to the foregoing Account of the tumultuary Proceedings of the oppofite Party.—Wifhes the King's Friends would ftudy to have more Votes, and fewer Debates in the Houfe.

S I R,

Edinburgh,
June 16.
1701.

I wrote to you yefterday fuch account as I was able to give of the proceedings in parliament Monday and Tuesday laft. I expected it was to go off with a flying packet before the Commiffioner went to parliament; but, as his Grace was difpatching his letters, a flying packet came from you, and he delayed the difpatching his till night, in hopes to make fome return with it; but the parliament fitting till nine at night, and he had not eat a bit all day, he was not able to write, and was apprehenfive he fhould hardly be able to have time to write this morning either; however, he refolved to fend off the flying packet with what he had formerly writ, left you fhould want the accounts of what had paffed too long. I can but give you a very fhort account of a long federunt yefterday; and that is, there fell in a debate about the adjusting of the former day's minutes, and that debate lafted all day over, and there could be no vote obtained; and fo they parted without advancing one ftep. The debate was, that D. Hamilton and others, who had voted for an act, and diffented from an addrefs, defired their names to be infert in the minutes, and that the minutes might bear an order of parliament for recording the reafons of diffent offered. Some of our friends opposed both thefe motions, and unwarily engaged themfelves fo far that they could not retreat. The members fometimes fpoke about the inferting of names and numbers of voters in the minutes, some-
times

times about the recording of reasons against a vote ; but the debate turned most, for a great while, upon the last point : At length the Chancellor offered the state of a vote to the house, viz. Whether the reasons of dissent offered should be recorded, yea or no ? Sir John Erskine of Alva said this state was not full ; and he offered this state, Whether the reasons of dissent from an address, given in by D. Hamilton and eighty-three more members, should be recorded, yea or no ? It was objected against this state, that it was captious and absurd, since it contained the very question in its bosom, and, though the parliament should discharge the recording of names or numbers of voters, by the inserting that state of the question in the minutes, they would be recorded. There were many members who spoke very seriously against such a disorderly and disingenious method, but all in vain ; for there were ten or twelve of the barons, who were supported by D. Hamilton, the Marquis of Tweeddale, and E. Rutherglen, who resolved, as I hear, by all means to obstruct any vote ; and they plead it as a privilege of the members to give in a state of a question, and demand a vote upon it ; and, if it did not please, any other might give another state, and vote which should be the question ; and, when others demanded, then, a previous question, Whether names or numbers should be put in any state of a question, or in the minutes any manner of way ? The gentlemen fairly told, if a hundred questions were proposed, they would still adhere to their privilege of having the state offered by them one branch of the question. And, whenever the Chancellor attempted to call the rolls upon any other question, these gentlemen and their supporters made a mighty incessant noise. At length, my Lord Commissioner, at the desire of several of the King's servants, and other friends, adjourned till this day. Now, Sir, I hope you see still, that, as I said, the state of things here is still ticklish, and that it is not adviseable or safe to make debates, but where they are important and necessary. I have a great deal of deference for those who opposed the inserting of the names in the minutes ; but I must own to you, though it was a novelty, I did not think it worth half the

time's debate; for there was no dishonour in setting down an 108 for the address, and 84 against it; especially, when the 108 are considered, they will be found to be men of as good account and fortunes in the nation as others; and if this had been once decided, or yielded, our friends should not have fallen into the hose-net, as I hear D. Hamilton called it, and said to some of his friends, We have now got them into a hose-net, let us hold them fast there. I hope, though our friends has lost a day, they are not at a loss upon the matter; for all the indifferent world, and even many of their firmest friends, were dissatisfied with Sir John Erskine's state, and others adhering so tenaciously to it; and I myself heard some of them censure him as disingenuous, and condemned the preparative as dangerous. I shall trouble you no further, but tell you that my L. Chancellor's modest and easy temper, and his great patience, in hearing every member, gives some occasion to obstruct and retard business more than were to be wished. But this to yourself, to whom I can trust every thought. D. Sir, adieu.

After the adjournment of the parliament, the Commissioner gave the parliament a reprimand for disorders last night as unparliamentary, and against the rules of all society, and hoped, he said, they were sensible of it, and would not fall in the like again. He moved, that the number of the votes for address and act should be both insert in the minutes: And this was acquiesced to. Then the barons, and others above mentioned, insisted, that all the voters for act should be named as dissenters; and this they insisted on, because they knew many of these that voted so would not subscribe any protestation or dissent, which our friends pressed. This debate was like to turn things into disorder again; and his Grace thought it not worth losing time, and that the pressing to have all voters for act concluded as dissenters, without their warrant, might disoblige such, and perhaps withdraw them from these cabals; when they saw they made one step, they were imposed upon to make two. As for the reasons of the dissent, they were rejected,
not

not only from being recorded, but even from being so much as marked given in to the clerk, but only to be mentioned in the minute read by D. Hamilton in his place. After this, the parliament went on to consider, what they would do upon the three former resolves of the house: There was little or no debate about it; all seemed to be for an address; but, when a vote was asked, upon that D. Hamilton and Marq. of Tweeddale proposed a doubt, that, though they might be for an address on these three resolves, yet, having dissented from the fourth about the company's right, they could not join as to the rest, unless they were to be in a separate address; and so they, and others, urged a vote first, Whether a separate address for these three or no? They were told, it behoved first to be determined, whether the parliament would address upon these three or no? and so there was a debate like to arise again, which of these questions should be first voted; but, to save time, this expedient was fallen upon, that, without a vote, it should be marked in the minutes agreed to, that there should be address upon these three resolves; and then the vote should be put, Separate or no? Duke Hamilton, and many others of the dissenters, pressed earnestly the house would agree to a separate address, that so it might be unanimous. Our friends represented the incongruity of separate addresses about the same affair, and how the address upon these three would want a foundation, unless that about the right were joined: The question was put, and carried, No separate address, but all in one. So here is the cannon turned again; and I wish our friends would study to have fewer debates, and more votes, for we are safe upon a just and fair stated vote, and debates lose time, and introduces many unnecessary questions, which still give the greatest struggle. Dear Sir, adieu.

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————— to the EARL of ARGYLE.

Of his Patent as Duke of Argyle.—Of Lothian's and Annandale's as Marquises, and Secretary Carmichael as Earl.—Montrose and Lady Wigton.

May it please your Lordship,

Edinburgh,
May 5.
1701.

I hope your Lordship has before now received the draught of your patent; I kept the double of it beside me, and, upon a review, I thought Inverary was wrong placed before Lorn, seeing Lorn is to be the title of your eldest son; in the transcribing, let it be placed before Inverary. The noise runs here, that your patent as Duke, the Earls of Lothian and Annandale as Marquises, and Secretary Carmichael as Earl, are already past the King's hand; but I knew it was not so. The Earl of Lothian's patent is only sent with this post. I opened to your friend Nicanor, who has a great deal of sense of your Lordship's closs and good management in his behalf; and assures your Lordship, that there is nothing that your Lordship will undertake for him for his integrity and fidelity to the King and government, but he will bide by it; for he thinks no person will adventure to stain him upon that head; and, for his contradictor, he is sure he cannot condescend upon his fault, nor make no relevant objection against him. If humour must be the rule, it deserves no answer; and he is positive he never disoblinded him. Whatever disobligements he met with from him which are known, he refers all to your Lordship's good conduct, and thinks, if either the King or kingdom's interests be the rule, your proposal cannot fail; if it do otherwise, it smells too much of what is feared that is resolved by his contradictor, to put matters upon an other foot, which cannot work the King's interest. There is another story spread here, that your Lordship has parted with E. Elphiston, providing Commissary Stewart be not the man, which seems to displease both; I know it is false, and did assure them it was so. Your
Lord-

Lordship would mind L. Colme Ab. for he showed a great deal of displeasure as to what past anent the copper-plate, as I wrote in my last, and treated the assize very boldly. The Chancellor and Annandale are to be here upon Monday next. There is no other thing here worth your notice. As for that sad story of Montrose and Lady Wigton, he is retired, and she is gone home to her father's; her husband conveyed her with her father to Kirkcaldy, and there took leave; but, since the tryft was disappointed, Montrose's friends might have managed more wisely. I will not trouble your Lordship with the long story of it, because it went through many hands by the last post. My only son is, some weeks ago, dead, and my wife very indisposed, which makes me to be in a little disorder.

LORD LOVAT to Mr CARSTARES.

Complains that nothing is done for him.—Applies to Mr Carstares for a little Money to carry him home, having no other Door open.

Dear SIR,

I must reckon myself very unhappy, that my friends here do so much neglect me; and I believe my last journey to England has done me a vast prejudice; for, if I had been at home, I would have got something done in my Lord Elcho's business, and would have got money before now, that might serve me to go a volunteer with the King, or maintain me any where; but my friends at home must have worse thoughts now of my affair than ever, having staid so long here, and got nothing done. However, I now resolve to go to Scotland, not being able to subsist longer here. I have sent the inclosed note, that, according to your kind promise, I may have the little money which will carry me home, and it shall be precisely paid before two months; and I must say it is one of the greatest favours ever was done me, not having any other door open, if you
were

London,
June 20,
1701.

were not so generous as to assist me, which I shall alwise gratefully remember, and continue with all sincerity,

Dear SIR,

Your faithful and obliged servant,

LOVAT.

MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

Stories of Variance.—Promises to stick fast to the Friendship which the King set up.

SIR,

Holyrood-
house, June
24. 1701.

I have had no letters from you since that of the 10th of May, and I long to hear from you; for both that, and a former of the first of May, and the freedom used in them, were very acceptable to me. I thank you for your care in delivering the three letters I inclosed to you. Let me know if any thing was said to you concerning the fourth, which you was to deliver. I am much surpris'd with some stories talked here, of variance amongst friends, to a higher pitch than I hope it is. I wish they may take heed, for it too often happens among friends, as among the teeth in the mouth, if one drops out, the rest quickly follow. I will answer, for one, that, however I may differ a little about some things, I will stick fast to the friendship which the King himself set up, and, whoever he be that fails, he will certainly repent it. I do believe you have some confidence in me, as I have in you; and I desire there be no breach of that. I do not fear to be deceived; yet I would rather chuse to be so, than to deceive any who have confidence in me. What you write freely to me shall not turn to your prejudice, and cannot tend to mine, who am,

SIR,

Your affectionate humble servant, and true friend,

MARCHMONT.

LORD

DUKE of ARGYLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of gaining Whitelaw.—In this Case their Work is half done.—They deprive the opposing Party of their Sense, and get into their Bowels.—Queensberry is averse to this.—Philiphaugh is still the Burden of his Song.—Of a Scheme to gain the Laird of Grant.

S I R,

I have had nothing from Scotland since your going for Holland worth the writing. I shall not fail to transmit what accounts I shall have from time to time, which may be improved to the King's service. I gave both Secretaries my advice at parting, particularly how to deal with L. Whitelaw, and others of his squade; and, the longer I consider on it, the more I am convinced to a demonstration, that, if once we gain Whitelaw, our work is half done; for by it we shall deprive the opposing party of their sense, and get into their bowels; nor will it be in the power of the greatest of that party to prevent it, and their interest will vanish. Did the D. of Queensberry but rightly consider his own particular interest, as well as his Majesty's, and the safety of all who acted upon the revolution, he would come frankly into the measure. But, alas! still Philiphaugh is the burden of the song; and, to speak in Jocky terms, he is his dead weight, as I have often told the Duke in raillery formerly, when he used to solicit his Majesty for Carnwath, Broomhall, and the rest of his family. I doubt not but you'll mind what was recommended to you by our memorial; and pray take care, if any more be crowded into his Majesty's council, a just balance be kept in the adding of them, or it cannot answer the right end. I remember there was one thing recommended to you, which V. Seafield was shy to move, till he understood how I should approve of it, because of my relation. But he had no reason; for I shall ever

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1701.

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prefer his Majesty's service to any other consideration. He proposed a gift to be procured of the E. of Murray's escheat, now fallen in favours of the Laird of Grant, as a means to gain him to the King's interest, the intent being to secure a debt owing by the E. of Murray to Grant. Upon second thoughts, I think it may be yet improved further, which you'll please to represent to the King as my opinion: There is the member who represents the town of Inverness in parliament, and two others of the north, who depend entirely on the E. of Murray; they opposed last parliament, and yet endeavours were used to soften them. Let the gift of escheat pass in my name, the Laird of Grant to be satisfied out of it; by which I save my uncle from being oppressed by the Laird of Grant, and I shall oblige him to cause those members serve the King, by keeping it over his head; and, besides, it may be a means to cause my brother-in-law, L. Doun, take the oaths, which he is not averse to, to my knowledge, but dares not show any inclination, for fear of his father. Besides, if, after all, my uncle do not give way to his dependers to serve the King, I shall show a way by which he may be deprived of towards L. 200 Sterling yearly he enjoys of the crown during his lifetime; and these who will serve may be rewarded without any expence to his Majesty. The gift so granted should be sent me over, not to be took notice of till I found matters, and once next month I shall take a trip to Scotland, and doubt not of doing some good by my going; for, to be free, V. Seafeld has the misfortune not to be trusted by some, though I presume they wrong him; and I flatter myself Grant and some others will give me some more credit; besides, he is my relation. I shall be ever fond of contributing all I can to advance his Majesty's interest and service; for, indeed, both gratitude and inclination prompts me to it. We are all overjoyed at the repeated news of the Imperialists success, in their first enterprize against the French, under Prince Eugene's command, who, by his mettle, has showed the Imperialists nimbler than the French, a character not ascribed to them formerly. I hope it is an omen of other good things to follow. We long to hear what
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are his Majesty's resolutions in the present juncture. I pray God preserve him. I know your character obliges you to pray for peace, but I assure you more wishes otherways. If it prove war, you'll be obliged once more to represent the Scots church militant; but beware of skulking in the ditch any more, as you told me.

I am, your affectionate friend, to serve you,

ARGYLE.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Will not leave his Party;—but difficult to gratify their Friends in Proportion to their Pretensions.—Mr Robert Stewart made Lord of Session.—Annandale dissatisfied with it, because it will give the President too great Sway in the Session.

S I R,

I came here upon Saturday last, and, though I designed to come privately, yet there came out a great company to meet me. I have not as yet had time to speak with persons particularly; however, I find that what occurred at London is well enough known here. I get visits from both parties at present; but has spoke of no business to either; as, for instance, I have seen my L. Whitelaw, and my L. Philiphaugh, my L. Tiviot, and Major-general Ramsay; and this afternoon the Earl of Rutherglen was with me. But, whatever others may do to me, I shall not leave the party with whom I am engaged; for I think the most certain way to carry on the King's affairs will be by keeping unite amongst ourselves. I find some of our friends puts a great value upon some of their services, and raises their pretensions much higher than we can answer. Of this you shall have a particular account afterwards. The great difficulty that we have, in all his Majesty's affairs, is, that the customs are

Edinburgh,
July 22.
1701.

reduced to so uncertain a state, that we know not what can be made of them. It would secure all, if his Majesty could get our trade with France established; and, according to what information I have, it may be done with little difficulty; for Mr Cuninghame, my L. Carmichael's son's governor, has spoke of it, and Monf. Pouffin and he has writ of it to France, and does very quickly expect an answer; and our merchants here do believe that it may be obtained upon demanding. We have sent this by a flying packet, that there may be time for sending to this place a letter for a further adjournment of the parliament; and I wish his Majesty may do it to such a time that there be no need for a further adjournment till his Majesty's return. This day's letters brings an account that his Majesty is to reside at Loo; upon which every body concludes that we are to have no war. When you write to me, I shall be glad you let me know how his Majesty keeps his health since he went to Holland; for I am afraid of nothing, so long as it pleases God to preserve him, and, without him, I propose no satisfaction in this kingdom. Mr Robert Stewart has got his letter to be a Lord of Session. The Marquis of Annandale seems mightily displeased with it; because it will give the President too great interest in the session; and there are many others displeased; but it is now over, and we must make the best of it. There are particular letters this day from my L. Duke of Queensberry to several persons; I know not to what purpose; but he has not written either to my L. Carmichael or me. I shall trouble you no further at present, but that I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

LORD

LORD CARMICHAEL to Mr CARSTARES.

*E. Marshal's Pension dissatisfying to many ; not sure if he will accept.
 —Earls of Mar, Loudon, Northesk, scruple to take their's ; but
 may be prevailed on.*

S I R,

I have not heard from you since parting, nor from any other, of your safe arrival in Holland, which I long to know. I gave you account of what I wrote to the D. of Queensberry, and I have got a very satisfying answer. He gives assurance of his fixedness to the present church-government, as the best support of that cause for which he so early appeared, and ventured his all, and given me allowance to make the same known. The Earl of Marshal's pension is dissatisfying to many here ; and some are of opinion it will be to no purpose, that it will not fix him ; and others think he will not accept of it. The Earls of Mar, Loudon, Northesk, scruple at accepting their pensions ; but I judge they will be prevailed with. Those of the treasury who are concerned in the session are so much taken up with session-business now, in the close thereof, that there are as yet no treasury-affairs done, albeit my Lord Seafield and I have attended every treasury-day. Lady Shusan Cockburn, it is thought, is just a-dying, which keeps the Treasurer-depute out of town ; which is a great hindrance to council and treasury-business. The African council has given an odd address to the privy-council, and another, which they deliver, desiring it may be transmitted to the King : That, if there be any treaty with Spain, none may be concluded till they have reparation of their losses ; and more to this purpose. But I have not heard it read, it being delayed till next council-day. I am faithfully your's.

Edinburgh,
 July 29,
 1701.

My wife gives you her humble service.

EARL

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the African Company's Address about a Treaty with Spain.—Commissary Elphinston desires to be made a Knight-Baronet.

S I R,

Edinburgh.
July 29.
1701.

This day the African company presented a petition to the Lords of privy-council, with an address to his Majesty, desiring their Lordships concurrence thereto, and that they might transmit it to his Majesty. The address is, that his Majesty may conclude no treaty with France or Spain, till Spain acknowledges the company's right to Caledonia, and make up all their losses. It was only read, and delayed till the next council-day, that, in the mean time, we might concert measures; and accordingly we meet to-morrow at the Abbey. Commissary Elphinston is desirous to be Knight-Baronet; and accordingly I send you the inclosed patent, which you may cause Mr Pringle to present it, and transmit how soon you can. I am obliged to be with my Lord Kintore and my Lord Carmichael at supper; for my Lord Kintore is going out of town; and have no time to write any more to-night; but I shall do it fully by my next. Show what's above to Mr Pringle; and I am your most humble servant.

————— to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon English Affairs.—Whether the King should try a new Parliament? and, if he inclines it, whether the People should desire it?

Edinburgh,
July 29.
1701.

As great difficulties, (Worthy dear Sir,) are in view, as can well be supposed; both, whether it be desirable the King should try a
new

new parliament or not; and, whether it should be desired of him by the people that he would, yea or no? As to the former, on the one part, if he do, the choice may be mostly the same; and then they return with greater irritation and indisposition to the King's business. On the other, if he do not, he is sure of the same; and the animosity against the opposite party can scarce be greater, and, too probably, such as quite to hinder the King's business, if, especially, the controversy between the two houses remain uncomposed. Divers that understand the nation are of opinion, a new parliament would be much more for the King's service, especially, if he think fit to express a resentment of disrespect and delays from the former; which is likely to be accompanied with great detriment and prejudice, very sensible to the body of the people; want of trade, price of wool fallen to nothing, &c. If the new trial be not made, the King must suffer himself to be plucked away from his best friends, against whom nothing is to be alledged but their known affection to his Majesty. All the world, friends and enemies, account the impeached Lords such; and, that his Majesty was only not struck at, as being too high out of reach. Whether it ought to be made the people's request or desire to his Majesty, is a difficulty next to insuperable. Unto many, full of duty to his Majesty, it will carry the appearance of rudeness, and an unmannerly presumption, to advise in so great an affair of state; wherein, if they be not numerous, they signify nothing, if they be, the more presumptuous. Besides that, his Majesty's pleasure and purpose being unpreknown, if it should prove contrary to such a petition, the petitioners, in next session, must expect to be torn in pieces. If his Majesty make it his own act, it would be freely followed with congratulatory addresses; which would signify much to make it effectual to its most desirable end. If this be at all useful, you know when, and where, and with what circumstances of duty, &c. to use it better than, Worthy Sir, your's, as you know.

Cock-

COCKBURN of Ormiston to Mr CARSTARES.

In favours of Mr David Carmichael for the Commissariat now vacant.—Nothing so shocking as Earl Marshal's getting L. 500 of Pension.—The Marquis of Annandale in a continued Fit of ill Humour.

S I R,

Ormiston,
July 29.
1701.

I wrote to you some time ago in, relation to the commissariat of Edinburgh, which might become vacant, one of them being advanced to the session. To this I had no return; but, when the Secretaries came, I understood some had been named to it at court, and, amongst the rest, Mr David Carmichael; and I can learn, nothing stood in his way but his father's shyness to do for his own. I find the D. of Argyle is much for Sir Alexander Cumming; but both the Secretaries are satisfied it is not for the King's service to put in such a man; so I sent last post a new commission, which is in favour of Mr David Carmichael, now entered advocate. 'Tis the best breeding a young man can have; and I cannot think there needs many words with you, where any of my L. Carmichael's children are concerned. You know I have not troubled the King with many of my suits; yet this one I desire you may lay before his Majesty; and, if he thinks I either have done, or can do him service, he will not deny me this small reward. Indeed, I must say it, I think my Lord Carmichael has taken a very small share of the partition; and he has a colleague is not shy. It might be expected my Lord should have more help; but you have an opportunity to oblige his friends, and, when its granted, let both Secretaries know the favour is granted at my request. There is nothing so shocking to those appeared last session of parliament as E. Marshall's being of the council, and getting L. 500 Sterling pension. I love not to dive into measures; but, sure I am, we are not under those measures. Honest men, who have appeared both for church and state, can think

think themselves secure by them. The Marq. of Annandale has been, since the Secretaries came, in one continued fit of ill humour, which has appeared in every public meeting, to the delaying of all treasury-business in particular. I should have been in town this day; but my wife's health does not allow me; she has been ill of a long time, and is not without hazard. Farewell.

My son Charles is at Leyden; do me the favour to enquire what he is doing, and let him have your best advice.

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

All believe the War to be the only probable Course to preserve our Religion and Liberties.—Of the Difficulties in settling the Customs. Of a new Address from the African Company, which the Privy Council refuse to transmit.

S I R,

I am very glad to find by your letter from Rotterdam that you are safely arrived. We all believe here that the war now is inevitable; and I speak with no body but who is convinced, that it is the most probable way to preserve our religion and liberties; and I hope God will preserve his Majesty until the power of France be balanced, so as not to be a terror to all Europe. I have spoke with severals here, particularly with one lately preferred, who agree in sentiments with the D. of Argyle; but, since nothing of consequence is to be done in our affairs till his Majesty return, I think it needless to trouble you with any thing of this kind, especially seeing you have sent me no alphabet as you promised. I endeavour to carry as fairly and smoothly with every body as I can; and you may be sure it is difficult enough, seeing I find every one puts a value upon the services they have performed; and they never doubt but that I am capable to procure them any place they desire. The tack of the customs is now under our consideration: I am affraid it must be taken off their hands; and we know not how to dispose of it, trade being so uncertain, and the French trade not being adjusted;

Edinburgh,
July. 31.
1701.

and there being so great appearances of war, all projects of trade are laid aside. The present tacksmen will pay nothing to any body until their abatements are adjusted; and, if they get all their will in these, they will have little or none to pay. I have sent inclosed to Mr Pringle a copy of a new address from the African Company to his Majesty, which they presented to the Lords of the privy council, with a petition, wherein they desire, that the address may be transmitted by the privy council to his Majesty. The last council-day it was only presented and read; but no answer was given to it. Yesterday, all of his Majesty's servants who are of the council met at my L. Chancellor's; and we did unanimously resolve, that it was not fit for the council to do it. This day the petition was read again; and no body having spoke except the Chancellor, who did not say very much, it was put to the vote, and it was carried unanimously, that it should not be transmitted by the council. You will easily conceive the reason why we were of this mind, when you read the address; and I having writt of it to Mr Pringle, it is needless that I should repeat it to you. I shall write again before I go to the country. In the mean time, I am, Sir, your M. H. S.

DUKE of QUEENSBERRY to Mr CARSTARES.

The Necessity of making good parliamentary Promises; it makes a Credit which will be of great Use.—Begs he will speak earnestly to the King in favour of the Marquis of Annandale's Brother.

S I R,

London,
Aug. 12,
1701.

I received your letter of the 28th past from Loo. The King being gone to Dieren, where he has more important affairs, must of consequence occasion a delay in ours. Nothing indeed is so pressing in them as the making good parliamentary promises, which I do beg of the King to do, as soon as his Majesty can conveniently; for it will hereafter make a credit that may be of great use in future

ture undertakings : And, particularly, I do recommend to you the dispatch of my L. Ballantyne's business. He served in hopes of that, when his relations, in whose hands his money is stopt, the interest of it, thinking, by that means, to force him to a compliance with them. I send you inclosed a letter, which I received open, from Mr Secretary Vernon ; it was under a cover to Alexander Johnston, brother to the late Secretary, who being in the country, had it sent to him ; so it came not into my hands till two or three days ago. I do believe that it comes from my cousin the Marq. of Annandale's brother, who I was kind to while he was a boy, and has, I fancy, more than ordinary trust in me on that account. You no doubt know his story : His, and my uncle Dumbarton, when he was very young, gave him a commission in his regiment, where he was converted by his priests : He was one of the revolting Captains, and has ever since served in France with reputation. He seems now sensible of the mistaken course of his life, and may be, if rightly managed, of use to the King. If his Majesty shall have goodness enough to pardon him at the request ; and, in consideration of his relations, my L. Manchester and Mr Vernon are both of opinion, that his suit should be granted, which I hope will have weight with the King : And they think that his Majesty, by doing this act of grace, will have application made to him by most of his subjects now at St Germain, to be sent into the Emperor's service. Pray lay this matter, and the inclosed letter, before his Majesty, as soon as is possible. I beg that you may speak concernedly in it, and let me have his Majesty's answer, with leave to write to the gentleman ; for his circumstances does not allow of any delay, nor can I correspond with him without the King's allowance. Mind the money I wrote to you formerly of on account of the supernumerary troops, for the occasions of the kingdom requires it speedily. I am, after the old manner, your's &c.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

If the Party continues firm, no Difficulty in managing the King's Affairs.—Lord Whitelaw willing to be engaged ;—but still Duke of Queensberry is positive.—The protected Clergy much afraid of the Violence of the Presbyterians.

S I R,

Custom-
house, Aug.
16. 1701.

Though you do not mention the receipt of any letters from me, yet I have written frequently. I am now taken up with my domestic affairs, and entertaining my friends and neighbours. I have seen few of the parliament-men here as yet ; only, I find, from all that I meet with, that, if we continue firm to one another, there will be no great difficulty in managing his Majesty's affairs in the next session of parliament. I have seen my Lord Whitelaw, and he is indeed very ready to be engaged in his Majesty's service ; and, if what my Lord Duke of Argyle proposed were done, he would use his utmost endeavours to promote his Majesty's interest ; but you know the difficulty remains. My Lord Duke of Queensberry continues positive, and division would be of very fatal consequence to our party. I have had with me commissioners from the protected clergy ; they are very much afraid of the violence of the presbyterian ministers, for they have turned out, lately, two intruders that had taken the oaths ; but I told them, there was no help for that, seeing that they had not a legal right to their churches. I resolve to be at Edinburgh against the council day in September, and I carry my wife along with me. My son would likewise very willingly wait upon you ; but I find him so very much advanced in his learning, that I am resolved to leave him at Aberdeen. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston and Laird of Grant being here, I have no more time but only to add, that I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

LORD

LORD CARMICHAEL to Mr CARSTARES.

Great Pains taken to make next Assembly uneasy,—which may have Influence on Members of Parliament;—but few to be trusted.

S I R,

I was very glad to hear from you, and now I have received three of your's. In the last was the cypher you promised. It rejoices me much to know that the King is better in his health. Though I have met with trouble and difficulties since I came to this kingdom, yet I am convinced it was necessary to follow your advice as to my coming at this time, for there are great pains taken to make the next assembly uneasy, and that it may have influence on members of parliament; but I hope endeavours shall be used, as shall make ill designs ineffectual. There are but few to be trusted; and, so soon as I can give any clearer account how matters goes, you shall hear from your sincere and affectionate servant. Sir, pardon my sending this single page; for, by a mistake, I had writt on the other page of your letter what I was to send to a person in Lothian.

August 18.
1701.

Mr ALEXANDER CUNINGHAME to Mr CARSTARES.

An Interview with the Count de Torcy upon the Scottish Trade with France.

S I R,

I have attended your commands concerning our trade ever since I came hither; have been at Marli and Versailles several times; but the Count de Torfi was never at liberty to receive me till yesterday. He asked to see a power from the King of England, and could give no answer to the removing their edict till the King of England did give authority to treat. He assured me of his good intentions to come to a treaty; the vintage being now at hand, I proposed to him the suspending of their edict for some time, till Commissioners could be

Paris, Aug.
22. 1701.

be appointed. That, he said, would be hardly procured ; but, if the King of England would appoint Commissioners presently, that the treaty might be concluded very soon, and the merchants lose no time ; and, that the French King would be easily disposed to grant to the Scottish nation their antient privileges, or other new ones, that would be more for the benefit of commerce. Sir, You see the disposition of this court towards us ; I cannot question their sincerity at present ; and, if we do not lose time, we may obtain what is desired as yet. He was pleased to add, that he would be glad that the treaty might pass through my hands ; but I am now a-going to Italy ; if you think I can be useful to my country, or worthy to serve the King in this or any thing else, you may dispose of me, and assure yourself that, with all sincerity, I am your most obedient and humble servant,

ALEX. CUNINGHAME.

Mr ALEX. CUNINGHAME to Mr CARSTARES.

His Transaction with the Court of France upon its Trade with Scotland.

SIR,

Paris, Aug.
26. 1701.

I wrote to you on Monday last, that I had been with Monsieur de Torfi, and spoke with him of our trade, and did move to have the edict suspended here prohibiting the importation of our fish. I told you how I was received, and that they are willing to enter on a treaty of commerce with us, provided it be with the consent and authority of our King ; but, that a suspension of the edict against our fish cannot be obtained without we give in a memorial, which I had no sufficient power to do. This seems to be a proper time to move in it ; and I think myself obliged to let you know where it sticks at present. I intend to set out next week for Italy with my charge. If it be thought fit that I should do any thing more in this affair, it must be by the King's authority ; then I shall attend it, and receive
your

your commands as marks of honour, and be directed by them as my only rule. I do not know what way others may take to bring it about; but, if no progress may be made in it, it might have been as well let alone. As I was writing this, your's of July 31st came to my hand; for which I return you my hearty thanks. In this, and my former by the last post, I gave you advice of what I had done since I came over; and nothing did hinder me from making a further progress in it but my wanting particular instructions, and a power to present memorials; by which, perhaps, the edict here might have been suspended till the treaty for trade had been concluded: This was that I proposed to Monsieur Torfi as a preliminary; but he put it off till I could present a memorial. Sir, You desire my thoughts of it; and I am of the mind this court is in a good disposition to treat with us on trade, and to settle it on as good terms as others have it. I hear our nation is much for it; and, if I had not been employed in it, others would, who now see themselves prevented, by the good intentions of the King's ministers, which are known; but they do not suspect me, or my being with Monsieur de Torfi. I am of the opinion that it go on; or, at least, not to let it rest where it is now, in a mere overture, when they are so well disposed to it here. I am,

S I R,

Your most obedient and humble servant;

ALEX. CUNINGHAME.

If you can make it bear the charges to me, I shall be willing to attend it; and, though I go to Italy, I will return if commanded, seeing the ministers here told me they would be willing I should be made use of in the treaty.

————— to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the State of Affairs in England.

Kind S I R,

I had your's of the 19th this evening, which my man brought me from London, being just arrived, which had its usual welcome,

Tunbridge-
wells, Aug.
28. 1701.

i. e.

i. e. more than ordinary, not only for the contents, but the person from whom I hear the news. I came here last Saturday night, necessitated by want of health, (particularly, want of appetite;) these waters usually raise me, and I hope will, through the Divine blessing. I dined with my friend the day before I came out of town, and had spent four days at his country-house with him the week before, with most dear affection, and mutual growing tenderness. I have been wanting to myself and the public, I have not done it sooner and oftener. I hope well as to him; but the change of justices of peace in Middlesex (many of the King's friends turned out) reflects on the Lord Keeper, and saddens many. The Lord R—— Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is of the like consideration, tho' some question whether he would not do as much mischief here; and others, who wish well to his family, think it is in order to his fall, and a step to his being laid aside. His speech to the King of Poland from Charles II. and other bloody pamphlets, are published; and, on the other side, pamphlets that mention my friend as to particulars, wherein he had no concern, being then either absent or silent. The city is, at the usual rate, full of lies, and mistaken characters of men, and a false notion of things. People who judge by my Lord S——d's friends conclude for a new parliament speedily; it may have ill consequences either way. I durst not so much as give hints. I had a most obliging kind letter of condolence from the Speaker before I left London. The bustle which the legion-paper made seems to lessen its influence; and, in general, the late session is not so terribly thought of now as in the first heat; however, to accommodate the difference between the two houses, is a matter belongs to wiser heads. An hearty effectual war against France (public money well managed by faithful hands, accountable to parliament), will certainly please the nation, if the present ministry will strike in, in case the King see it needful. His personal honour and affection by the people daily encreaseth; his health and long life is more prayed for than ever. What I wrote of Col. D——ley and the Governor of N. E. I had hoped to have one word about. I have

have since discoursed Mr H. and we agree to be neuter in that affair, and not recommend any, or write against any candidate ; as thinking ourselves too little to meddle in any affairs of such consequence out of our way. I cannot add but that my health is imperfect, though, I hope, somewhat better since I came hither. I am, as you can wish, Sir, your's.

EARL of MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

Desirous to see the King.—Dark Hints of dangerous Designs, which would make it useful to the King's Service that he be allowed to wait upon him.

S I R,

I have been in the country some weeks by-past looking after my private affairs, which I had much neglected, and taking the benefit of my refreshment in that air. It is long since I had the honour to see the King; and, if it can consist with his service here, I should be very glad to have an opportunity of opening my mind to him in discourse, so soon as he returns to England ; and much the rather, that I plainly discern a design a-working, which, if not obviated, is like to have a consequence of the greatest danger to this nation, and yet is secretly managed under a mask, very plausible, and apt to deceive. If you please to acquaint the King of this general, and think it fit to do your endeavour to move him that I may be some short time with him, you shall find that both his Majesty's service, and these who are heartily affected to it, will be at some advantage by what I have to represent. I shall say no more, but hoping to hear from you when you find convenient to write, I remain,

Holyrood-
house, Sept,
8. 1701.

S I R,

Your affectionate humble servant, and true friend,

MARCHMONT.

EARL OF MARCHMONT to Mr CARSTARES.

*The Persons who have gone up with Offers of Service to the Queen.
—Prays that Mr Carstares will write him fully and freely.*

S I R,

Holyrood-
house,
March 31.
1702.

Yesterday and this day the Duke of Hamilton, the Marquis of Tweeddale, and several other lords and gentlemen, have taken journey to London, and I do believe will endeavour to tempt the Queen, by great offers of service, if she will grant them their terms, put some of them in eminent posts, and dissolve the parliament: I hope God will guide her.

I pray you write to me fully and freely, that I may be the more capable to serve her Majesty, in supporting the happy revolution, which did cost the most excellent King William, of ever glorious memory, so vast care, trouble, and hazard.

I would not detain the flying packet, to write any more than what I sent to the Duke of Queensberry, which no doubt you will see before this comes to hand, and which gives as full accounts of things as I could gather. I am,

Your very affectionate humble servant, and true friend,

MARCHMONT.

PHILIPHAUGH to Mr CARSTARES.

Of an Act for abjuring the Pretender, brought in by Lord Chancellor, and the Reasonings upon both Sides.—The Parliament adjourned.

S I R,

Philiphaugh,
July 4. 1702.

I am ordered by my Lord Commissioner to give you the trouble of these, to inform you of the manner of adjourning our parliament, and what happened about the proposal of an act for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales. His Grace had an instruction to give the royal assent to such an act; but he found, pretty early, that the members of parliament would differ about it, and that peremptorily

torily too; some alledging that it was necessary for the security of our present settlement, and preventing disaffected people coming into next parliament: Others pretending it would be no effectual security, and that it was not proper for this limited parliament to put new limitations upon members of a subsequent parliament; but, chiefly, that such a step would carry us so far into the measures of England about the succession, that they would become careless and indifferent about the union. His Grace thought fit to acquaint her Majesty, that he found these different opinions among the members, and that both sides had considerable abettors; and desired to know her Majesty's pleasure about it. He had a return not to bring any such act, if it was like to occasion division in the house; for that was by all means to be shunned. After this, his Grace called the chief men of both sides before him twice or thrice, and endeavoured to reconcile them, but in vain; they both stood their ground stiffly, and set up to propagate their opinions warmly among other members. These that were for the act seemed fully persuaded, that, if once it was brought into parliament, there were few would stand up openly against it. However they reasoned in private conversations, his Grace knew that they were in a mistake, and recommended to them to make a more particular trial amongst the members. And, upon Saturday morning, his Grace called my Lord Chancellor, President of the Council, Lord Privy-seal, Duke of Argyle, Earl of Leven, the Lord Advocate, and Treasurer-depute, and Mr Francis Montgomery, who all had appeared desirous of that act, and laid the matter before them, and asked their opinion; and all of them, one after another, gave their opinion, That, since it would make a breach and rent in the house, it was not fit to bring it in; and promised not to bring it in; but withal declared, that, if it came in, they would stand up and second it; only my Lord Chancellor signified a peremptory resolution to bring it in, unless his Grace expressly forbid him: Whereupon his Grace, in her Majesty's name, required him not to bring in any such act. My Lord Chancellor made a bow, and went off in silence. So his Grace

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reckoned

reckoned the matter laid aside, and prepared every thing for an adjournment. After he came to the house, he was advised to say something before parting; and, while he was writing a few sentences upon the throne, my Lord Chancellor brought in the act, and desired it to be read. This to be sure was a great surprise to his Grace and many others. You'll know by that day's minutes what passed: That the house split upon a preliminary vote, 57 to 53. After this, the parties became eager; and, on Monday's night, they drew to different cabals, and each side appeared confident of victory. Next day, the abjurors assured themselves, that, having gained a preliminary vote, they would have a greater plurality when it came to the question. The non-abjurors seemed as full of assurance; because, said they, some of their friends, who were absent the first day, would be present the next. Besides, they could get what reinforcement they thought needful, not only of seven or eight members who had never been in the house, but even of the withdrawers, several of whom offered to return to vote against that act. Withal, the non-abjurors had prepared a clause to be added to the act, and wherein they assured themselves of the concurrence of several of the other side. It was to this purpose: That, after the death of her Majesty, and failing issue of her body, no successor should enter to the legal government, until the parliament first met and declared their right and title. This was new, and wherein his Grace was not instructed. So his Grace, seeing that, if that act was further debated, it would inevitably occasion great heats, and an irreparable breach among the members, and the event was at best uncertain, but the greatest probability was of its carrying against it, he thought it necessary to adjourn: And I can assure you the adjournment was generally well received by people of all ranks and persuasions; for not one set of people were unanimous for pressing it. The presbyterian members of parliament, and the very ministers of this place, were divided upon that question.

I was very glad, upon this occasion, to have an opportunity of discoursing his Grace about you, and to find that he continues your
firm

firm friend, and has a just value and esteem for you; and I hope you will still make him suitable returns.

This goes by a flying packet, which is just dispatching; so I have no time to tell you my own story; but you may expect by next long complaints of your friend my Lord Treasurer-depute, who, I think, has not at this time shewn so kind regards to me as I have done to him lately upon several occasions; but I shall say no more at present; so, after the old manner, dear Sir, adieu.

EARL of PORTLAND to Mr CARSTARES.

Is glad to hear that the good Party is countenanced at Court.

I received your's of the 19th of June, and am very glad business goes well, so far, in Scotland, and that the good party is so far countenanced at court; but the opposite party is strong. If it were backed by the people, intestine divisions would be apprehended, which God forbid. The News-letter says the Queen has received the address; but I do believe it a mistake. I am afraid that 41 37 and 38 understand one another very well, except you have good reasons to believe the contrary. The wind is fair for the fleet; God grant it success. One would reasonably expect it, if the summer-season were three months longer. I shall be very glad to hear of the good end of this session of parliament, and the continuance of your health.

July 14,
1702.

EARL of LEVEN to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Opposition made by the Presbyterians to the Settlement of the Succession.

Rev. S I R,

I have had three from you; the last was of the 31st March. I am very glad the assembly has carried so well. I am told that it is
now

now attributed by a certain person, who was not long ago with you, to the good management and interest of the Commissioner, rather than to any great share of a spirit of meekness and moderation in the members. That person also tells, that the presbyterian party in Scotland are altogether against the settling the succession, and that they are very angry with the house of Lords meddling with our plot, and with the address to the Queen. If this be true, I conclude they are infatuate. Did ever any nation refuse help to save themselves from ruin? or, Can any take it ill that England wish Scotland well, and wish that they may settle the same successor? Whether is it better to continue poor, and enjoy our religion and property, or to stop the settling of the succession, from the imaginary hopes of riches by an union? If presbyterians be so fond of an union, let them not complain if, some day, they get it with the loss of their church-government. If it had not been for some folks concerning themselves in the matter last year, the union had gone a greater length; but there is no regard now a-days to any body's opinion; every man thinks he knows more than his neighbour; nor is any man respected, it seems, though spending his strength and estate for the public; but they will judge of matters at a distance, which they little understand, and so become the occasion of their own ruin; if so, their blood will be on their own head. The knife is at our throat, and the question is, Whether shall we take it away or not? Which question, I think, should be easily answered. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

LEVEN.

P. S. There is nothing yet done in Scots affairs.

Mr HARLEY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Duke of Queensberry's Plot.—Frazer of Lovat, &c.

Rev. SIR,

Friday night, 10 o'Clock.

I am very glad to find by your's, that your instructions had good effect. I think I may venture to say, They who turn the wheel
mean

mean well; I pray God give his blessing. I must not conceal from you, that it is very grievous to those who wish well, and are able to act well, to find the chief of the Scots nation so averse to any discovery of the French correspondence; and that, when they would serve that nation, they conceal the means. Nothing is wanting now but Lovat, Frazer (I mean), to be found. Cannot the person who knows where he is be persuaded to let him be found?

If you think it worth your time to have me explain myself further, I will not go to bed this night till twelve.

R. HARLEY.

The following letter, from the same hand, was written after Mr Carstairs came down to Scotland.

Of the Opposition to the Succession in Scotland.—Important Queries upon that Subject.

Rev. SIR,

Aug. 19. 1703.

I have had many conflicts with my own thoughts, whether I ought to write to you or not. I thought myself obliged, both in friendship, and by the receipt of two from you, to give you the best testimony of my respects a letter can convey; but then, the thoughts of the anger (without any colour or ground) your parliament, and not the nation, have thought fit to express against the very name of English, made me defer writing, lest my letter should fall into any hands which might make an ill use of such a correspondence to your prejudice, as I find they have been very busy already in intercepting letters.

Though these thoughts, Sir, have deterred me hitherto; yet I will venture to trouble you with this, under all imaginable caution, not to write one word shall give offence, let who will get this letter; and, indeed, to say the truth, I think it very unfit for any one here to meddle with Scotch affairs, which are so much out of the way of our comprehending. We have had the same speech printed twice
in

in the flying post, besides abstracts of acts of parliament, and clauses ; and yet I do not find one person who pretends to understand the proceedings. To say the truth, very few speak at all about them; and those who do, (I do not mean any ministers of state), speak with too little concern ; less than they do of the King of Sweden and the Pole. I think this is not right ; for, though Englishmen may not meddle about their affairs, I cannot but have a zeal for a nation so full of good and learned men, who have, in all ages, given such proofs of their learning and courage ; a nation sprung from the same original, inhabiting the same island, and professing the same religion.

These reasons, Sir, make me a wellwisher and a servant to the nation, and fill me with grief to see a cloud gathering in the north, though no bigger than a man's hand. I wish some of you would do their endeavour to dispel that cloud : That some amongst yourselves (for none else you will suffer) would bind up the wound, would fling a garment over the nakedness of your country. Some papers have made a great noise of the independency of that kingdom ; I cannot imagine to what end, because it hath never been thought otherwise, or treated otherwise, since the days of Queen Elizabeth.

I must still profess myself full of hearty good wishes for the honour and prosperity of that kingdom ; and should be very glad to be able to answer several questions which now and then fall in my way to hear ; as, Whether such long sittings of parliament will not have fatal consequences, besides the altering that constitution, if often practised ? Whether the whole nation will acquiesce in renouncing the house of Hanover, and agree with another person ? Whether foreign subsidies will maintain the expence of a King and a court ? Whether a King of their own will ever procure them any sort of advantage in trade ; and what shall be given to their neighbours to obtain it ? Whether, under a King of their own, the power of the nobles must not be increased, and the liberty of all the rest of the people proportionally diminished ? Whether the present constitution of
their

their ecclesiastical regimen can be of long continuance under such a government? and, Whether the hand of Joab is not in all this?

I am unwilling to add an objection which strikes me dumb; which is this: Here is a treaty set on foot by the public faith of both nations for an union; so great a progress is made in it, that trade, and other things desired, seemed to be agreed; and, without any regard to public faith or decency, &c. all is laid aside, and England is to be bound by a collateral act of another nation. Are men in earnest? Does any single person believe this is the way to procure what they seem to desire? But, Sir, I fear I have said too much. Pardon the overflowings of my affection to your country, and the desire of its prosperity. My confidence in your well known candour, probity, and great prudence, encouraged this address from,

Rev. S I R, &c.

Mr HARLEY to Mr CARSTARES.

A spirited Letter, upon the same Subject with the former.

Rev. S I R,

Sept. 16. 1703.

This shall give you very little trouble more than hearty thanks for the favour of the 28th of August, which came safe to my hands September 7th. I cannot but bewail the distracted state of that kingdom, and would not refuse to put my shoulder to the wheel to help, as well as pray, to get it out of the mire. At this distance, the heat seems to be very great, and, as is usual in such cases, without light. How far the arts of designing men prevail upon the zeal of those who love their country and religion honestly, to go too far out of their depth, you can best judge, who are upon the place.

I should be very sorry that either artifice or passion should make them mistake their true interest. It is a misfortune to which generous spirits are often liable, to be pertinacious in persisting in a mistaken course, when once begun, even after the errors are apparent.

I am heartily glad no body here does any thing to exasperate their minds by answering their papers. I hope the reasonable party among them will at length reason themselves into the right, before they feel they are in the wrong.

It is very easy, by mathematical demonstration, to shew they are in the wrong; but that may only irritate the disease. I hope they will recover themselves. A nurse may indeed convince a froward child it cannot go alone, by letting the child make the experiment; but the hazard is too great; it may have a fall which may leave a scar.

I wonder to hear so much zeal about trade, when it is not in the right place. You have unexhaustable mines of riches at your own doors ready and practicable; and you are led astray to rob orchards of green fruit. I hope Æsop's fable of the spaniel and the shadow will never be verified in you; and that you may never lose by art and credulity that which your noble ancestors have so long preserved against open force and violence, I mean your religion and liberty,

Talibus insidiis—————

Credita res, captique dolis lachrymisque coacti,

Quos neque Tydides, nec Larissæus Achilles,

Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinæ—————*Abst!*

There is no person is, with more unfeigned zeal, studious of the good of Scotland, or with more particular respect than,

Rev. SIR, &c.

P. S. It were easy to propose remedies, if the patient were capable,

(Not long after the receipt of this letter, Mr Carstairs was called up to London, where he staid till the beginning of March 1704. As most of his correspondents were there at the same time, there are no letters relative to public affairs amongst his papers during that period, but the two following.)

LORD

LORD GLASGOW to Mr CARSTARES.

For nominating a Successor.—Against great Limitations.

Rev. SIR,

I should be glad to hear from you what news occur, and with what prospect affairs look in England. I am to write to you upon a subject I have neither freely spoke to any here upon, or writt to any above, save the Earl of Leven, in whom I have full confidence. It will certainly be great matter of thought with every good man, what will be the fittest measure to be followed in the ensuing session of parliament to quiet the humours and animosities of our disaffected party in Scotland; I mean the Jacobites, who impudently assume to themselves the name of *Cavaliers*, and are plain enemies at the bottom to Queen Anne's interest; and also, what is proper to be done to give satisfaction to our honest revolution-party. That the Queen and the government are in good earnest resolved to countenance and maintain that party, who are indeed only her Majesty's friends in Scotland.

Edinburgh,
Nov. 27.
1703.

In my humble opinion, after most serious deliberation, and converse with persons of all sides and parties, I do judge it most advisable that we proceed to the nomination of the successor, failing issue of the Queen's body; and that we name the same successor England has done, under such rational limitations, and well digested, as may be thought proper and expedient.

For my own part, I am not at all fond of limitations to weaken the monarchy; for it is inevitably our own great loss and disadvantage, if the monarchy should be robbed and divested of its just prerogative, whereby the monarchy shall be incapacitate to support itself, and protect us who are subjects; and it is most proper that there should be such life and vigour in the monarchy as is fit to curb and bridle our irregular heats and ferments.

Sir, if the protestant successor be not declared in our next parliament, then we will require a great deal of logic to convince our revolution-party of the contrary, but that the government have an eye to St Germain's; and you know how big-swell'd our cavalier party is, with the hopes that the Queen and her ministers set up for the Prince of Wales his succession; and they will be the more confirmed, if our ministry continue, who have given some of them too much ground to their friends for these vain hopes. Sir, you'll take this freedom of mine in good part, and believe that I suggest this my judgment, in this weighty concern, from a sincere faithfulness to Queen Anne's interest in the sight of God. You may impart this to the Duke of Q——y and the Earl of Leven, if you find it convenient. I Give my most faithful and obedient humble service to the Earl of Portland; and am,

Rev. Sir,

Your most affectionate and faithful humble servant,

GLASGOW.

Mr HARLEY to Mr CARSTARES.

Rev. S I R,

December 10. 1703.

I find my Lord Treasurer, &c. have that value for my Lord Leven as is justly due to his great probity and ability; if you judge it proper, I will wait upon his Lordship with you to-morrow, being Saturday, at his own lodgings, or else at my brother's chamber, No. 10. in Serles-court, in Lincoln's-inn, at seven o'clock. I leave it to you to direct which of these his Lordship chuses, or any other way.

[The

[The following letters are addressed to Mr Carstares after he came down to Scotland, and was made Principal of the College of Edinburgh.]

LORD SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Lord Ross and the General Assembly.

Rev. S I R,

I hope this shall find you safe returned to Edinburgh; and, before this comes to your hand, my Lord Ross will likewise be there, and he will certainly inform you that I did all in my power to obtain the instructions adjusted to your mind; so that I truly think all difficulties are obviated; and I still hope and wish, that this may be a calm and moderate assembly; and, if needless questions be not brought in, I believe that assemblies, for the future, may meet with as great facility as they did in King William's time.

London,
March 4.
1704.

I believe I shall be here longer than I expected; and, therefore, I shall be very glad to hear from you what occurs, and I shall be very ready to represent it favourably to the Queen; for I know you will use all your influence that nothing be done or acted in this assembly but with moderation. I think that some pains should be taken on Mr Westlie, Mr Lining, and Cameron, who have influence on those that are most zealous. And I truly think, that nothing more should be desired in her Majesty's reign than was obtained in King William's. But I have written with this freedom to none but yourself. I am, after the old manner, Your's, &c.

SEAFIELD.

Sir DAVID NAIRNE, Secretary-Depute, to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon a Report that the Whigs in Scotland were against the same Successor with England.

Rev. S I R,

I am two in your debt; but that you will excuse, when I assure you I had no more to say than acknowledge the receipt of your's. You will

London,
April 20.
1704.

will have it from many hands how acceptable the quiet proceedings of this assembly were to the Queen; and I cannot but say it was much to the advantage of the members of assembly, to have it believed that it was their own inclination to justice and moderation, and the good management of those among them who are known to be well affected to the peace of that country, that induced them to the great duty and affection they showed to the Queen in their calm behaviour and quick dispatch, rather than the polite management of a certain person: But so it is, that I have met with, from severals, that all was owing to the Commissioner.

Sir, I hope you know me so well as to believe me sincere; and you have promised to let me be free to tell you the truth. Then, so many Jacobitish tenets joining with that called high-church, had almost made me a Whig, but for one principle, I hear that you, the true Whigs of Scotland, are for; and yet I will not believe it till I hear more of the matter, viz. that you are highly against settling the succession as it is in England. Now, I think this is so opposite to your interest, and so concurring with our high-church, that I cannot be for you. I speak not without book: This story is told, and propagate here strenuously, since the rising of the assembly, and I am afraid with no good design; in so far that, if it is false, I think it most convenient, and so do others, that you not only write yourself, but cause others do it, to the Duke of Queensberry and me, in such a strain as it may be shown here; and you may make the rise of your writing to be, your hearing that such a story is spread here; but, in your letters, you need not mention your having it from me. Whatever be my private opinion, I am for laying the saddle on the right horse, and not for having any body made active instruments, or rather handles, of doing good or ill against their will. *Verbum sapienti.* I am your's.

Sir

Sir DAVID NAIRNE, Secretary-Depute, to Mr CARSTARES,

When the Duke of Queensberry was turned out.

Rev. S I R,

I had your's of the 23d and 25th past. Any services I was ever capable to do to you, or any body else, have been small, but sincere. However, in all probability, I shall henceforward have less power than ever; for, the Duke of Queensberry being now laid aside, it is not to be expected but any who comes in will chuse his own depute; and truly, none ought to be in this post but whom the Secretary can confide in. I am not yet formally removed, but I expect it; and, when I am out, will defy any to accuse me of malversation in office. I believe what I have said may serve as a reason why the paper you mention concerning the Bishopric of Argyle came not to my hands. I hope no others will obstruct so good a gift. Your's to the Duke of Queensberry and to me came two days too late; for C——'s place was disposed of on Monday, and we had not your letters till yesterday. I am,

S I R,

Your faithful servant,

DAVID NAIRNE.

P. S. I hope your fears of losing your place are groundless. I think the old saying, *Solamen est miseris*, &c. is ill-natured.

Mr HARLEY to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon settling the Succession.—Promises to support him against Johnston.

Rev. S I R,

I was extremely satisfied to see your hand on the out-side of a letter; for I was afraid I had some way or other forfeited your good opinion, which I would not do, because I know you to be so just, you would not change your opinion without good reason, and so much

Whitehall,
June 1.
1704.

London, Ju-
ly 20. 1704.

much a lover of your country, that you would not be averse to any one, who is so great a well-wisher to your nation, as myself. And this principle, I confess, gives me much concern about Scotland; for I can assure you I have no other motive. It is strange, and to be wondered at, that men should run into destruction with their eyes open: That the only thing which can preserve them, and unite all of the revolution-principles, is the succession; and yet, because England suggests it, that reason, which were reason enough for it without any other, that must be given against it.

The world beyond sea say the succession is to be kept open for a lame arm to beg by: But, when the Queen offers to repair the Darien loss, can there be a more general or universal advantage proposed; or is not the design for a few to make the advantage to themselves hereafter? Can there be any other point to unite the honest people of Scotland, but making the partition, who are for St Germain, who are for protestancy? Shall one or two incomprehensible books intoxicate the minds of some, who could not otherwise be prevailed with to be zealous for what neither their authors nor readers understand? But is there not one man of a thousand, is there not one man to be found under whose hands this ruin may be put? I hope neither disappointments nor resentments will so far heat any honest gentlemen, as to make them forget that they are freemen, protestants, and true Scotsmen.

As to yourself, Sir, I can assure you no ill impressions are made here of you; and I am very sorry the great person you mention should distinguish himself so peevishly and weakly to your prejudice.

I know your wisdom and moderation put you above such things; and you may depend upon my vigilancy for your service, and all the assistance and support in the power of,

Rev. S I R, Your's,

R. HARLEY.

P. S.

P. S. I hope you will please to let me hear from you as often as you have leisure. I never spoke to the Lord-register, formerly Secretary Johnston, since he was in, nor some time before, but an accidental compliment,

Haud melius speravi—————

COCKBURN of Ormiston to Mr CARSTARES.

Of his Introduction to the Queen.

S I R,

I gave you account how well the Duke of Q——y and Orm——n were; now, you must know that Earl of Seafield and Ormiston are very well. A friend will be with you shortly, who can tell you how this came about, and of several other particulars. Mr R. Pr. (Robert Pringle) parts in a few days.

London,
Nov. 4. 1704.

When the Queen came from Windsor, Ormiston went to the Earl of Roxburgh, and told him that he was desirous to have the honour to kiss the Queen's hand, and that his Lordship would please to present him, which his Lordship proffered to do when he pleased. T'other said, any time his Lordship was going to court, if he would cause a footman call him, he would go along. This passed on the Tuesday, and he was called on the Saturday. They went together, and, after my Lord had been some time with her Majesty, he called Ormiston into the closet, where he had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand; but not one word passed. Ormiston understands since, that my Lord was at no pains to let the Queen know who it was, but said, a Scots gentleman, Ormiston. Her Majesty says, she was surprised; for, when he came in, she knew his face, but did not know him by that name, he being always designed otherwise to her; and, if she had not been under this surprise, she would a' given him another reception. This is too much for him; but our Secretary has not much experience yet. They long here to have the Chancellor away; but the new council is not yet adjusted; and Yester is put-

ting in for to be Chancellor of Fife, in place of Roseberry. My Lord Rofs has got the regality of Glasgow during life; but he would have it heritably to his family; so he is not pleased.

T'other day accidentally one told Ormiston his son was in the new list of counsellors, upon which he laughed heartily, and said, the world must believe the father to be gone to St Germain's, for sure he is a man of more experience than his son, and was firm to the revolution-interest. But no more of this at present. How our new statesmen will do, when they come home, I know not; but people complain they are not accessible here. The house of convocation have divided about their address. The higher would not name Sir George Rook; the lower would. Nay, the lower were content to do it as overly as could be; but the higher would not yield; so they have no address.

In the house of commons, the Tories run out in commendation of Sir George, and talk of my L. Marlborough's victory as a small matter. I think they talk more these two days of their heats and divisions than they did, and that the conformity bill will certainly come in: And, if the two houses come once in heats, God knows what may come in; but sure the public interest will suffer. There is no more speaking at present of the Speaker. They say Broomly understands his high-flyers could not agree upon him; so he turned against meddling in that matter. Others say, it is delayed till the house be fuller, and Sir Edward Seymour comes, who is expected in a day or two.

Your noble friend, the E. of P. was with me the other day, and desired to give his service to you. Our new statesmen give out here, that Duke H. is gaining ground every day in the west country, especially among the ministers, to be against the settling of the protestant succession. My service to all honest men. Adieu.

The

The EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon being made Chancellor.

S I R,

Your letter was very acceptable to me, and I shall be very glad to continue our correspondence; for no new acquaintance shall make me forget my old friends. And I am most sensible, that it were very good that all that are in the government would look forward, and would have no emulation, but who should serve best, and be most significant in settling our divisions.

London,
Nov. 7. 1704.

My being here was no choice of my own, I know the difficulties of my post; but my main design shall be, to serve the Queen faithfully, and promote the interest of my country.

I do expect that you will let me know your opinion of any thing that occurs, and, in particular, if I can be of any service to the church.

I shall be very ready to use my endeavours that way. I am very glad that you are so well settled; but I am afraid it will keep you at home; and that, therefore, till I come to Edinburgh, I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you.

If you incline that I should write particular histories to you, as formerly, you will send me a cypher, and you shall be as safe as ever; and, as you receive this, so you will have trouble or not

From your most humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

His Reconciliation with Ormiston.—It is recommended to Tweeddale, then Commissioner, to unite with the Revolution-party.

S I R,

I know not how you have heard of my reconciliation with Lord Ormiston; but it is indeed a great satisfaction to myself; and I do

London,
Nov. 21.
1704.

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agree

agree with you, that the only way to compass what her Majesty proposes, is to forget our private differences, and to join together in what may be for the good and settlement of the nation. My Lord Tweeddale will now be with you very soon; and it is recommended to him, and to these who have gone with him, to unite heartily with the revolution-party; and in time we may perhaps see what is necessary to be done for the further encouragement of that party, and engaging them to join heartily. You promised to send me what I wrote for, and, till then, I cannot write so freely; only the division here is like to bring in Scots affairs before the parliament, which I am sure will rather hinder than promote any settlement in our country. I may perhaps write you more of this afterwards; and, till then, I forbear to acquaint you of several particulars that have already occurred here. I am, Sir, Y. M. H. S.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Lord Whitelaw's Death, and the Parties in Scotland. In Cyphers.

Very Reverend,

London,
Decem. 21.
1704.

The death of my Lord Whitelaw is truly a very great trouble to me; it is such a loss that I know not how it can be made up.

I have abundance of respect for Mr Pringle; and I could not have a better friend than he upon the session; but I doubt if it will do at present, there are so many pretenders and different interests to adjust. Every one that writes to me from Scotland acknowledges, that there is a necessity for uniting the old and new parties together; and, in this, no time must be lost. How Mr Hasty behaves in his new post I know not, or how he will do in the parliament is yet more uncertain.

Mr Morfe and Mr Corbet are very well together; but, since Mr Dobbin writes with freedom, I shall use the like. Do you think that it is Mr Morfe his interest to be at the top? or, Do you think that Mr Hasty, Mr Mason, and others, would not return in that case

case to their old friends? I agree that Mr Hay meet with all encouragement, and that 8k73wy8gr be employed, and that Mr Carew (the parliament) have a favourable commissioner. I also think it is high time for the whole nation to consider, that all piques ought to be laid aside, and that we disappoint the expectations of France.

I know not what Mr Carew (the parliament) with you may think; but here they are entirely as one man for the union. I am for Mr Morfe getting justice done him, and for his friends being regarded and noticed, and for giving him assurances of future employment, if his friends concur.

Now, upon these matters you will open, and send me an exegesis; it will put me in mind of the old conversations at Whitehall after a mnb4 wyn3kw audience, and you shall be very safe. I almost had concluded before I told you, that Carew, at least some of them, think, that Mr Stevenson hath too great a hand with Mr Morfe; Mr Corbet meets frequently with Mr Banks, &c. All this only to yourself; for truly I know not what power 13 may have to bring about these schemes; so that all this is Mr Corbet's private judgement; which is all from Y. M. H. S.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Difficulties in settling the Scottish Ministry.—The General Assembly.

SIR,

The reason I write so seldom to you is, that nothing occurs whilst our Scots affairs remain before the English parliament.

London,
Jan. 25.
1705.

It is thought that measures cannot be adjusted. The difference betwixt the old and new ministry doth not diminish; and, without the assistance of both, success is not to be expected. If we could oblige them both to draw together, is all that we can hope for: I am affraid that Mr Morfe, if he were again employed, would find, that many who are friendly to him, and to his family while he is out of the government, would not be influenced to support him in the public measures; and the new party would return to their old friends;

friends ; and so it would misgive in his hands ; and, if Mr Hasty be employed, at least all Mr Morfe's friends will be against him. Might it not be more probable, if Mr Morfe's friends were principally intrusted, and he otherwise rendered satisfied, and that the new and old parties in the government be obliged to co-operate ? In that case, Might not many concur in hopes, and others, for fear of losing what they have ? This is said by some to be the most reasonable scheme.

The objection is the word *motely*, and that the one half would counteract the other. Corbet's part shall be only to explain the advantages and disadvantages of all the schemes offered, and to act his own part faithfully, whether he be employed or not.

He that is now Mr Graham will let you know how matters stand here ; and Mr Corbet expects to hear from you both how things go there. It is said 33 is against an union, and 34 against both Mr Hope (the succession) and an union : That, in general, the resentments are high against Mr Roberts ; however, we must not despair. What is so necessary must be attempted. The competitors for Mr Mosman's last post are 15, 30, 29, and 7nkb789y ; but nothing of this will be determined till the general scheme be at least resolved on. You name another that I think as fit as any of them.

I had a letter lately from him, though not on that subject ; and I wrote to him again as kindly as I could. Thus you see our difficulties. If you please to write to me freely again, do it soon, because I believe the parliament here will be up soon ; and no time is to be lost. The assembly will meet at the time appointed, and they will meet with no difficulty from her Majesty : They will have full protection ; and it is their interest to be moderate ; and they have no grounds for jealousy, for all their difficulties were removed in the last assembly ; and nothing shall be wanting on my part for making them satisfied. Of this you may assure any of the ministers you converse with.

You have not as yet writt me up an account of the day it should meet upon, and we have forgot it here. I am Y. M. H. S.

EARL

EARL OF SEAFIELD TO MR CARSTARES.

Marquis of Annandale Commissioner to the Assembly.—He is again to act as Chancellor.

S I R,

Her Majesty did last night sign a commission to the Marquis of Annandale to be Commissioner to the next General Assembly ; and I have endeavoured that the letter and instructions are as easy, and I hope as satisfying as any have been ; and, if it is otherwise, I am sure it is what I do not intend. I intreat that you may assure Mr Wilkie, Mr Meldrum, and my other friends, of my sincere endeavours for all that may be for their satisfaction and the good of the church.

London,
March 10.
1705.

I can tell you nothing of our changes, nor of any thing else, being just going to my coach ; and hope to be with you before the meeting of the assembly. I am again to act as Chancellor in the next parliament, in which I heartily wish success. Give my service to the Justice-clerk : I hope he, you, and I shall meet in the old manner ; and I assure you I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

I have procured L. 400 to pay the necessaries of the assembly.

JOHN Duke of Argyle to Mr CARSTARES.

Mr Johnston laid aside ; Philiphaugh reponed.

S I R,

I received your's. I'm sure you'll easily believe me when I tell you nothing could be more pleasing to me than the assembly's letter ; and I can assure you, your being moderator is a satisfaction to all honest men, and particularly to myself. In return, I must tell you

London,
April 5.
1705.

you one piece of news, that will not be displeasing to you: Yesterday the Queen was pleased to lay aside Mr Johnston, as a proof of her desiring to make some other steps. So soon as I come to Scotland, Lord Philiphaugh is to have his post again; and I am hopeful to persuade the Queen to allow his commission to be sent down to-night. I desire to go from hence this night; and therefore shall say no more but that you shall always find me

Your faithful friend, and humble servant,

ARGYLE.

Mr WILLIAM HUNTER Minister of Banff to Mr CARSTARES.

The private History of Lord Banff's Conversion from Popery, with a Postscript from his Lordship.

Very Rev. S I R,

Banff, July
11. 1705.

My Lord Banff having his seat in this parish, and taking the occasion of signifying his resolution to profess the protestant religion, desires me, by this, to impart the same to you, and remits you to the Earl of Stairs for further information thereanent; to whom the said Lord Banff (as his Lordship informs) has communicated his thoughts in a letter.

My Lord Banff, upon declaring himself protestant, has a mind to go south, and take his place in parliament; and, withal, because his circumstances require it, his Lordship requires your kind influence for his encouragement, that he may undertake his journey.

His Lordship desires secrecy hereanent, and that my Lord Stairs only should be conversed with about this affair; and your answer hereto *per* first. My Lord's circumstances are but low; and I could wish he might meet with assistance and encouragement. This, at desire of the said noble Lord, is humbly signified by,

Very Reverend,

Your most humble servant, and affectionate brother,

WILLIAM HUNTER.

P. S.

P. S. Sir, My Lord resolves to use all freedom with yourself against his public owning the protestant religion, and shuns the doing of it here till he converse with you; but, Sir, I could wish he were more free.

S I R,

This is sent you, at the desire, and with the consent of me; and, if you can serve me, let me know; if not, then please return this line again; which is all from,

Your humble servant,

BANFF.

A second Postscript by Mr Hunter.

S I R,

You'll pardon this trouble which my Lord's address and importunity obliged me to; I wish his designs and resolutions be sincere and steadfast; and that all possible means may be taken to reclaim him from his errors. I am your's.

WILL. HUNTER.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

The House of Lords have brought in a Bill for repealing the Clauses in the Act passed last Session.—The Scots may now make a good Bargain.—The Union the only Way to take away all Pretensions from the opposition to a Country-Interest.

Rev. S I R,

Your letter was very acceptable to me, and it was also useful on this occasion. We have been very doubtful till now of the effect of our act of treaty and address. We have been at great pains to inform the leading men of the Whig party, and her Majesty's English servants have been very assisting; so that the House of Lords did yesterday unanimously agree to bring in a bill, repealing all the clauses in their act passed last sessions, except that authorising a treaty. I believe this may have influence upon the Commons, though

London,
Nov. 24.
1705.

it will meet with difficulty there in all appearance. If we that are Scotsmen do make but the right use of this opportunity, I am confident that we may make a very advantageous agreement, by adjusting our privileges, and settling the successor, or by an union.

And you are perfectly in the right, that there is no other way of taking from the opposing party their pretensions of having a country-interest, but by having a treaty.

As for what concerns yourself, you were never better stated than you are at present. I am persuaded the Scots secretaries are as much your friends as you could desire; and, if you send up the signature for your sister, I shall heartily concur with the Secretaries for obtaining it. I dined at my Lord Portland's the day before I got your letter; I have called at his house since, but have not seen him. However, I shall not fail to let him know how gratefully you remember his kindness to you. Continue to write with freedom to me, for I shall make no worse use of your letters than I did in the last reign; and I assure you I am, with all sincerity,

Rev. Sir,

Your most faithful, and humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

EARL of MAR to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Union.

London,
Dec. 4.
1705.

I have been with your good friend my Lord Portland since I came here; to whom I was always obliged, as our country in general have been, and now are, for he's a hearty well-wisher to us.

I was very glad to see your letter to the Chancellor on the great affair of the treaty which is now in agitation. You would hear that the Lords sent down the repealing bill to the Commons last week; and they are to be on it to-day. I have not heard yet what they have done, for they are yet sitting; but I hope it will meet with the same fate there it did from the Lords; and so there will be no stop to the treaty;

treaty; which, I am hopeful, will set the two nations upon a solid right foot, both one way, and remove all ground of complaint.

The English frankness in this affair, by doing more than we ourselves proposed, I think, should make people in Scotland in good humour; though I doubt not there are people who endeavour to lessen it; but I must say, their country is little obliged to them.

Scots business is delayed, and at a stand until the Duke of Queensberry come up; so we long mightily for him; and I hope by this time he is come off. Lord Ross is working all he can to be Commissioner to the general assembly, and says to every body the ministers will be disobliged, if he be not; and that they press him to push it. Since my Lord says this, I shall not doubt of some of their writing to him: But, I fancy it is hardly a plurality, or a great number of ye; and I hope, if he succeed not in his pretensions, it will not be a mortal quarrel. However, I write this but to yourself. I wish you could bring it so about, that it might be known here that there are others would be as acceptable to you. I am sure by this I have no design against the church; but otherwise.

I shall be glad to hear from you some times, whether you have business to write or not; and I assure you I sincerely am,

S I R,

Your real and humble servant,

MAR.

The EARL of LOUDON, Secretary of State, to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Union, and Lord Ross soliciting to be Commissioner to the Assembly.

S I R,

December 4.

I have your's of the 24th of the last month, which I read to the Earl of Mar. He was appointed to carry to the Queen yesterday the last of the papers for his month; amongst others, he carried the gift in favours of Mrs Dunlop; which he sends you by this post.

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Though

Though this is an affair of small moment, I hope you'll take it as a token of both our inclinations to serve you.

Our affairs went in the house of Peers as we could have wished. The Commons have this day had under their consideration the bill which the Peers sent them, repealing the disagreeable clauses of their act for a treaty. They have given it a first reading, and ordered that it shall have a second upon Saturday. I hope the frank and friendly proceedings here will dispose all honest men in Scotland to enter cordially into such measures as may be for the good of our country, and bring us at last to a happy settlement of the protestant succession. I have the good fortune to wait some times upon our friend the Earl of Portland, who shows a great deal of inclination for the good of our country.

My Lord Ross solicites very earnestly that he may be Commissioner to the next assembly; which, he says, he desires not so much on his own account, as on account of the church, who, he says, have laid it upon him, that he use his utmost endeavours that he may be sent to them with that character. I have told my Lord, that, at present, I could not engage to do him any service in that affair. You may be sure we will take care that whoever is employed in that post be a man of known good affection to the church: But, I cannot help believing that there will be several as acceptable as his Lordship to you. I'll take it as a favour that you entertain a frank correspondence with me. I am,

S I R,

Your real friend, and humble servant,

LOUDON.

Sir DAVID NAIRNE to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the same Subject with the foregoing.

S I R,

Yesterday I had your's of the 29th past, with the copy of a gift in favours of ———. By mine wrote to you, you will find, that
there

there was no reason of giving yourself any trouble upon that head.

Now, Sir, to presume upon the friendship I hope from you, I must beg leave to enter a little upon the politics with you, and which part is indeed properly within your sphere. And what freedom you express yourself in shall never be used to your disadvantage. You know the time of the general assembly now approaches; and, no doubt, but there will be many pretenders to the honour of representing the Queen in it. One, who at present is very busy making his interest, is my Lord Ross. Perhaps, if I should tell you the ways and means he uses, it might lessen your esteem of him; and that is not to be done, least he have success; so shall only tell you the argument he uses: As for the profit, he despises it, not having saved a groat of L. 700 he had last time, though the ordinary allowance used to be L. 400; but, he says, all the ministers press him to it; and, if he have it not, they will think it is for want of asking; and that is showing a disregard for them: That most of the ministers to be in this assembly are young men, and were his contemporaries at schools and colleges: That nobody knows so well how to manage them as he does: That they told him last time none but he could have managed them so well. If all this is true, I think he has a very just call.

But I cannot forget, that, after his coming hither, when he was last commissioner, he said, most of the presbyterians in Scotland were against settling the succession; and, as I remember, I wrote of it to yourself, for he said so to me; and, upon this, I thought he had lost a great deal of favour with you.

If this is otherwise, and that you are now all so stated with him, as he says, I am afraid people will put a wrong construction on the causes. If, at your leisure, you will let me know your thoughts upon this subject, it will be a great mean to determine my wishes. As for my services, they are to be commanded; yet I must say, when I am doing a thing that I believe will be a service to them I am doing it for, it goes on with a better heart than otherwise it would.

would. I hope all things here will go on as we could wish towards a treaty of union ; and, if we have that, we shall be better than we deserve.

I saw a letter from you to my Lord Chancellor some time ago on that subject, which was very agreeable, and, I dare say, the sense of all who have regard to the peace of the kingdom, and the preservation of the protestant religion. I beg pardon for being so tedious ; and am,

S I R,

Your most obliged humble servant,

DAVID NAIRNE.

EARL of PORTLAND to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Union.

Monfr.

Whitehall,
Jan. 24.
1705-6.

Je croirois vous faire tort en vous demandant la continuation de votre amitié ; puisque je m'en crois assuré, vous connoissant de trop long tems incapable de changement. D'ailleurs, vous savez combien je l'estime ; ainsi vous pouvez juger de la joye que j'aye d'apprendre votre santé et prosperité (que le bon Dieu de sa grace continue long tems) par celle que vous m'avez écrité. Le digne ami qui me la rendue, m'a fait plaisir à le voir se porter si bien. Je croyois, qu'aprez une union totale, la succession estoit etablie d'ellememe. La manier franche et genereuse dont ce parlement en a agi envers l'Ecosse, et ce que j'entend dire au gens, me fait croire, que l'on attend une union totale ; et qu'une union en partie, et les propositions des avantages dans le commerce sans cette union, aigriront les esprits ici, et les alieneront des bonnes dispositions ou ils sont ; et, en ce cas, comment obtiendrait on aprez une entiere union, quant cette bonne disposition qu'il y a ici seroit perdu, d'autant plus que peutetre il ne manque pas des gens ici, comme ceux, dont vous parlez en Ecosse, qui ne souhaitent pas l'union, ni l'establissement
de

de la succession ? Estant hors des affaires, je vous parle ignoramment, et peutetre improprement. Ce que je suis seur, que je ne ferai pas, quant je vous asseureray, que je suis tres sincerement, comme vous m'avez connue toujours,

MONSIEUR,

Votre tres humble serviteur,

PORTLAND.

EARL of MAR to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the same Subject.—The English will give no Terms, except upon the footing of an entire Union.

S I R,

I had your kind letter last post, for which, I assure you, I think myself obliged to you. I believe you did not understand me clearly in my last concerning the treaty, which might be occasioned by my writing in haste. Since ever the English repeated their threatening clauses in their act, we always told them, that we feared the difficulties of an entire union, and that some people might make it a pretext to stop settling the succession ; therefore, we wished they would treat of terms as well as an union, that there might be no delay in that matter ; and so the parliament of Scotland would take which they liked best ; and, probably, when they saw either of them in their offer, they would sooner make choice of the union, as being a more secure and solid foundation. But, if an union only was treated of, they would be the fonder of the other, because denied them ; and angry people would join together upon this pretext, to defeat the design in our hands, and to postpone the succession : But this has very little weight with your friends here ; and they tell us plainly, they will give us no terms that are considerable for going into their succession, if any, without going into an entire union ; and, if we insist upon that, they will never meet with us ; for they think all the notions about foederal unions and forms a mere jest
and

Whitehall,
March 9.
1705-6.

and chimera. I write this freely to you, though it is not fit this should be known in Scotland, for fear of discouraging people, and making them despair of the treaty. You see that what we are to treat of is not in our choice, and that we see the inconveniencies of treating an incorporating union only. But, when our friends come up, especially those who are against, or not clear for an incorporating union, they will either, I hope, persuade their English friends, or them. However, we must certainly propose to treat of terms as well as an entire union; and I wish the English may treat of them both, and conclude them, that so we may not come down to the parliament with only one scheme. This I thought fit to let you know, that you might have a clear view of the affair, and make the best use of it you can.

I hope you are pleased with the people the Queen has made choice of for the treaters. The Chancellor, Lord Loudon, and I, wrote all three to the Justice-clerk as pressingly as we could, and told him, that the Queen expected that he certainly would come up. The Duke of Queensberry and I are to speak to any of the Whig Lords, who are his acquaintance, to write to him; but the Duke thinks none of them are so well acquainted with him that they will do it. I am afraid my Lord Treasurer will hardly do it; however, I hope he will hardly decline coming, if his friends in Scotland are earnest with him. It is needless to tell you of any of the commissions that are sent down by this post, because you will hear of them as soon as you get this; and I am very weary of writing a great many letters; but I hope you will approve of what we have done.

My Lord Glasgow's commission and instructions will be sent within a few posts; I am preparing them; and if there are any instructions you would have added, you would write in time. I suppose you now know my hand, so I will not trouble you always with signing my name; and I desire you may do so with me. You'll see by the votes what the house of commons have done upon Sir
Rowland

Rowland Gwyn's letter: The house of peers have done the like, and ordered an address to her Majesty upon it.

The parliament will be prorogued next week; which is all I'll now trouble you with. Adieu.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Marquis of Annandale, and Marquis of Montrose, and other Changes.

Rev. S I R,

I must challenge you for writing too seldom; but I acknowledge very little has occurred, either here or with you. You certainly know that the Marquis of Annandale has had, in the most obliging manner, offers made him of continuing in his post as President of Council. He had time to consider, until we came to think of nominating the treaters; and, before it was disposed of, several of the Whig Lords spoke to him, and advised him to accept of it. My Lord Treasurer and my Lord Marlborough did likewise speak to him; and my Lord Loudon Secretary, then in waiting, was sent to him by the Queen, to let him know that she was willing to employ him in that station, if he pleased; but he still refused; and the Secretaries and I were unwilling to oblige him so far as give him any of our posts; but we were very willing to have served in conjunction with him. He is gone to the Bath, and lies this night at Mr Johnston's house at Twittenham, where it is like new game may be projected. The Marquis of Montrose is made President of Council, and I hope will be found very useful to her Majesty in that station. I heartily wish that my Lord Justice-clerk may come up to the treaty; for I think it will be much for the Queen's service. I have wrote to him, though I have done so to few of the treaters.

The Earl of Leven has his commission as Commander in Chief. My Lord Carmichael has his father's regiment. The Justice-clerk

London,
March 9.
1706.

was the first that spoke to me of this, and I have heartily concurred in it, since I knew the Earl of Hyndford desired it. The young Laird of Grant has the Earl of Mar's; and my Lord Glasgow is to be Commissioner to the General Assembly. I am persuaded he will be acceptable to you, and his instructions will be the same with Lord Ross's and Lord Annandale's; so that I am confident no difficulty will occur. I had a letter from Mr Meldrum, but have not time to write to him this night.

This is writt only for your own information, and with the old freedom, and to assure you that I continue, with all sincerity,

Your most humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

P. S. I forgot to tell you the Earl of Weems is Lord High Admiral.

The EARL of MAR to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Disposal of Places.—Earl of Buchan.

S I R,

Whitehall,
March 25.
1706.

I had your's this post, for which I give you a great many thanks, and for your kind concern for my colleague and me. I have written by this express to my Lord Glasgow, and sent him all the papers relating to the Assembly, with which I hope you and your brethren will be pleased. I have not time to write so fully to you (it is now so late;) so I refer you to my letter to my Lord Glasgow, to whom I have written to communicate it to you.

My Lord Halcraig's death is really a loss; we heard it on Thursday by an express Forglan had sent him; but not by the ordinary post till this day. As soon as the Queen was told of this, which was some days ago, she declared she was engaged to give the first vacant gown to Sir Alexander Ogilvie. We found the Treasurer engaged

engaged in it too, and that Sir Alexander had letters from him upon it a long while ago, and before some of us were in the Queen's immediate service.

The Queen was pleased this day to sign Sir Alexander's letter; so there's an end of that affair. She has also been pleased to make my Lord Galloway a Lord of the Treasury, in place of Sir John Hume. There had been engagements given him, before the Queen's servants left Scotland, for another employment; but things happened so that he was disappointed of it, by some who had given encouragement for giving those engagements turning their thoughts another way, upon an accident which is too long to write; and, to make up this disappointment, we were obliged to go into the measure, which if we had not done, we would certainly have lost him, and several others of his friends, besides the disobliging of those who had made him those former engagements. I trouble you with this story the more particularly, because of a friend of your's and mine who had a design upon this place, and had, I believe, some assurance given him of it, I mean my Lord Buchan; but his loss was, those from whom he had the assurances, having given over to meddle in our affairs very soon after we came here, his pretensions could not be thoroughly urged till now, that it was too late. But this is not fit to be told plainly. I have written to him, and begged that he may not be angry at the disappointment, and to have but patience till I come down; and I am sure I can convince him, that it was not possible for us to have served him in that affair at this time. And I assured him, that it was not the D. of Q——y's fault that he was disappointed, though he might conjecture so by a friend of his getting the place. But, if my Lord Galloway had not got it, another had before him, which was really true; and I can trust you with it, though I would not desire to say it to another; nor did I tell Buchan the man; but it was Eglinton. I should be very sorry if Buchan is disobliged at me, or any of the Queen's servants here, and that we should lose him, especially since we all design him fa-

vour. Therefore, Sir, I beg you may be at the pains to speak to him of it, and, probably, he will shew you what I have written to him.

You are very justly concerned for what my Lord Lothian has done, as you may be sure we are all. He has done himself a vast deal of harm by it ; and I'm afraid the Queen will not easily pass it over. It does harm also to others of his friends in their affairs. His commission is not yet given up to the Queen, though this day we were forced to tell her of it, it became so public. I fancy the Duke of Argyle will give it up one of thir days ; for he sees not how Lothian can now retreat : But I'm to see the Duke of Argyle to-morrow ; and, when any new thing shall happen concerning it, you shall hear it. I am afraid Lothian has lost himself and his pretensions, which were very good : But I hope he will still continue of the principles he professed, and, by good and faithful service, regain this step.

I'll write to him one of thir days. I have not yet delivered his letter to the Queen, for which he'll probably be angry with me ; but I think I did more friendly in keeping it up. However, if the commission be given up, I must of necessity give up the letter too. My Lord Annandale is now at the Bath, and was several days at Mr Johnston's, as he went ; which has done him no little hurt with his friends here ; for they did not know nor believe that, when he was here, they were together every day.

I am really sorry he has behaved so, notwithstanding all the stories he said of me here. I know my Lord Loudon has written of several particulars to you ; so I will not trouble you with them. I am very glad the Justice-Clerk is to be here. We long now for our friends who are on the road. I wish you a good, quiet, short, assembly ; and I hope you'll do me justice with your brethren in taking off the bad impressions some people have been pleased to give them of me ; which is all I'll now say ; so, good Sir, adieu.

EARL

EARL of PORTLAND to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Succession and Union compared.

MONSIEUR,

April 11. 1705-6.

Je laisse toutes protestations à côté; nous sommes tout deux au dessus de la nécessité d'en faire. Je suis fâché d'entendre qu'il y a tant de mauvaise volonté, et de pouvoir ensemble à craindre autrefois, il me semble, que l'on ne vouloit pas de la succession; parce que n'étant pas établie, cela porteroit les Anglois à consentir à l'union. Et à l'heure qu'ici l'on y est porté, l'on ne veut plus de l'union, mais on retourne au premier. J'ai grand peur que l'humeur et la faction ne ruine le public. J'ai été assez long temps en affaires, pour les plaindre; mais il y a trop long temps que j'ai quitté, pour les connoître. Je crois la succession établie une chose très bonne; mais je crois l'union meilleure, parce qu'elle comprend la succession, qu'elle est à l'avantage des deux nations, dont elle prévient tous les différends à l'advenir; elle coupera pas la racine une bonne partie de vos divisions domestiques; et remédiera peu à peu au manque d'argent dont l'Ecosse se plaint. Je vous aye déjà dit, que je ne comprends pas bien le bon effet réciproque des deux royaumes d'un fédéral union, ni les moyens d'y parvenir; et suis très de ce que vous avez sujet de craindre les abus, même des mieux intentions.

Je ne puis que souhaiter ardemment le bien des deux royaumes, et de la religion; et vous assurer que je ferai toute ma vie, avec la même sincérité et candeur,

MONSIEUR,

Vostre très humble serviteur,

PORTLAND.

The

The EARL of STAIRS to Mr CARSTARES.

Asks his Advice as to the Treaty.

London,
April 26.
1706.

I am glad your assembly hath ended so well pleased with her Majesty's Commissioner, and he with you. We are here coming in earnest to business; and I hope shall shortly come to a conclusion. I have by this given you an account of some discourses that passed in a meeting of the Scots commissioners amongst themselves, that you may consider what's best for you to advise us in time.

The reservations being mentioned which we were to ask for North Britain in the case of the Union, one said, 'These were our church-government; laws and judicatures were to be continued for ever with us as they are now established.' Another said, 'Our church-government was sufficiently secured by the claim of right, and by the hedge about it; and that our commission had restrained us, that we could not treat of any alteration in the church-government; therefore it is best to say nothing about it.' The other replied, 'That, though he was none of those who believed any of the forms of government unlawful, yet, it was just and honourable to secure the form of our government to ourselves by an express article in the Union, otherwise it might be altered by the parliament of Britain, whereof the greater part would always be inclined to their own forms; and, whatsoever the clause in the instrument of government against episcopacy and the hedge might import in Scotland, yet, after the Union, every thing would be subjected to the pleasure of the parliament of Britain that was not specially stipulated in the Union not to be altered; and, though both parliaments had that regard for their own forms, that they had restricted their Commissioner from consenting to any alterations in their several church-governments, so as they could do nothing to their prejudice, yet that could never restrain them from securing and fixing their several governments from all future alterations.'

I took the more notice of this discourse, that I found afterwards an eminent person of the Inglis commission very earnest with me,
that

that nothing might be mentioned in our treaty concerning church-government, both being already secure, because that would give a handle to the Tories, and high-church people, to reflect upon or oppose the treaty in their parliament.

Sir, I must tell you further, the person who managed the argument not to mention church-government, was both a man of sense and your friend. We know not how long it may be before this matter shall recur. If you think it as much your concern as I do, you will not delay to signify your sentiments where you think it may be useful.

Your affectionate and humble servant,

STAIR.

EARL of LEVEN to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the same Subject.

Rev. SIR,

April 27.

The treaty goes now on apace upon the foot of an entire union; we are preparing such reservations as we judge necessary, such as our laws and some of our judicatories; these must be stipulate as fundamentals. Now, here is like to arise a great division among us; for some of us think, that the church-government should be here mentioned; but others are of opinion, that we cannot so much as name it; because, say they, the act of parliament appointing the treaty, and also the commission for it, do expressly discharge our meddling with the church. The Justice-clerk is positive of this opinion; for my part, I do differ from them. But I will endeavour to convince, or be convinced; for we must not differ; for, if we do, we shall appear to be a very insignificant party. What occurs to me is this, that the act of parliament, and commission for the treaty, can never be otherwise understood, than that we had not a power to alter the church-government.

But

But I can never think that therefore we cannot declare the same a fundamental; and, indeed, that I reckon our great security; for, nothing being upon record in the act of treaty, what can we say for it afterwards? for, no doubt, every thing may be altered by the parliament of Britain, except such things as are declared fundamentals.

Its true, the church-government may be excepted, and narrated in the act of parliament that establishes and ratifies the union; but, whether that, or being put in as a fundamental, is best? is the question. And I desire you may advise with my Lord Advocate, and whom else you please, and let me have your opinions.

You may consider also, if it be delayed till the act of parliament ratifying the treaty, whether or not that may not be reckoned as an addition by the English, it not being in the treaty; and so be the occasion either of a delay or a refusal. This is all that occurs on the head. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant.

EARL of MAR to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the treaty of Union.—Lord Buchan.

S I R,

Whitehall,
April 30.
1706.

By our meetings on the treaty, and some other business, I could not write to you till now, since I had your last. I am very glad that your assembly came to so good a conclusion. My Lord Loudon and I are obliged to you for the favourable account you gave of us; and I hope, by our carriage, we shall be found to answer what you said of us. My Lord Glasgow is not yet come here; but we expect him to-day. The treaty goes on very well; and I hope we shall agree, and come to a conclusion. But we resolved to keep secret what we do until all be concluded; for, when a part is only known, it may look odd to people who know not all; and so people

ple might be prepossessed against it. The English appear very reasonable, so far as we have gone; and I really believe they are hearty in it, as I hope we all are too. It is hard to tell how long we will be of ending; but I hope the next month may do much to it. I have written the inclosed to the Earl of Buchan, which I send you open, that you may know the better how to speak with him.

MARR.

EARL OF LEVEN to Mr CARSTARES.

Complaints of severals against the Presbyterian Clergy for the Severities to the Episcopalians.—Of the Scots Representation by the Treaty of Union.

Rev. SIR,

There has been several representations from people of quality, particularly from the Duke of Athol, to the Secretary of state, complaining of the severities of the presbyteries in several shires against the episcopal clergy, both in churches and meeting-houses: This the Secretaries were obliged to acquaint the Queen of; but did it very favourably; and told, they could give no opinion, having heard only one side; and that they were persuaded nothing would be done but in moderation, and conform to law: In which her Majesty is perfectly satisfied. Now, I must say, that its a great neglect that there is no information given here to any of your friends when any such process is intended, that so we might know whether they are intruders or not, whether qualified or not: The want of which makes us at a loss how to answer. I believe the Earl of Loudon is to write to the Advocate, that matters may be managed with moderation at this time; but this, I believe, you will be as much for as he or I: But, however, this is no way to hinder that just prosecution that may be necessary, both for the vindicating of the legal establishment of the church, and the discouragement of the insolency of intruders. The Secretaries have obliged me to write to you,

June 11.
1706.

which I willingly yielded to, that I might have an opportunity to acquaint you, that the treaty of union goes on very well. We are now upon the representation, which is like to be very small; but I hope we shall not break on that point. I think there will be nothing spoken of the church, for your friend is wilful to the last degree, and its not fit to disagree. I hope to see you the beginning of next month. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

L.

J. SH. to Mr CARSTARES.

*Of the second Address of the Commission of the General Assembly.—
The Tumults in the Western Shires at the Time of the Union.—
The Commission's Letter signed by Mr Carstares.—The Conduct
of the Church of England with respect to the Union.*

Rev. S I R,

London,
Dec. 17.
1706.

I am very glad to hear, by the letter you honoured me with of the 7th instant, that mine to your Lady and to you had not the fate that some of mine had whilst I was in Scotland. I was very well satisfied, before I had the pleasure of being assured of it from you, that the second address of the commission was perfectly against your inclination; and so were all your friends. Baron Schutz, amongst others, who desired me, when I wrote to you, to give you his humble service, said, he believed Mr Carstares had not given his vote for that address. I told him that, though he had found me too forward in undertaking for the prudent behaviour of the kirk, yet I would stake all the little credit I had left with him, that he had passed a right judgment concerning you. And I am very glad to have it under your own hand, what I had the pleasure to see by other letters, that you opposed it in the commission. You may easily imagine, Sir, what an unspeakable concern it has been to me, in common
with

with all honest men, that the kirk was not to be persuaded. And, indeed, after I had said so publicly, and with so much assurance, that I believed no methods, how specious soever, would be able to make her alter that prudent conduct I had been a witness to; I was concerned upon my own account, as well as their's. However, you may be assured, Sir, that I have not been wanting to excuse all this, as well as I could, to all my friends, and only friends of the Queen and of the H. of Hanover, that they don't take this conduct to be any mark of her disaffection to either; though, how she can be excused from the grossest mistake, and the most narrow views imaginable, her best friends are not able to tell. But 'tis difficult to make any considerable difference between those who have been any ways concerned in these tumults, and the open enemies of the government; and, therefore, we can't but be unspeakably grieved that the western shires have been the only seditious shires; and especially that any, whose business is peace, should have been so instrumental in making them so, though some were without design; and, therefore, it has given an universal satisfaction to find the commission declaring her mind so fully against all such illegal proceedings. That letter will serve to hide the former conduct of the church from the eyes of those who are not very exact, and will convince those that are, that, tho' the church did remonstrate against an essential part of the union, yet she is for stopping there, and that she won't accompany those of her body who go farther. I am very glad that your name is to that letter; and I hope the kirk will take all further methods that can be thought of to prevent these disorders, or at least to shew her abhorrence of them. I am very glad to hear that the eyes of many are more open. I think the instance you are pleased to give me of it, besides the letter you did me the favour to send me, a very good sign. If that happy temper should increase, I wish it were possible to think of some expedient by which the kirk might retrieve her character, and might yet have the honour of being zealous in promoting this union, which I make no question but will be the lasting felicity of both these nations.

Our clergy here have taken a quite different turn; and have prayed in their address, that the Queen may long reign over an united people, to the surprise both of high and low-church, which has happened by a surprise upon the high-church in the lower house of convocation; where, as soon as the address came from the upper house, it was approved by two high-churchmen, who spoke earnestly for it, in hopes to get two vacant preferments by that means. The other high-churchmen in that house were amazed and disconcerted; and so it passed *nemine contradicente*; for which their enemies laugh at them, their friends are angry with them, and they are ready to hang themselves, and those two treacherous brethren. I have not seen Mr Taylor since I had the honour to receive your's. As soon as I do, I will be sure to deliver your message to him. I am, with all imaginable respect,

Rev. S I R,

Your most faithful and very humble servant,

J. SH.

All at Hatton-Garden are very well, and are very much your humble servants and Mrs Carstares's. You may be sure, Sir, your kind remembrances of them are very grateful. I have taken care that the letter you sent me should be printed in the Post-boy and Flying-post. If things of that kind had ever been in the Gazette, the E. of S—nd—rl—d would have inserted it there, to whom it was highly acceptable.

————— to Mr CARSTARES.

[This Letter probably from Mr HARLEY.]

Pressing him to obtain from the Commission of the Church a Declaration approving of the Union, in order to prevent the bad Effects of their second Address to Parliament.

Rev. S I R,

The treaty of union being now very near agreed to by your parliament, we can't but think it highly necessary for the commission of

London,
Jan. 7.
1706-7.

of the church to take some method to shew her approbation of it in exprefs terms, before the rifing of the parliament.

For it muft certainly be very differviceable to her to be thought averfe or indifferent to a treaty, which is to be the lafting foundation of our government. For a government that fhall entertain that opinion of the church, will be more or lefs jealous of it; efpecially, confidering, that, if this averfion or indifference to the union continue, it will be remembered, that it arofe from the opinion which the church entertained of the thing itfelf, and not from any want of regard fhewn to the church in the management of it; every thing having been promifed and done for her fervice that could be done, confiftently with the union, as things flood at the time of its being agreed to in Scotland. On the other hand, it muft be of a lafting advantage to the church of Scotland to be known to have wifhed well to the union, and to have promoted it; for that will always procure her the confidence and countenance of all governments that fhall underftand the true intereft of the united ftate.

Befides, the firft addrefs from the commiffion to the parliament having contained feveral tacit declarations in favour of the union, and the commiffion having fince, by her third addrefs, and her circular letters, been eminently ferviceable in promoting it, it is neceffary that the church fhould now, in exprefs terms, declare her approbation of it, and of what has been done purfuant to her request, not only to act confiftently with her true intereft, but with her former proceedings. By this means, it would appear, either that the fecond addrefs was not intended as a declaration againft the union by all thofe who voted for it; or that, at leaft, it was carried by the heat of fome againft what the commiffion had done in her firft addrefs; but that they being now gone home, had carried all the heat and inconfiftency which appeared too much in that unhappy addrefs along with them, and had left that calmnefs and prudence to govern there, which was fo vifible in her firft addrefs, and now, of late, more efpecially in the circular letters.

And,

And, it is our opinion, that, if some exprefs declaration was made in the commiffion in favour of the union, that the unhappy conduct of the church, in her fecond addrefs, would be hid from all but a few who are at the pains to make exact enquiries into public tranfactions. Of fo much fervice to the commiffion has your diftance from hence been, together with the firft and third addrefs, and their circulat letters, which have amused the generality to that degree, as to make them believe the commiffion to be rather for the union than againft it. And, as fuch a declaration would in all probability entirely hide the unhappy conduct of fome of the minifters from all but the moft curious and inquisitive, fo it would retrieve the reputation of the commiffion with thofe who know the whole of your proceedings. And we take the liberty, Reverend Sir, to give it as our opinion, that an addrefs from the commiffion to the parliament, juft as it is breaking up, returning them thanks for the great care which they have taken of the civil and religious concerns of Scotland, in the whole courfe of their management of this treaty, and affuring them that you will endeavour to fatisfy the people, as you have opportunity in your feveral ftations, of their wifdom and faithfulnefs to their truft in this great affair, or any other way of giving your attestation to this treaty, which you in your prudence fhall think more proper, would answer all thofe good ends which we hope for, and propofe to you, by your expreffing your good opinion of this weighty affair.

And, we cannot but think, that many who were for addreffes of another fort, whilft they had hopes that their remonftrances might have put a ftop to the treaty, will not oppofe this, when it fhall be moved by thofe who have all along wifhed well to the union, now that they fee that 'tis what they muft in all probability fubmit to. Your concerns, Reverend Sir, are fo near our heart, both as they are your's, and as in confequence they are ours, that we hope it will excufe this liberty which is taken, with all fubmiffion to your better judgement, entreating you to believe it to proceed entirely from our unfeigned defire of the public welfare. I was defired to write
thus

thus much to you by several of your friends, to whom I afterwards read it; and they desired me, after hearing it, to send it as their sense, and in their name, though you will easily know it to be the sense too of, Reverend Sir, him who is, with all imaginable respect, your most faithful, and most humble servant. Our great men have several times told me that an address of this nature would be of unspeakable service to you, and us, and the common cause.

————— to Mr CARSTARES.

*Debates in the Committee of the House of Lords about the Union.—
The Sentiments of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other
Bishops, upon that Subject.*

Rev. S I R,

I heartily congratulate you upon the finishing stroke the union-bill received on Thursday. That bill has been the most darling bill the Whigs ever had in their possession, and as mortifying, on the other side, to the Tories, who have all opposed it in both houses, except those who are under the awe of the court, or of the Scots nation, by reason of their neighbourhood; on which account, some northern Tories in the H. of Commons voted for it. But there has not been one Whig that has voted against it in any question in either house. When the act for securing the true protestant religion and presbyterian church-government was debated in the committee in the H. of Lords, several Lords, and four Bishops, spoke very warmly against ratifying, approving, and confirming it, though they were not against giving the Scots a security that it should be maintained among them. But the A. of Canterbury said, He had no scruple against ratifying, approving, and confirming it within the bounds of Scotland: That he thought the narrow notions of all churches had been their ruin; and that he believed the church

London,
March 8.
1706-7.

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of Scotland to be as true a protestant church as the church of England, though he could not say it was so perfect. Several of the Bishops spoke very much in the same strain; and all of them divided for ratifying, approving, and confirming the church-act, except the four that spoke against it, and the Bishop of Durham, who went away before the vote. The other high-church Bishops were not at the house that day. I don't question but the Queen's speech has given great satisfaction to all friends to the union among you. If we have but the temper her Majesty recommends in that speech, the union will be the greatest blessing that Almighty God ever bro

Providence to this island. Thursday night did not end without many demonstrations of joy. Nor would it have ended without more, if care had not been taken to prevent 'em, lest the expression of too great a satisfaction might have been misconstrued by those who don't wish well to the union in Scotland. For which reason, the bill hung longer in our parliament than it needed to have done. I hope our having made no alterations in those that were made in Scotland, will convince the nation that we design to make this union as much, and more, for their advantage, than our own. I am, Rev. Sir, since Thursday, more than ever, upon the only new tie that could have bound me more than I was before.

All in Hatton-garden are your most faithful and very much your humble servants, and your Lady's. You may assure her, too, that there is but one more so than I am. I had like to have forgot to tell you, that the high-church Lords and Bishops seemed to be as much concerned that you had not ratified our church-act, as that we were going to ratify, confirm, and approve yours; for they would not allow the general clause in your act of ratification, whereby you leave us at liberty to establish the church of England as we please, by any means to amount to a ratification.

Sir

Sir DAVID NAIRNE to Mr. CARSTARES.

Upon the same Subject with the former.

S I R,

I am very glad that the Queen took not such measures as might have been used, for publishing a thanksgiving, to be kept on the first day of May in Scotland, as is to be in England. Her Majesty considered the ill impressions that were made of an union of the two kingdoms, by the enemies of both, upon many people there, and some of the clergy; therefore, only commanded me to let her desire (of having a general thanksgiving through the whole island) be known, and left it entirely to her servants there to consider of the reasonableness of declaring it; and, tho' she still wishes it could have been; yet her Majesty is far from proposing, much less ordering what may offend. Sir, you will do me justice if you believe, that, for six months past, I was obliged, every post-night, to write more letters than I could with any exactness; yet these from whom I had letters took it ill when I did not give them some answer; and that prevented some trouble to you, when I itched to tell you of the mistaken notions of some of your brethren. But, the union being now happily concluded, I think all ill humours ought to be laid aside by one, and forgot by the other. I do assure you, the Queen is very sensible of your services, which she had several times information of from me, by the Duke of Queensberry and Earl of Marr's commands. I was always pleased to serve you or your friends, and I shall always value myself, if you will believe me to be, as I truly am,

S I R,

Your most obliged humble servant,

DAVID NAIRNE.

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EARL

Whitehall,
April 15.
1707.

Bullrode,
April 10.
1707.

EARL of MARR to Mr CARSTARES.

Professions of Regard to the Church of Scotland.

S I R,

Whitehall,
April 29.
1707.

Your's of the 19th was very acceptable to me. I am very glad the assembly proceeded so calmly, and is now come to so good a conclusion. 'Tis not the first time the church of Scotland has been obliged to your good counsel. I hope your brethren will now be in good humour, and preach peace to their hearers, and endeavour to undeceive them of the wrong impressions they got of the great affair which is now come to pass. I'm sure it will be their own fault, if they live not now in more security than ever. The Queen is as well inclined towards them as they can wish, and I'm persuaded will continue so, if they act with discretion, as I hope they will. I am obliged to you for making my excuse in so good time to the Moderator, for my not writing to him at that time. Hurry of business, and anxiety for my poor wife, has given me very little time, and made me very unfit for writing, ever since I came here. I have now wrote to him, which I hope will make up my neglecting it before. I hope I need not now tell you, that I'll be very ready to serve your church, in any thing that lies in my way; for that, I believe, you doubt not of. There is not much business yet done since we came here. When there is a great deal to do, you know it takes time.

EARL of PORTLAND to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Invasion in 1708.—Lord Leven blamed, the Man he would have least suspected.

Bulstrode,
Avril 10.
1708.

Dans l'apprehension ou j'ay este pour le publique, pour nostre Ste religion, liberté, et tout ce qui nous est cher, vous pouvez estre assure, assure,

assuré, Monsieur, que je souvent pense à vous. La bon Dieu soit éternellement loué qui nous a delivré de ces craints. L'on ne peut penser au consequences des meaux, qui nous menaçoit, sans trembler. J'espere que le danger que l'on a eschapé par la protection divine rendra les gens sages pour prevenir un pareil mal pour advenir. J'advoue qu'il est inconcevable que de protestants auroient favourisé un invasion des papistes et de Francois, de telles gens peuvent pretendre d'estre protestants, mais dans leur coeur ils ne la peuvent estre, mais sont pires que les papistes. Les lettres de France disent, que Fourbin, dans son rapport, c'est fort plaint des Ecoffois, et de ce que son Roy avoit été trompé, qu'il avoit été au firth d'Edinbourg un jour devant Sir Geo. Bing; qu'il avoit fait les signaux dont on luy avoit dit estre convenu, mais que l'on ne avoit pas repondre; et qu'il ne avoit pas uni ami qui eust paru pour eux. Peutetre le dit il pour se justifier luy-même. J'ay été surpris d'entendre blasmer my L. Levin, sa conduite, et sa bonne intention, dans cette occasion. Je vous pris de me mander ce qui est; car c'est l'homme que je connoisse que j'aye j'amaïs le moins suspecté; et s'il y a raison de douter de son zele et de sa sincerité, je ne scay si je puis me fier à moy-même. Je vous prie de croire que je m'interesse toujours en tout ce que vous touche, puisseque je suis à vous de tout mon coeur.

PORTLAND.

EARL of GLASGOW to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Invasion, and Adjournment of the Assembly.

Reverend S I R,

I received your most satisfying letter, and am heartily glad that the national fast was got so well managed. I'm heartily sorry for the present disorder you will be all in upon this invasion; but I hope

London,
March 13.
1707-8.

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you

you will in a short time deliver us from our troubles and fears. Its feared here, that, upon the landing of the French, there will be such a confusion in Scotland that the assembly cannot meet; and, in that event, you will consider of the most decent way of an adjournment for a month or two, as to the Queen's part, and of such a method as may give universal satisfaction to the church. I hope you'll allow me your thoughts on this so soon as possible; and I ever am, with great respect,

Reverend S I R,

Your most faithful and most humble servant,

GLASGOW.

Sir, The Queen is perfectly well pleased with your good conduct and management in the commission of the assembly, and will never be wanting, during her reign, to give the church her countenance, and full and hearty protection. Adieu.

The EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Invasion, and the Behaviour of the Presbyterians upon that Occasion.—The Danger now over.

S I R,

London,
March 27.
1708.

All the presbyterians, and you in particular, have been very happy of having this opportunity to testify your zeal and loyalty to her Majesty's person and government, and your fixed resolutions to withstand and oppose the popish pretender. This has rendered all the presbyterians very acceptable to her Majesty, and has also secured to them many friends here. My L. Glasgow is sent down to be commissioner to the ensuing assembly, and the letter to it and the instructions will give satisfaction. I am very glad that, when I acquaint you with this, I can also inform you, that our danger from
this

this invasion seems now to be over; for we have certain accounts that seventeen of the French fleet are returned to Dunkirk, and now we have been two days without an express from Scotland. If in any thing I can be useful to you, before I leave this place, let me know; for I am, with great sincerity,

S I R,

Your most humble and most faithful servant,

SEAFIELD.

I was exceedingly pleased with the address from the University of Edinburgh.

LORD PORTLAND to Mr CARSTARES.

After the Invasion, and in Answer to what Mr Carstares had written concerning my Lord Leven.

Comme je n'ay rien dans ce monde qui ne soit plus agreeable que la continuation de souvenir d'un vieux amie, que j'estime plus que dix nouveaux, vous pouvés croire, Monsieur, que vos lettres me doivent estre tres agreeable. Vous auries plus souvent de miennes, si je pouvois vous mander des nouvelles; mais je suis icy comme un homme civilement mort, ou qui souhaitte seulement sa tranquillité, la seurité de notre sainte religion et de nos loix. Je suis tres aisé de voir la zele que toute vostre assemble general a temoinée en cette occasion, comme il a paru publiquement par la belle adresse qu'elle a presentée a la Reyne, et que l'on dit qui est de vostre plume. Vos membres qui ont estes contre l'union, font voir leur intention, et qu'elle eut estes abusée. J'espere que l'on prendra soin de se pourvoir contre un pareil dangereux accident pour l'advenir comme la prudence le veut. J'ay eu bien de la joye de voir ce que vous me mandes touchant my L. Leven, quoyque je ne croyois nullement ce que l'on vouloit insinuer de luy; tout au contraire, le gens dont cela procedoit me faisoit croire la fausseté de leurs calomnies; j'admire seulement leur impudence. L'on mande de Paris, que le Roi de

Bullstrode,
May 17.
1708.

de France a été si mortifié de voir son grand projet manqué, qu'il ne songera pas aisément à un autre ; mais ce n'est pas sur quoy il faut s'endormir en seureté, si ne que sur l'assistance divine, qui a paru si manifeste. Le bon Dieu veut que nous ne negligions pas les moindres qu'il nous a mis en mains pour nostre seureté, mais que nous implorions sa benediction et assistance sur les causes secondes. J'ay croi que chez vous tout est en mouvement pour se faire elire membres du prochain parlement, comme on l'est ici pour l'estre de la chambre basse. Je vous suis bien obligé de vos bon souhaits pour ma famille, qui est, graces à Dieu, en bonne santé. Je suis d'un cordiale sincerité entierement à vous,

PORTLAND.

Mon fils est choisi pour la ville de Southampton, et il espere de l'estre pour la province de Hampshire dont l'election doit estre terminée cette semaine passée. Je vous prie de faire mes complimens à my L. Leven, et autres vieux amis.

Bien des honestes gens in Hollande sont de sentiment que la Reine et l'estate devoit temoigner leur ressentement au pape, d'avoir contribué de l'espargne de ces predecesseurs pour cette invasion. Ils croient que l'Empereur, et d'autres prov. Cath. Romains dans l'alliance l'approuveroit, estant irrités contre luy à cause de cela.

EARL OF SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Oath of Abjuration.—The Invasion, and the taking away of the Privy-council.

Rev. S I R,

Your letter, which commemorates our old friendship and correspondence, was very acceptable ; I would have answered it sooner, but that I know you will excuse me, since I have been taken up with public affairs. The word *limitations* in the abjuration which you write, occasions some difficulties and scruples ; I am sure they were very needless ; yet, the act of regency, which is now past, has fully
settled

London,
Feb. 21.
1708.

settled that matter as you would have had it; and, after all, the abjuration is not as yet required within Scotland, except of the parliament-men. I know not what may be thought fit to be done; but, whenever it can be required, that word is left out: This I hope will give universal satisfaction to such as had that difficulty. I am very glad that the fast which was appointed was so well observed by all the presbyterian ministers; and I am confident they sincerely wish success to his Majesty's arms, and those of her allies, against France. We are alarmed with the news of a French invasion; but I hope it will be disappointed, for we have twenty-five men of war ready in the Downs, and the Dutch will join us with fifteen or twenty more by the first fair wind; so that, I think, they will not venture an invasion when we are in such readiness. Besides, the Irish forces are ordered to the north of Ireland; and, if we be masters of the seas, we can want no assistance. I was against taking away the privy-council in my opinion. In the infancy of the union, and during the war, we had a considerable party that joined with us; but, the whole Tories, and some of the Whigs joining, we were outnumbered; so that the bill is past, and I heartily wish it may have no bad consequence. This is all that I shall trouble you with at present; but, I'll write to you again when the affairs of the assembly comes under consideration; and I am,

Rev. S I R,

Your most humble servant.

SEAFIELD.

LORD ADVOCATE to Mr CARSTARES, at London.

Upon the Oath of Abjuration,——and Justices of the Peace.

S I R,

The commission of the kirk are met here this week, and some of them have been with me upon the subject of their two grievances; one about the abjuration, and the other, about the justices of the peace.

Edinburgh,
Sept. 30.
1708.

peace. I reasoned with them about the abjuration, and told them plainly, that I saw no ground of scruple; and the exception against the *as* had neither the reduplication nor extension that was imagined; but all of us agreed, that, since the people's scruples could not be removed, and had manifest inconveniences, it might be fairly essayed what could be done; and thus they wrote to you upon that subject, whereof I have inclosed to you a copy. Sir, this is truly a lamentable affair; for the scruples are not only groundless, but I am afraid, when these scruples should be removed, others would remain or arise, so humorous we are become. I know the parliament of England did at length indulge quakers in the matter of swearing; and I also apprehend, the British act about the abjuration may come to be explained; for now, it reaches only all officers, civil and military, and debates arise with us daily about counsellors, deacons, and electors, which are all contained in our Scots act 1695, for the allegiance and the assurance: So that it seems necessary, either to extend the abjuration to all in public trust, civil or military, churchmen remaining still excepted, or otherways, which I like far better, to restrain this abjuration, in place of the allegiance and assurance, to officers, or office-bearers only, so as to leave out counsellors, deacons, and electors, and many other branches contained in the Scots act. But I wish there were once an end both of swearing and perjury, which I never look to see; and my opinion to the brethren was, that they might write to you. But, withal, I feared you would be discouraged to meddle, the scruples are so light, and our people become so humorous, against so fair and just an act. However, you may essay the matter in your discretion. As to what they write about the justices of the peace, it is more material; but nothing more difficult than to get a good nomination for both places; and men are unknown; and so, not only mistakes may happen, but even these concerned may be of contrary opinions; and therefore, I can only wish, that the justices of peace may be better named, and more care taken about it; for, even this day, I had a long complaint from Fife, that a minister there is maliciously informed against to the justices of the

the peace, as a slanderer, for words spoken in his sermon, and preaching to the people; which, if it proceed, will surely alarm all the ministers, and revive the old debate in Mr David Black's case of the *prima instantia*. I have inclosed the doubles of the church's letters to you, and also, a double of the reform which they would have made of the oath, which might have been made more congruous; but I will not touch it to help it; for I see not any probability to get the matter mended; only I know you will again take their letters in good part, and do what can be done, and give them the best answer. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble and affectionate servitor,

JA. STEWART.

Sir DAVID NAIRNE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Allowance to the Judges on the Circuits.

S I R,

Since my last I have been with the Earl of Seafield and Sir Thomas Frankland; and, to tell you the particulars of what passed, would be tedious, and of no use; so I shall only tell you, that the Earl is clear there is no need of any parliamentary authority; and promises to say so to the proper persons. Sir Thomas says, if it is so, the affair shall be dispatched next week. They were not together when I saw them; but, if they both hold, I doubt not of the dispatch; and, if either alter, I will try another way. And you may depend upon it, I will stick to it till it is done. I cannot tell what will oblige; but I could do no more to evidence my desire of doing so, than in what I have done for the circulating judges, and these concerned in the circuits. My Lord Treasurer has ordered a warrant immediately for every farthing of the account as my Lord Advocate has sent it; and I have obtained an equal proportion for equipage to my Lord Justice-clerk, (who was at no expence that way), with

Whitehall,
Nov. 20.
1708.

the receipt, who laid out money; and I do think it justice, for he did the service as much as the others. I have writ pretty fully to my Lord Advocate on this subject; and I would not trouble you on this head, but that you with that, what were done for the judges might be by me, I suppose because you think it would recommend me to their favour. I shall only say, that I believe no Scotsman will say they have for some time spoke of the business besides myself; and, when I procured the warrant this day, without remitting the account to be revised by his secretary or clerk, he made me the compliment to tell me, that he did it, because he knew I had promised, in his name, that the money should be remitted as soon as the accountants came to know the quantum; and was pleased to thank me for the service he said I had done to the Queen. And bare thanks from thence is all I ever proposed for my labour. I am, with great esteem,

S I R,

Your most obliged humble servant,

DAVID NAIRNE.

EARL OF LOUDON to Mr CARSTARES.

*Of taking away the Privy-council, and the Inconveniencies of it;—
but agrees with Mr Carstares in thinking it dangerous for the
Church-courts to meddle with it.*

S I R,

Whitehall,
Dec. 30.
1708.

I am ashamed that, by one accident or other, I have been hindered till now from acknowledging the favours of your's of the 16th. I am very much of your opinion, that the taking away of the council in Scotland, especially at this time, will be inconvenient; and I do not wonder that many of the ministers seem to think that the redressing of such grievances as the church may have will be rendered the more difficult by the want of a council in Scotland; but, at the same time, I agree perfectly with you in thinking, that it is not proper

per for the ensuing commission of the assembly, or any ecclesiastical judicature, to interpose in these matters. That is a road so dangerous for the church-judicatures, that any probability that there may be of good consequences from an address in the present case, is not enough to answer the hazardous, if not pernicious consequences that the meddling in things of that kind may in course of time have. I am far from designing this to discourage any of the ministers of the church of Scotland from writing their sentiments upon this, or any other subject, to their friends and acquaintances. I think letters from particular men ought to be very well received; and I can't doubt but they will. To return to what concerns the council, though the arguments that are used for taking it away are plausible and popular here, such as, that of coming immediately into the English constitution; yet, I can't but hope, that the manifest and evident inconveniences of, at least, the precipitating of this matter, will come to have their due weight with the members. You know that, by the slow forms of passing bills here, there is good time given to members to consider well of arguments which, at first appearance, may seem to have more strength than after they are well considered. This gives me hopes that things may be so managed that the council may be continued for one year; which will leave room for the next parliament to reconsider this matter. I have talked with the D. of Queensberry, Earls of M. and J. and they are of my opinion, both as to the application from the commission of assembly, and that from particular persons. I believe the E. of G. has already writ to you upon this subject. I have only one word more to say upon this matter, which is, that there will be greater inconveniences in any thing that can be substitute in place of the council, than if the council were continued; I mean of these kinds of inconveniences which are objected to it by those who are for taking it away. And, if we consider it upon the other, I don't see that any thing can be substitute in its place, which in the least can supply the loss of it. In short, any thing of that kind will, in the present circumstances, have all the bad effects that are objected to it, and none of the good. As

to Mr Stirling, the dependance of that affair concerning the college of Glasgow kept him long here. I doubt not he has acquainted you that we at last procured allowance from the Queen, that the E. of Mar should write him a letter, by her Majesty's orders, importing a promise from her Majesty in relation to that matter. As to the other affairs you write of, I believe he'll be glad to take a lesson from you; and I think he is not a bad scholar, if he can learn but part of what you can teach him. This letter, which is writ in freedom and haste, is only for yourself; and I shall end it without the ceremony of subscription, but with the assurances of any service or friendship that may be in my power to do you.

Mr PRINGLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Conduct of the Episcopal Party in Scotland.—Their setting up the Liturgy.—The Danger of the Presbyterians being too violent in their Opposition to this Step.

S I R,

Whitehall,
Aug. 27,
1709.

I must ask your pardon for delaying so long to give a return to your's of the 7th; but I have been so much taken up, that I was obliged to put it off from post to post. I do perfectly agree with you in what you write about Dr St Clair. I am heartily sorry there is any occasion for the other part of your letter, though it was always to be expected, that party would omit nothing that might procure them patronage and countenance here, or provoke others to do that which might be liable to be mistaken: And, in my humble judgement, it will prove a point of very great nicety and difficulty to many of the established churches in the north, how to manage themselves on this occasion, with that real concern which is consonant to these principles, expected from them; and with that discretion and prudence which may prevent the cause of the other being espoused here, or, at least, weaken the assistance a great many may be disposed to give them; though all thinking men, ei-
ther

ther with you or here, may be fully satisfied, that it is not a matter of conscience in itself with these who peruse it, and that they are known to be disaffected to the present constitution of the state; yet, if they qualify themselves, as the law requires, and shew themselves ready to give full obedience to the civil government in any test is, or shall be imposed on them for that end, what objection can be made to their claims of the same privilege and liberty as dissenters from the established church in the north, that the dissenters from the established church here are allowed? And, for my own part, if ever their pretensions to this come to be formally talked in parliament, I am much affraid they shall be found of weight; and, it is not to be doubted, but that party will endeavour this; and, the more notice is taken of them in the way of opposition and censure, the better handle they have for trying the interest and strength of their friends here; and, therefore, I cannot but think, but that the less notice the church takes of these people who sets up the English liturgy, the better. I do not believe they will gain many proselytes to that way in that country; and, when the present set of these ministers is worn out, which they must do daily, I do not believe the plentiful allowance has been made for them since they were turned out of their churches has tempted many to qualify themselves to continue a succession to them. This is my own private opinion; for, I have as yet had but very little occasion to know the sentiments of others on this head. I think the commission taking notice of it to the ministry here absolutely right; and I think the letter writ on this occasion by the moderator unexceptionable. But, I confess, I cannot be of the same mind as to the printed act of the commission which you was pleased to send me, but must think it had been better to have forborn it. The next day after receipt of your's, I waited on my L. President, and delivered the moderator's letter to his Lordship, which he read before me: He seemed to apprehend much there might be a concert with some here, and that, as at settling the union, they had found the greatest difficulty to have the proposal of a toleration for the dissenters in the north laid aside,

so

so he apprehended much, if it should be again set on foot, they should find it a very hard task to disappoint it. I believe he is perfectly well disposed to go into any measures may be for the security of our established church. The E. of Sunderland has been for some weeks in the country; but, as I sent the letter from the moderator to his Lordship, and wrote to him myself in relation to the subject of it, so I received a return from him, wherein he desires me to write to the moderator in the way I have done by the inclosed, which I leave open for your perusal, and must recommend to you to cause it be delivered, after sealing. I take your employing me in the delivery of these letters very kindly; and, as none wishes the prosperity and peace of our established church better than I do, so I assure you, in whatever station providence places me, I shall think it my greatest honour, if I can contribute in the least to it. I this day received your's of the 20th, and had occasion almost at the same time to see Mr Chamberlain, to whom I did communicate the contents of it, as you desired. I shall only add, that I am, with much sincere respect,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble servant,

RO. PRINGLE.

I find I must delay writing to the moderator till next post.

Mr HARLEY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Personal Injuries he has suffered.—Complains of the great Progress of Deism and Infidelity; and that Preferments go in that Channel.

Rev. S I R,

Sept. 12.
1709.

I must leave it to your candour to excuse my not answering your last most obliging letter; and I refer it to your wisdom and penetration to think of the true reason, which it is not proper for me to express in a letter.

I do most humbly and thankfully own the mercy of God, whose unmerited goodness rescued me from the snares which were prepared for me.

My soul has been among Lyons, even the sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongues sharp swords; but I learn how good it is to wait on the Lord, and to possess one's soul with patience. And I thank God, I do not only heartily forgive them, but I do not look on it as their actings, but say, they are thy hand; and, though I have never offended them, yet I know I daily offend my great Sovereign, and can say, he afflicts me less than I deserve.

I beg, Sir, you will excuse me thus far opening my soul to so good, so prudent a friend. I cannot forbear now to mention a subject, though it be a very melancholy one, of which I have as often spoken to you as I have been happy in your conversation; that is, the imminent danger to this nation from that dissolution of manners, and abandoning of all principles, so that people unite themselves now by setting up against what I take to be the only bond of friendship, and security of any government, I mean religion: But, now, what used to skulk in corners, and shelter itself under the names of *latitude* and *freethinking*, they publicly own; and deism is the bond of their society, and sufficient to recommend the professors of it to preferment, without any other qualification. From hence it flows, that all the notions of right and wrong are confounded; and the practice is accordingly. Public injuries and breach of faith are joined to private violations of right; so that foreigners say publicly, I mean our own allies, that we are a perfidious nation; and, since we have violated our treaty with Scotland, and laugh at the notion of fundamental and inviolable articles, there is no great wonder if we treat other nations as we do.

It is but a few days since it was openly urged, that the deists, or, to use their own words, *we deists*, (naming some great men), are the only support of government. We keep the episcopal and presbyterian parties in awe, who would else and devour and disturb all others.

others. I must frankly own to you, that I cannot see to what end all these endeavours are, and the great charge some people are at to propagate irreligion, if popery be not at the bottom, designed by some cunning head. And it is plain, that the book called *The rights of the Church* points at an infallible judge upon earth; and I could give you more, even amazing, proofs of such a design, both against the protestant religion in general, and the succession, as established, if it were proper for a letter; but I leave that till it please God I see you, which I hope will be next winter.

In the mean time, give me leave to say, that it will be necessary for your countrymen to think better of their conduct, if they mean either to render themselves considerable, or to preserve themselves and their country from unreasonable and mischievous attempts. You are my witness, that I have always had a very tender regard for that country; and now I have a sort of interest in its peace and welfare, having disposed a child there; so that you will excuse my zeal, and believe me to be, with very great sincerity and regard, Reverend Sir, your's, &c.

EARL of SUNDERLAND to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the English Liturgy.——The Queen approves Mr Carstares's Conduct in that Affair.

S I R,

Windsor,
Oct. 25.
1706.

I have received the favour of your's of the 13th instant, and acquainted the Queen with the contents of it, who has commanded me to let you know how sensible she is of your care to keep all quiet in your parts, and how well she takes this instance of your zeal for her service, in relation to what was proposed of having the liturgy used in Brigadier Whiteman's regiment, whose conduct in this particular her Majesty does very much commend, and has ordered me to tell him so. I am also commanded to assure you of her Majesty's intentions not to suffer any thing to be done that might give
any

any disquiet to those of the established religion in Scotland, which it is her Majesty's fixed resolution to support and maintain. Whatever happens from time to time in your parts, of this kind, or any other which you shall think it for her Majesty's service she should be informed of, I desire you will acquaint me with it, and I will not fail to lay it before her Majesty, and let you know her pleasure; and, in whatever regards your particular interest, you may depend upon the best services of him, who is, with great truth and esteem,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

SUNDERLAND.

Mr PRINGLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of the Introduction of the English Liturgy.

S I R,

I had, the other day, your's of the 13th instant, with one for the E. of Sunderland, which I delivered to him that minute; and, as he has had occasion to lay it first before the committee of Lords, then sitting at his office, and afterwards before the Queen at Windsor, the inclosed returns, with a copy of my Lord's letter to Brigadier Whiteman, will satisfy you, that your's has been acceptable; and I am more and more confirmed, that such attempts as have been of late with you to introduce these innovations, will find no encouragement from any of the ministry here; and, so long as it is so, I think we have nothing to apprehend from them. Without all affectation, the Earl of Sunderland has a very great value for you, and you may use all possible freedom with him, which I am confident will be acceptable to his Lordship, and of use to your country. I shall only add at this time, that I am,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble servant,

R. PRINGLE.

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Mr

Whitehall,
Oct. 27.
1709.

Mr PRINGLE to Mr CARSTARES.

With Mr Greenshield's Letter to him, and his Answer.

S I R,

Whitehall,
Nov. 5.
1709.

I take the liberty to send you a copy of a letter I had the other day from Mr Greenshields, purely for your own information, that you may see how that matter is represented by the party concerned, and not in the least to engage you to interest yourself any way for him, because he pretends to be my relation; for, I look upon this as a public concern, which is to be managed with a view to the public peace and quiet, and leaves no latitude for that appearance which relation might demand in other cases; and, therefore, I have given him this general return, of which I likewise have taken the freedom to give you the trouble of a copy; for I shall always very much value Mr Carstares's approbation. I am affraid the magistrates of Edinburgh shall find difficulties in this matter, if he continue obstinate in refusing that deference to their orders which they demand. I wish heartily that place were delivered from such troublesome incidents. I can give you no news. We expect the D. of Marlborough every day, after a successful and glorious campaign; but cannot yet judge if it shall pave the way to a peace. The appearance of some commotions in the north, which perhaps may oblige these princes to withdraw their troops from the assistance of the allies, encouraging the King of France rather to hazard the continuing the war than to submit to the conditions imposed upon him. I give my humble service to Mrs Carstares, and am, with much respect,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble servant,

RO. PRINGLE.

EARL

EARL of ILAY to Mr CARSTARES.

*Of the new Attempts of the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland.—Desires
Mr Carstares's Advice and Direction, in case of any Attempts for a
Toleration.*

S I R,

Since I came here, I have enquired as well as I could what the opinions of people are here in relation to the subject I desired your advice upon some days before I left Edinburgh. The news of the determination of the Lords of the Session in Greenfield's case made at first some noise; but, upon right understanding the matter, I find even our enemies are pretty silent about it, and our former friends seem very zealous to support us in this, and all other matters wherein our church is concerned; so that I don't apprehend any danger from this session of parliament, especially considering the great appearance of quiet in all other affairs; for, as the real spring of the new attempts of the episcopal clergy arises from reasons very foreign to the matter in debate, so, whenever that dispute receives any extraordinary turn here, it will be for other designs, and when projects are moving at the same time. I must confess I should be very unwilling to let many of your brethren into this secret of our present security, for fear it should increase their zeal more than their prudence, and make them forget the nicety of our circumstances, and fancy that the affairs of this world are to be perfectly learned in their respective parishes. However, upon hearing that my Lord of York is come up to town, on purpose to make what clamour he can, some of our friends have proposed to have a meeting, in order to consider the proper measures to support the interest of our church; and, in particular, if any thing should be attempted tending towards a toleration, as I told you formerly, I must trouble you again, to desire your directions and advice from time to time, and that you would furnish me with any materials that can

London,
Dec. 8.
1709.

be of use upon this subject. I could wish that I had the number and names of those episcopal ministers who have been continued in their parishes since the re-establishment of presbytery, with their several places of residence; as also, a particular account of the behaviour of all those ministers in meeting-houses as to their having taken the oaths, and praying directly for the Queen. I suppose I need not tell you of how great use it is in any public assembly to be perfect in matters of fact, and what advantage it gives one over ignorant complaints; so that I hope I need make the less apology for this trouble I give you. I am,

S I R,

Your obedient humble servant,

ILAY.

LORD SEAFIELD TO MR CARSTARES.

About public Prayers for the Princess Sophia.

Rev. S I R,

The long friendship that hath been betwixt us, and the mutual confidence we have used in public affairs, encourages me to give you this trouble, which I hope you will excuse, since it concerns the interest of the church. It hath been informed, that the ministers of the church of Scotland do incline to pray for Princess Sophia expressly in their public prayers, if there were any intimation given by her Majesty for them so to do. This, no doubt, would be very acceptable to her Majesty; and, therefore, I desire your opinion how satisfying this would be to the church, and after what manner such an intimation should be made; but, if you think they would rather incline to do it without an intimation, I am confident it will be delayed. I expect your answer as soon as you can; and whatever you write to me shall not be known to come from you, except by your own allowance. I am, with great sincerity,

Rev. S I R,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

SEAFIELD:

EARL

London,
Dec. 31.
1709.

EARL of ILAY to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the same Subject.

S I R,

1709.

I writt to you some days ago, and must now trouble you again upon a question which was asked of me lately by a great man, whether our church would be willing to have some sort of hint given them for the praying for the Princess Sophia as they do in England? I own the question is a little ambiguous; but I suppose it means, whether it would be agreeable to our interest and inclination, that the Queen should, in some manner or other, make some step towards the advancing the observation of praying for the Electress? I thought I could not admit letting you know this, that, according as I am informed by you, I shall be the better able to discourse with some here upon that subject. I send you inclosed the two sermons which have made so much noise here, and for which Doctor Sacheverell is impeached. I am,

S I R,

Your obedient humble servant,

ILAY.

Mr CHAMBERLAYNE to Mr CARSTARES.

Inveighs against the Presbyterians in Scotland for their bigotted Zeal against the English Chaplains using the Service of the Church of England in their Regiments.

Reverend and dear S I R,

'Tis so long since I have had the happiness of a few lines from you, that I have quite forgot the date of your last letter, which, however, is carefully laid up among my most valuable papers, having been first answered with that respect that is due to it; since then, a
great

London,
Feb. 14.
1709-10.

great many things have happened, upon which I had so much to say to you, that I should have tired you with letters and questions, were it not that the worthy Mr Dundas, the secretary of your excellent society, is like to relieve you by his seasonable arrival in our parts; for I flatter myself with a great many *tete à tete* conferences with him before he leaves London; and, as I expect to meet with a great deal of candour and ingenuity on his side, so I design to open my heart very frankly to him upon a great many subjects that have lain very heavy there; because I know not how to discharge it of them sooner. They relate chiefly to the state of the protestant religion in Scotland, the affairs of your society, correspondence with our's, &c.; in all which I have interested myself with so much zeal, (and so little discretion, at least, in the opinion of some of my fellow members), that I have acquired the glorious nickname of the *Scotch Agent*; which, as I have noways deserved, neither in their sense nor my own, so I esteem it too great an honour for me. I say, Sir, I shall be as free with Mr Dundas on the above mentioned heads, as I hope he will be with me. And therefore, when he returns to North Britain, you may give entire credit to such things as he shall report from me; and which I believe you will soon be convinced could not be otherwise communicated to you. However, Sir, I cannot help, in the mean time, to lay before you an extract of a letter from a gentleman to a friend of mine; which has the greater weight with me, because there does not seem a jot of the spirit of high-church through the whole; a spirit which I detest in all religions where-ever I meet it; a spirit which I shall always oppose, even in my own party, (when I discover it), as much as in my enemies; a spirit, that is the only foundation of that saying, *tantum religio poterat suadere malorum*; a spirit, so very opposite to that glorious description of the Christians, pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, &c.; a spirit, in short, like the tongue described by St James, that is set on fire by hell, and is itself sufficient to fire the world. Sir, you will say, perhaps, *Quorsum haec?* and why to me? &c. First, because the inclosed account of the great severity of your church

church against chaplains of English regiments, for reading the liturgy to their own people only, (if the fact be truly stated), is so like the inquisition, that it must needs raise an indignation in the minds of good Christians. And, secondly, I say it to you, because I am sure I say it safely, because I know I speak to a man of my own principles, who is as much ridiculed for his moderation in Scotland as I am in England; and, lastly, who will either join with me in extinguishing such a spirit, if he can, in both countries; or, at least, sincerely in deploring the sad effects of it, and in begging God daily, that all sincere protestants in both churches may keep the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life. Sir, as I told you above, my zeal has transported me beyond discretion; and, therefore, it is high time I should put an end to this long letter, by assuring you, that I am, with great truth and esteem,

Rev. S I R,

Your most humble servant,

JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE.

Extract of a Letter from an English Officer at Edinburgh to his Friend at London, &c.

I was all my life a moderate man as to the dispute between the two grand parties, and could at any time have heard a good sermon from either; but really I have seen so much violence and inveteracy from the presbyterian party here, against the church of England in particular, and nation in general, that it almost turns my stomach; and, if any thing makes me a high flyer, it will be the unreasonable bitter invectives, and prodigious imprecations which I have, with my own ears, heard from some too zealous presbyterian clergy in their pulpits here, against the church of England. I wish they would manage with more Christian moderation; for, while both parties run so high, we can never expect a union in all its parts. Though our chaplain was here, yet he was not suffered to preach; which is what we were never denied in the most rigid Roman catholic countries.

tries. The episcopal party here being suppressed, or disaffected to the government, and most of their clergy refusing to pray for our gracious Queen Anne, so palls my inclinations towards them, that, for the future, I resolve to stay at home, and pray in private; or, at least, make a congregation of my own company, and pray with and for them, till God is pleased to send a better and more public spirit into mankind; until which time, and ever, I will remain, &c.

Mr ROBERT PRINGLE to Mr CARSTARES.

Of a Toleration, in Answer to one from Mr Carstares upon that Subject.

S I R,

Whitehall,
Feb. 23.
1709-10.

I received yesterday your's of the 16th, and do think your thoughts about a toleration very just and reasonable; and, I am very sure, such as a great many very considerable persons here will fall in with, who are acquainted with the disposition of the people with you; but, if ever this matter comes to be fairly stated in parliament, the great argument, from the disaffection to the state of those who promote and seek a toleration, is taken off, by their offering to qualify themselves; which is the only evidence the government can demand of their owning and adhering to it, though we may be sensible how weak a tie it proves to too many; and, therefore, I must think with the inclosed, that, if it be possible, it were to be wished the motion could be kept off and waved; which, perhaps, if made, will not be easily rejected. I doubt not but, upon first sight of the inclosed, you will conclude it of my procuring; but, ingeniously, it entered not into my thoughts; and, two days after the affair of Greenshields had been under consideration, my Lord Sunderland proposed to me to take a draught of a letter to you from himself, in which I followed his own sense, as I could draw it from the discourse we had together on this subject; and he has writ to the same purpose to the Earl of Marchmont. Without all exaggeration, none can have a greater opinion

opinion of one's prudence and moderation than he has of your's ; and you may write to him with all possible freedom, and without any reserve ; and he is perfectly well disposed to the supporting of the established government with you ; not only on the foot of justice, as what has been so solemnly secured to us by the union, but, also, as a security of the peace of these parts, and the liberty of the whole ; but is very sensible, from the observations, the business of Greenfields has enabled your friends here to make, how hard this may be, if not assisted by a prudent and cautious conduct with you. I shall trouble you no further, but only assure you, that I am,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble servant,

RO. PRINGLE.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND to Mr CARSTARES.

[Written about the time of Sacheverell's Trial.]

Against the Church of Scotland's unnecessarily asserting her Authority and Privileges, lest it bring upon them the Evils they most dreaded from the Union.

S I R,

When the flying packet was dispatched from hence, in return to that which was sent hither from the general assembly, I had no more time than to acknowledge the receipt of the letter I had from the moderator, and to acquaint him with her Majesty's resolution to comply with the assembly's desire ; and I have been hitherto hindered by business from giving a return to your letter of the 10th I then received. I hope the assembly will be very sensible of her Majesty's goodness in condescending to interpose the civil sanction to their act ; for which it must be owned there was no occasion, the government not having been wanting hitherto in any thing necessary for promoting either the civil or religious concerns of the people ; so that, if we could see into the views of some who, perhaps, have been

Whitehall,
May 22.
1710.

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most

most active and zealous for this step, we should probably find them different from what they appear to be, and to fall but too much in with the like humour here, which has already raised so great a ferment; and which, if not diverted, must necessarily end in the disturbance of the quiet both of church and state. And, I dare not promise you, if the assembly should offer again at the like step, that they will meet with the same easiness and compliance in the government: And therefore I hope it will be the care and study of the cautious and prudent of the ministers to keep them as much as possible from unnecessarily asserting of their authority and privileges, which is what their enemies desire above all things they should; and which cannot fail to bring that upon them they seem so much to apprehend from the union. I am sure you do not doubt of my sincere inclinations for your church's enjoying all its just freedoms and privileges, which makes me the more desirous that their own wise and prudent management should contribute to it, as I am sensible it is absolutely necessary; and I believe you and I do not differ in our sentiments of these matters, as yours appears by your letter, and which her Majesty does very much approve of, to whom I read it. I shall only add, that I am, with great truth,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble servant,

SUNDERLAND.

EARL OF ILAY to Mr CARSTARES.

Of Insinuations that his Brother and he are taking Measures contrary to the Interest of Presbytery and the Revolution.—Justifies their Conduct, and hopes Mr Carstares will take their Part.

S I R,

I have heard lately from Scotland, that there are some very busy in insinuating that my brother and I are taking measures against the interest of our church and revolution-establishment. I was always of
opinion

London,
July 5.
1719.

opinion it was very obviously our interest not to mingle ourselves too much with the factions here, I mean as Scotchmen; for, it being very plain that no party here has our country much at heart, the exasperating any side here might, at some conjuncture or other, draw both upon us, and crush us at once. The Queen has been pleased to remove the Earl of Sunderland, as 'tis said, for behaving himself disrespectfully towards her; and some are so bold as to presume to censure even her Majesty's making that step; I, for my part, think it my duty to approve of it, as I shall of any other alteration she may happen to make; and think our interest, both of church and state, as secure under those she may employ as it has been hitherto. I write thus freely to you, that you may judge better of the matter. I flatter myself that my brother and I have not been the least zealous for the maintaining the rights of our church, where they have been concerned; and we dare never (though there were no other reason), enter upon any other schemes; because, to speak plainly, we know very well, and I am sure our forefathers felt it, the mercy of our enemies. Sir, I hope, as you have occasion, you will be so kind to take our part, if any of these malicious reports should reach your ears. I am glad the affair of the chaplain is so well settled to your mind; and I take a little pride to myself in having assisted in it. I am,

SIR,

Your faithful humble servant,

ILAY.

EARL of MAR to Mr CARSTARES.

His Brother made Justice-Clerk.—Justifies himself.—Great Professions to Mr Carstares and the Church of Scotland.

SIR,

I have designed for some time to write to you, and begin a correspondence, which nothing but my being out of business interrupt-

Whitehall,
July 22.
1710.

ed; and I hope you know me better than to think I am capable of altering to you; but these times I have been in town a late, I was so taken up with one thing or other, that I have always put it off till now, and I would do it no longer, since this post brings a commission for my brother to be Justice-clerk. Some people are at pains to give out here, that the change the Queen has thought fit to make will give your brethren some discontent; but I hope they will be wiser than to show any dislike to what the Queen, to whom they have been so much obliged, thinks fit to do for her service either here or there. They owe the Queen more, personally, than any minister ever she had, and it would be an odd requital for all her favours, to suspect her inclinations to them now. 'Tis in no body's power to hurt them but their own. There is nothing but the continuance of that favour the Queen has always shewn them designed to them; and, if they lie quiet, and be not made tools of by some people, for their own bye-ends, they will be as safe as ever. As I have told you often, I wish them well, and the continuance of their church-government; and this makes me the more concerned for them upon this juncture. I know, as they may, your prudence, from a long tract of experience; and I wish they may take your advice in behaving themselves with that duty and submission to so good a Queen, who I may say has established them, even beyond what their best friends could have expected. They need not be afraid that her Majesty will ever go into high or violent measures. You are acquainted with some of those who are talked to be not well in her Majesty's favour, and have known them long; and I am sure you are sensible how reasonable and moderate that person is who I mean. I hope my brother will not be unacceptable to your brethren, nor their friends; I hope you will find him an honest man; and I'm sure he desires never to see the government altered. If it lie in my power to do you and that interest any service, you may rely on it so far as I am able; and I hope you can bear me witness, that I used not to make professions but where I am sincere. My L. May will be with you soon, who I am sure will explain matters to
your

your satisfaction; so I will not trouble you with saying any more on this head, since he can do it much better. I'll be very glad to hear from you; and am, sincerely,

S I R,

Your real and most humble servant,

MAR.

EARL of ILAY to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the Oath of Abjuration.—How the Affair of Greenshields went.

S I R,

I cannot now write to you so much at large as I design in a post or two, but think it my duty, upon many accounts, to desire you to discourse your brethren seriously upon the subject of the abjuration. I know very well how nice a string that is to touch; but I must, on the other side, say, that, if they will continue their scruples, where the whole dissenters of England make none, it may give such an advantage to the episcopals in Scotland, as to prove fatal to us. As to the affair of Greenshields, the business was indeed carried by surprize, though there was certainly a considerable majority against us, the one side being very zealous for their church, and the other side being very passive in the matter. I am,

London,
March 6.
1711.

S I R,

Your faithful humble servant,

ILAY.

MARQUIS of ANNANDALE to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon Church-Affairs.

S I R,

I return you my thanks for the kindness and favour of your's. I assure you I shall improve all occasions that may be in my hand for

London,
April 12,
1711.

for the interest and good of the church of Scotland. I cannot forget the successful assistance you gave, the last occasion I had of this kind; and I am very much encouraged and persuaded of good effects this next assembly, from the assurance you give me of the continuance thereof. It was very acceptable to Mr Harley, to whom I used the freedom to read your letter this evening, and which I hope you will forgive me, since I did it with a very good intention, and that it was very well received. I have very good reason to think my instructions shall be as full and satisfying as any has yet been; and, had I not been fully satisfied of the sincerity of the Queen and her ministers intentions to support and maintain the government and establishment of the church in all its rights and privileges, I should never have undertaken this affair; so that I am persuaded, if the proceedings of the ministers of the church shall be, with the same prudence, discretion, and duty that I have observed in former assemblies, it will entirely baffle the designs and projects of their inveterate enemies; for, believe me, nothing can hurt them but themselves; and I hope they shall never be capable of that. From the return to the presbytery's letter, I hope you will be satisfied there was little ground for the surmises and jealousies that have been industriously set about to alarm at this time; and, before the assembly meet, you will yet be more convinced of this. So soon as I receive my last orders, I shall part from this, which I think may be Thursday or Friday se'ennight, so as I hope to be at Edinburgh the 4th or 5th of May. I desire, and I hope you, and all the ministers of the church, will do me the justice to believe me to be the same in every respect towards the true interest of the church of Scotland that I have ever professed myself; and that I shall, upon all occasions, give the most sincere and faithful proofs thereof. And I wish I may have an opportunity to renew the assurance, that I am,

S I R,

Your true friend and humble servant,

ANNANDALE.

EARL of ILAY to Mr CARSTARES.

Upon the Act of Toleration, and the Oath of Abjuration.

S I R,

I received your's. I am very glad to find you so much of my opinion. I laid it before you shortly and plainly, as I thought it my duty to do; and I am always of opinion, where one means well, and has a mind to act with sincerity, there is little use in many words. I should not now mention any thing past, were it not in order to judge the better for the future. There stands at present a toleration in Scotland, decreed by a sentence, and unlimited either in point of faith, or other qualifications whatsoever; and that very act of toleration, we should be glad and justly reckon it a victory now to obtain, before the affair of Greenshields, would have been so far from any difficulty, that, if any of us had at that time had power to propose it, it would not only have easily passed, and obviated the sentence, but have been to our honour esteemed an impartial and generous concession. I must own I was surpris'd, when I was in Scotland, to find so few of your brethren distinguish in the least between what they thought reasonable, and what might appear in its nature practicable; but, for my part, I did then, and shall always lay before them my sincere advice, and then submit to any measures they think most proper for me to serve them in. When they asked my assistance in the matter of Greenshields, or the toleration, I, without any hesitation, assured them faithfully of it; but, when I was to give my opinion, what I could judge would probably happen, I always was certain, as far as I could be in any thing so precarious in their own nature as human occurrences, that the toleration, in whatever shape it first appeared, would prove irresistible; and I knew very well that our English friends would never be our champions, but when at the same time they were their own, and promoted their own interest as well as ours. Thus all their bishops left

London,
March 30.
1711

left us, and the rest declared it was none of their business; and when I moved a delay, which might possibly have been of some use to us, they all left my brother and me to debate against the whole house. They knew the loss of the cause would do them more good in their politic conjunction than an affirmation of the decree; judging very right, how irreconcilable the Tories would make themselves to the Presbyterians, by making a stretch in that tender point, and that they might easily save their own reputation, by saying they were overpowered. But, to return to that which I have observed as to your brethren, it is indeed unfortunate, that the only family which can now, (pardon the vanity of the expression), as it were stand in the gape, should have so little credit with them, as to be distrusted, in some measure, till the blow is given. In my former letter, I called their scruples about the abjuration fatal; I assure you I had made use of a softer word, and if I had not thought it my duty to say what I have the misfortune perhaps to foresee, 'tis very true, limited; for, as it is limited, is an inconsiderable alteration, and, for that very reason, our enemies will say it is unnecessary. I'll take another opportunity, in a few days, to enlarge upon this subject to you. I am sorry it is my fate to differ with so many of my church. Possibly I apply myself too much to the affairs of the world; I wish they do not too little, and, with an affectation of a rigid performance of their duty one way, neglect it another. Pardon this freedom; I mean it well.

I am, your's, &c.

ILAY.

EARL of SEAFIELD to Mr CARSTARES.

Compliments him upon what the Assembly had done with respect to the Protestant Succession.

Very Reverend,

It was a great satisfaction to me when I heard that you was chosen moderator; for I was confident that the assembly, being
under

London,
May 24.
1711.

under your direction, would fail in their duty to the Queen, and, at the same time, would do something that would be of consequence for our religion, and which has accordingly happened; for what the assembly has done in favours of the protestant succession in the House of Hanover, is thought by all that are well affected to the constitution to be of the greatest consequence in the present juncture; and it pleases me that the honour of doing this is given to yourself. I know you have much to do, and therefore I cannot expect to hear frequently from you; however, this I assure you, that it is of some importance to you to let me have an account of any thing of importance that passes in this assembly, and this you'll be convinced of when I have the happiness to wait on you. I heartily wish for a happy conclusion to the assembly, and I will ever continue, with the same sincerity as formerly,

Very Reverend,

Your most faithful and humble servant,

SEAFIELD.

A P P E N D I X.

N U M B E R I.

Act of Parliament in favour of MR CARSTARES. Anno 1690.

To his Grace their Majesties High Commissioner, and the Right Honourable the Estates of Parliament, The PETITION of MR WILLIAM CARSTARES,

Shewing, That whereas the petitioner, in the year 1683, was, upon suspicion of a plot, apprehended in England, and, in express contrariety to known law, after some weeks imprisonment, and application to the Court of King's Bench, for being brought to trial, or admitted to bail, was transported to Scotland, where, after a severe torture and frequent threatenings of reiterating thereof, so long as he breathed, he was brought, upon certain terms, to reveal some proposals concerning the security of our religion and liberty, against popish and arbitrary councils, which they called a plot. Likeas, this his consent was upon articles granted to him by Lord Melfort then treasurer-depute, in the name and authority of the privy-council, of which this was one, That he should never be adduced as a witness himself, nor any thing he said produced in evidence against any person, or before any court.

Notwithstanding whereof, his depositions, as they were called, were made use of as an adminicle in the trials of several honourable and worthy persons, whose processes and decreets of forfeiture are now justly reduced.

And, seeing the breach of these conditions was not only a stain upon the nation, and an irreparable wrong to others, but also a manifest injustice to the petitioner, whereby his name and fame hath been brought in question, which will appear by the records of council, if they are not industriously abstracted :

Therefore, craving it may please the estates of parliament, for the petitioner's just vindication, and in testimony of their abhorrence of so foul a breach of the public faith, the sacredness whereof is the stability of government, that the petitioner's foresaid deposition be razed and forever delete out of the records of those courts, where, contrary to public faith, they were made use of ; and that the petitioner may have an extract of an act of this high and honourable court thereupon. Which petition being considered, and the same being found sufficiently instructed and verified by a declaration under my Lord Tarbat's hand, of the date of these presents, and other testimonies, they hereby declare, that the petitioner was highly injured therein, contrary to the public faith ; and therefore ordered, and hereby orders, the above petition and this deliverance, with a letter written by the petitioner to my Lord Raith treasurer-depute, of the 8th day of July instant, to be recorded in the books of parliament, and books of adjournal, and any other court-books, wherein his testimony was made use of ; and that an extract hereof be given to the petitioner, for his own full and plenary vindication.

N U M B E R II.

Overture for settling Church-government in Scotland. Presented to the Parliament by the Duke of Hamilton Lord High Commissioner, upon the 22d of July 1689.

Forasmuch as the King and Queen's Majesties, and the estates of parliament, by their Act of the first of July instant, abolishing prelacy, &c. did declare, That they would settle that church-government which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people ; and, considering that church-government by general, provincial, and presbyterial assemblies, with the sessions of the kirk, as it was established by the first act of the 12th parliament of king James VI. holden in June 1592, is most agreeable to the inclination of the people ; therefore, the King and Queen's Majesties, with the advice and consent of the estates of parliament, revive and renew the said act of parliament, in all the heads, points, and articles thereof, with this express declaration (that the necessity of occasional assemblies be first represented to his Majesty by humble supplication) ; and statute and ordain, that it shall be lawful for the presbyteries of this church, to admit ministers, upon presentation from the lawful patrons, or *jure devoluto*, which shall happen hereafter, or into churches which fall not under patronages, but were mensal and patrimonial churches belonging to the bishops : And ordain all ministers in this kingdom to submit and conform to the church-government established by the foresaid act, and to take the oath of allegiance, under the pain of being deprived of their churches and losing their benefices. And it is declared, that all ministers that shall submit and conform to the foresaid church-government, and take the oaths of allegiance, without being obliged to take any other oath, shall enjoy their churches and benefices, &c. in such manner, and as freely as they ought or might have done before by the act in

the year 1592, and to do all and every thing which before pertained to presbyters, and were exercised by bishops, except for scandal or insufficiency: But, in regard there were several ministers deprived of their benefices since the year 1662, for not conforming to prelacy, and others since the year 1681, for not taking the test; therefore, seeing that now prelacy is abolished, and all acts relating thereto, it is but reasonable that these ministers should be restored; therefore, the King and Queen's Majesties, with the advice, &c. ordain the said ministers, &c. to be restored. And the King and Queen's Majesties and estates declare, that they will take care to provide those ministers now serving the cure at the said churches, with other benefices, as occasion shall offer, they submitting and conforming, &c. And, it is further declared, that intrants to the ministry shall not be obliged to take any other oaths at their admission, than that of allegiance and the oath *de fidei*. And, in regard, that many confusions and scandalous schisms have happened by ministers meddling in matters of state, their Majesties, with advice, &c. do hereby discharge all ministers of the gospel to meddle with any state-affairs, under pain of being held disaffected to the government, and to be proceeded against accordingly; and declare that the jurisdiction of the church consists only in preaching the word of Jesus Christ, correcting of ill manners by ecclesiastical censures, and administration of the sacraments, conformable to the 69th act of James VI. parliament 6th. And to prevent that nothing be treated in the church-judicatories that concern affairs of state or civil matters, it is declared that their Majesties, if they think fit, may have always one present in all the provincial and presbyterial assemblies, (as they have their commissioner present in general assemblies), to inhibit the proceedings in any such affairs, if it should be offered at, untill their Majesties and privy-council be first acquainted therewith. And for that there are many things to be settled in relation to the discipline of the church, &c. their Majesties declare that they, with the advice, &c. will enact such rules as shall tend most to the curbing vice and advancement of true piety and religion, and the preservation of peace and unity, &c.

N U M B E R III.

Act of Parliament for settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church.

12th June 1693.

Our sovereign Lord and Lady the King and Queen's Majesties, with advice and consent of the estates of parliament, ratify, approve, and perpetually confirm the 5th act of the second session of this current parliament, entitled, 'Act ratifying the confession of faith, and settling presbyterian church-government, in the whole heads, articles, and clauses thereof:' And do further statute and ordain, that no person be admitted, or continued hereafter to be a minister or preacher, within this church, unless that he, having first taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance, and subscribed the assurance in manner appointed by another act of this present session of parliament, made thereanent, do also subscribe the confession of faith, ratified in the foresaid 5th act of the second session of this parliament, declaring the same to be the confession of his faith, and that he owns the doctrine contained therein to be the true doctrine, which he will constantly adhere to: As

likewise, that he owns and acknowledges presbyterian church-government to be the only government of this church, and that he will submit thereto, and concur therewith, and will never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof: And their Majesties, with advice and consent foresaid, statute and ordain, that uniformity of worship, and administration of all public ordinances within this church, be observed by all the saids ministers and preachers, as the same are at present allowed and performed therein, or shall be hereafter declared by the authority of the same; and that no minister or preacher be admitted or continued for hereafter unless that he subscribe to observe, and do actually observe, the foresaid uniformity.

And, for the more effectual settling the quiet and peace of this church, the estates of parliament do hereby make an humble address to their Majesties, that they would be pleased to call a general assembly for the ordering the affairs of the church; and to the end that all the present ministers, possessing churches not yet admitted to the exercise of the foresaid church-government, conform to the said act, and who shall qualify themselves in manner foresaid, and shall apply to the said assembly, or the other church-judicatories competent, in an orderly way, each man for himself be received to partake with them in the government thereof; certifying such as shall not qualify themselves, and apply to the said assembly or other judicatories, within the space of thirty days after meeting of the said first assembly, in manner foresaid, that they may be deposed by the sentence of the said assembly or other judicatories, *tam ab officio quam a beneficio*: And withall declaring, that, if any of the saids ministers who have not been hitherto received into the government of this church, shall offer to qualify themselves, and to apply in manner foresaid, they shall have their Majesties full protection ay and while they shall be admitted and received in manner foresaid: Providing always that this act, and the benefit thereof, shall be no ways extended to such of the saids ministers as are scandalous, erroneous, negligent, or insufficient, and against whom the same shall be verified, within the space of thirty days after said application; but these, and all others in like manner guilty, are hereby declared to be subject to the power and censure of the church, as accords, &c.

N U M B E R I V.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, The humble Representation of William Carstares, Thomas Blackwell, and Robert Baillie, Ministers of the Church of Scotland, concerning the Bill for Restoring Patronages, now depending before your Lordships.

IT is with all humble duty and submission represented unto your Lordships, that this depending bill seems to be contrary to the present constitution of our church, so well secured by the late treaty of union, and solemnly ratified by the acts of parliament in both kingdoms: That this may be more clear, it is to be observed, that, from the first reformation from popery, the church of Scotland hath always reckoned patronages a grievance and burden, as is declared by the first and second books of discipline, published soon after the said reformation, since which time

they were still judged a grievance, till at length they came, by law, to be abolished.

These patronages having been restored with episcopacy, in the year 1661 and 1662, did continue to the year 1690, that episcopacy was abolished, and presbyterian government again established; and though the act of parliament 1690, resettling presbyterian church-government, was founded upon the act of parliament 1592, which bears a relation unto patronages; yet the said act of parliament 1690, doth expressly except that part of the old act, and refer patronages to be thereafter considered, which accordingly was considered in the same parliament 1690, whereby it is plain, that the abolition of patronages was made a part of our church-constitution, enacted by the act 1690; and that this act 1690, with all other acts relative thereto, being expressly ratified, and for ever confirmed by the act for securing the protestant religion and presbyterian government, and ingrossed as an essential condition of the ratifications of the treaty of union, past in the parliaments of both kingdoms; the said act abolishing patronages must be understood to be a part of our presbyterian constitution, secured to us by the treaty of union for ever.

Yet it is to be particularly considered, that the same parliament 1690, was so tender of the civil rights of patrons, and so sincerely desirous only to restore the church to its just and primitive liberty of calling ministers in a way agreeable to the word of God, that they only discharged the patrons power of presenting ministers to vacant churches; but as to any thing of their civil rights, did make the condition of patrons better than before, not only by reserving unto them the right of disposal of vacant stipends, for pious uses within the parish, but also for giving unto them the heritable rights of the tythes, restricting the minister, who formerly had the said right to stipends, much below the value of the said tythes: Notwithstanding which advantageous concession to the patrons, by the parliament, this bill takes back from the church the power of presentation of ministers, without restoring the tythes, which formerly belonged to her; by which the patrons came to enjoy both the purchase and the price. This being the true account of our legal settlement as to this matter, it appears to be evident, that the restitution of patronages, as to the point of presentation, can only gratify a few; while, on the other hand, it must necessarily disoblige a far greater number, that are now freed of that imposition: And indeed, it cannot but seem strange, that this bill should be so much insisted upon, when there are so many patrons, and those too of the most considerable in Scotland, that are against such a restitution. It is also apparent, that presbyteries must come under many difficulties and hardships, as to their compliance with this innovation, and that many contests, disorders, and differences, will probably ensue betwixt patrons, presbyteries, heritors, and people, besides the known abuses where-with patronages have been attended, even in their most settled condition; where-of many instances might be given; especially, that thereby a foundation was laid for Simoniackal factions betwixt patrons and those presented by them; and likewise, ministers were imposed upon parishes by patrons who were utterly strangers to their circumstances, having neither property nor residence therein.

It is therefore, with all submission, expected from your Lordships justice and mature deliberation, that a bill, as we humbly conceive, so nearly affecting the

late treaty of union, in one of its most fundamental and essential articles, respecting the preservation of the rights and privileges which our church at that time was possessed of by law; for the security of which the parliament of Scotland was so much concerned, as not to allow their commissioners to make it any part of their treaty, but reserved it as a thing unalterable by any judicature deriving its constitution from the said treaty, shall not be approved by your Lordships, especially, while the nature of the treaty itself shews it to be a reciprocal transaction between the two nations.

W. CARSTARES.

THO. BLACKWELL.

RO. BAILLIE.

N U M B E R V.

Remarks upon the Representation made by the Kirk of Scotland concerning Patronages.

OUR reformation had its first legal establishment (as some say) in the year 1560, and others, in 1567; but, be that as it will, our reformation made no invasion upon the ancient rights of patrons. The first parliament we meet with in our printed acts, that regards the reformation, is in the reign of King James I. *Anno* 1567. where, *cap.* 7. we find the right of presentation to churches reserved to the patron; and, in the year 1592, when presbytery had its first legal establishment, the right of patrons is still reserved and approved in that very same act which established presbytery; and from these days, down to the year 1690, no man was ever judged to have a legal title to any church or benefice, unless he had a presentation from the patron: And, as this was the undoubted law, so was it the constant practice, both of the presbyterian and episcopal establishment in their different turns. Under episcopacy, the person presented by the patron was collated by the bishop; and, under the presbyterian establishment, the person presented by the patron was collated by the presbytery. It is true, about the year 1647, when the church had shaken off all duty to their prince, and got the ascendant over all ranks and degrees of men; they began to bring popular elections in vogue, and use their endeavours to abolish patronages, which they accomplished in the year 1649. But what authority was this? King Charles I. was then dead; I need not tell you how, nor by whom, and King Charles II. was then in foreign parts, and a great many of the nobility and gentry, at the mercy of the church, for the unlawful engagements. The plain story is this: A certain number of the nobility, gentry, and burghesses, met together, without any countenance or authority from the king, and modestly called themselves a parliament; and, by their own authority, (a sufficient one it was,) abolished patronages. And this was all the pretence in law that was ever in this church, from the reformation down to the year 1690. But now, what says our representation to all this? *Primo*, we are told, that patronages have been always looked upon as a grievance to this church, as appears by the first and second book of discipline, the first whereof is approved by the privy-council. It had been more to the purpose to have said the parliament, if it had been true; but the parliament

knew their interest better, than to sacrifice mens rights to such weak pretences. If such reasoning as this be allowed, the parliament had best abolish the Queen's supremacy, her power of calling and dissolving general assemblies, and appointing fasts; for all these either are or have been looked upon as grievances by the presbytery; and, no doubt, this is their right, because they look upon them as grievances.

But, *Secondly*, we are told a very sad story, that this act of abolishing patronages is a part of the presbyterian constitution, and consequently, so secured by the treaty of union, that it is unalterable. But how comes this about? For I cannot find in all the articles of the union any thing about patronages, but where they are excepted from being a part of it. The act 1592, establishing presbytery, is ratified in all its parts, except that part of it which asserts the rights of patrons; by which it is plain, neither the parliament nor the treaty of union meant to make it any part of the presbyterian constitution, but passed a bill of exclusion against it. All that can be inferred from the treaty of union is, that presbytery, and all laws made for the security of its government, worship, and discipline, are inviolable. I will be obliged to our trustees from the kirk, to tell me, under which of these heads they class popular elections. I think the act 1592, which established presbytery in all its parts, and yet asserts the right of patrons, cuts off any pretence to this. This act abolishing patronages, was made merely to amuse the people with an imaginary power, and never intended for the security of the presbytery.

Thirdly, We are told, popular elections are agreeable to the word of God, and the practice of the primitive church. Be that as it will, it is nothing to the purpose; for we have no such thing at this day in Scotland as a popular election; the act abolishing patronages does only transfer the power of presentation from the patrons to the heritors and elders. Alas, the poor unthinking populace have no more power than before. Indeed this whole matter is a cheat put upon the heritors and people; for, when a vacancy happens, the presbytery carefully considers how many heritors there are in the parish, and are sure to create so many elders as will outnumber them; and these elders (I am ashamed to tell you what kind of gentlemen many of them are) do blindly follow the inclinations of the presbytery; so that the presentation is in the hands of the presbyteries; and if that comes to fail, they are still judges whether the person presented be fit or not, which he is as they please. Now, what power have the people at this time, which they had not with their patronages? No man could come to a benefice upon a presentation from the patron; if the people refused him upon competent grounds, the patron must present another qualified person, against whom there lies no competent objection.

Fourthly, Our representation goes on and tells us, that patrons are put in a better condition than they were formerly, by having their tithes appropriated to them. I think it is not much to the honour of presbytery to tell us, that, to procure this act abolishing patronages, they consented to rob the church of her inheritance; but I much question if the patrons be benefited by that act. I know many of them do not think so; nor did the parliament think so either, otherwise they would never have obliged the heritors to pay thirty-three pounds as an equivalent for the

patron's right, which yet was scarce ever delivered by the heritors, or received by the patron : So far it is from being true, that the patron had both the purchase and the price ; for the church had the purchase, and the heritors the price.

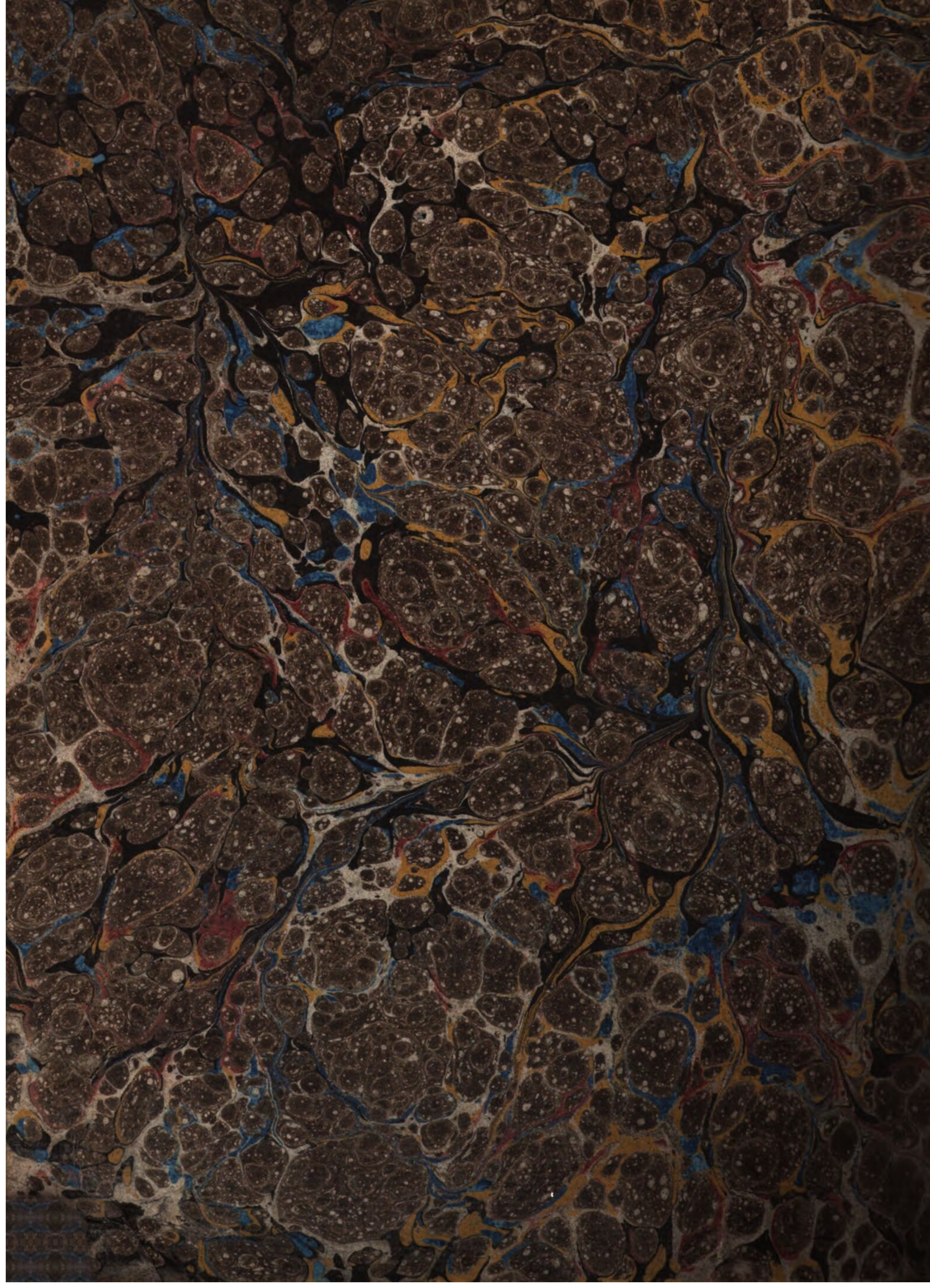
Fifthly, We are told, that this will encourage Simoniackal pactions. There are indeed few constitutions but are liable to some exceptions and inconveniences, though our laws has made all reasonable provision against any such transactions ; but surely there can be no danger of this at this time, for a presbyterian minister is a better man than to be guilty of Simony. I would advise our patrons to lay to heart this heavy charge that is laid chiefly against them.

Sixthly, We are told this will discontent many of the people of Scotland. I take this to be bullying. How often were we told in the case of Mr Greenschields, that, if he were not cast, Scotland would not bear it ? This terrible story was again renewed in the case of the toleration ; and time has shown in the one case, and will in the other, that these are calamities put upon the people of Scotland, not by their enemies, but their friends, upon no other design, it would seem, than to frighten the legislator. If they be the better heard, we are indebted to them for so useful a lesson. I shall then roundly tell our parliament, Take care you put no hardships upon the episcopal party of Scotland ; they will not bear it ; and it is not seasonable to disoblige them ; they are such a vast body made up of the nobility and gentry, the bold highlanders, and all the northern counties : But this is only a speech without doors.

After all, I must own, this representation has advanced a great truth in the close of it, that the restoring patrons to their ancient rights will occasion great contests between the patrons and the presbyteries : Of this I make no doubt ; no man will willingly part with what he has ; and seeing, as matters stand, the church has the sole direction in the choice of a minister, it would give her no small disquiet to dispossess her. It is here the pinch chiefly lies ; but here I appeal to the testimony of our representatives in this place, if the little regard the church has shewn upon all occasions to the nobility and gentry, in the choice of their ministers, and their arbitrary proceedings in these matters, has not bred a general discontent ; and it will give as general a satisfaction, to see the church put under some restrictions in the exercise of a power they have so much abused.

I will not take upon me to offer my advice to our presbyterian brethren ; perhaps, after what I have said, they may suspect my sincerity ; but I truly believe it their interest to come into this bill, which will rectify and better their constitution, and make it more palatable to the nobility and gentry.

F I N I S.





Maccormick, Joseph,

State, papers and Letters, addressed to W. Carstares

Edinburgh 1774

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